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THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

MAY 1811.

No. XXXV.

ART. I. *Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste.* By Archibald Alison, LL. B. F. R. S. Prebendary of Sarum, &c. &c. &c. 2 Vol. 8vo. pp. 830. Edinburgh, 1811.

WE look upon this as, on the whole, the best and most pleasing work which has yet been produced on the subjects of Taste and Beauty. Less ornate and adventurous than Burke, and less lively and miscellaneous than Price or Knight, the author, we think, has gone deeper into his subject than any of those writers; at the same time that he has been more copious (perhaps too copious) in his examples and illustrations, and more constantly awake (perhaps to an excess here also) to those feelings of enthusiastic delight which the contemplation of such subjects is apt to excite in the minds best qualified to discuss them. His analysis, therefore, though very patient and comprehensive, has no feature of the chilling metaphysics of the schools; and, while the love of his subject has led him into great fulness of detail, and the sensibility of his heart lent a glow of warm colouring to every part of his composition, the reader need be under no fear of encountering either the refinements of ingenious dogmatism, or the ravings of sentimental folly. The book, perhaps, is a little too long,—and the style a little too verbose: nor are the argumentative and theoretical parts kept sufficiently distinct from the illustrative and ornamental;—but the whole is, in no ordinary degree, both beautiful and instructive; and seems excellently adapted to promote both the love and the knowledge of the curious speculations on which it is employed. Of its beauty, we are afraid we shall be able to give our readers but a very inadequate impression; but, of its information, we may hope to present them with a tolerably intelligible abstract.

In all disquisitions on the subject of Taste, there are evidently two separate objects of inquiry;—the first relating to the nature of *the Faculty*; the other to the nature of *its Objects*. At one time, we endeavour to ascertain what it is that constitutes Taste,—at another, what it is that constitutes Beauty; and are always necessarily engaged in determining, either what is *the state of our minds*, when we are conscious of the peculiar emotions excited by the perception of sublimity or beauty, or what are *the qualities in objects* which have the power of exciting these emotions. It is the more necessary, too, to attend to this distinction, and to keep clearly in view the indispensable importance of *both* branches of the inquiry; because most of the theories that have hitherto been proposed on the subject, appear to us to proceed upon a partial forgetfulness of one or other of them; and are calculated to afford an answer to one only of the two questions which we have announced as involved in the discussion. Those who have contended that beauty consists in curve lines,—in smoothness, smallness or fragility,—in regularity, or moderate variety, or in any other fixed or physical property,—have, for the most part, neglected altogether to explain *how* these properties should affect the mind with a sense of sublimity or beauty, or to determine the precise nature of the emotions which they excited;—while those, on the other hand, who maintain that these emotions consist merely in the perception of utility, or of relation, or of what is ordinary and true, seem sometimes to forget, that every theory, even as to the nature of our emotions, must be ultimately verified by a careful examination of the objects that are found to produce them, and by a large induction as to the whole accompanying phenomena.

But though it be thus radically necessary to remember that there are two subjects of inquiry, it is, if possible, still more essential to recollect, that they must be discussed together; that we can never ascertain what is beauty, without having clear notions of the state of mind which it produces, and, in its power of producing which, its essence consists; and that it is utterly impossible to ascertain what is the nature of the effect produced by beauty on the mind, till we can decide what are the common properties that are found in all the objects which produce it. All investigations, therefore, into the principles of Taste, and into the elements of Beauty, ought obviously to go together; and as the evidence must always be one and the same, by which the truth of our conjectures as to the nature of either can be determined, nothing can be more injudicious or unsatisfactory, than any attempt to separate them in the discussion. Mr Alison is not deserving of praise for any thing more than for his constant

constant and invariable attention to this important consideration.

It is the opinion of this excellent writer, to express it in one sentence,—that the emotions which we experience from the contemplation of sublimity or beauty, are not produced by any physical or intrinsic quality in the objects which we contemplate; but by the recollection or conception of *other* objects which are associated in our imaginations with those before us, and consequently suggested by their appearance, and which are interesting or affecting, on the common and familiar principle of being the natural objects of love, or of pity, or of fear or veneration, or some other common and lively sensation of the mind. This is the first and most important proposition in his theory,—of which, accordingly, it may be stated as the fundamental principle, that all objects are beautiful or sublime which signify or suggest to us some simple emotion of love, pity, terror, or any other social or selfish affection of our nature; and that the beauty or sublimity which we ascribe to them, consists entirely in the power which they have acquired, by association or otherwise, of reminding us of the proper objects of these familiar affections. Mr Alison adds, that the sensation of sublimity or beauty is not fully developed by the mere suggestion of some natural object of interest or affection; but is distinctly felt only when the imagination is stimulated to conceive a connected train or series of such objects, in unison with that which was first suggested by the particular form, which is called beautiful, only for having been the parent of such a train.

We think all this equally true and important; and are satisfied, on the whole, with the manner in which Mr Alison has proved and illustrated it in the work before us. Yet it is a manner which is fitter for a large book, than such a short paper as we can now afford to furnish; and we think we can conduct our readers to the same conclusions by a less operose process, than a detailed analysis of all Mr Alison's speculations.

The first notion that most people have about taste, or the capacity of perceiving beauty, seems to be, that it is a peculiar sense or faculty, of which beauty is the appropriate object,—as light is of the sense of seeing,—or sound, of hearing; and this being once settled, there is, with many, an end of the whole question. Beauty is that which gratifies the faculty of taste; and taste is that by which we are made sensible of beauty: and this is all that is to be known of the one or the other! Even of those who are not perfectly contented with this definition of beauty, there are many who seem satisfied with that of taste, which it accompanies; and the majority, even of philosophical

inquirers into these matters, seem to have acquiesced in the doctrine of a separate sense or faculty, the intimations of which admit of no correction or explanation. This is obviously implied, at all events, and, we rather think, is occasionally expressed, in all the theories that resolve beauty into combinations of curve lines —into relaxation of the fibres—into smoothness—proportion —fragility, or any other physical qualities; the authors of such speculations being generally satisfied with reducing all the various forms of beauty to their own favoured elements, and assuming it as a final principle and fixed law of our constitution, of which no account could be rendered, that those elements produced a distinct operation upon some inward sense or faculty, the result of which was the emotion or perception of beauty. How extremely inaccurate and unmeaning all this is, however, must be apparent to every one who will take the trouble to reflect upon it; and may be made evident, in a very few words, even to those who decline that trouble.

If beauty be the object of a peculiar sense or faculty, then its nature must be as familiarly and certainly known to all who possess that sense, as the nature of light or sound is to those who can see or hear. It must always be recognized by the same properties and effects. No two persons who possess the sense, can ever differ as to its presence or absence on any particular occasion; and, when once admitted to exist in certain forms, colours or proportions, must inevitably be discovered wherever the same forms and proportions are presented. How notoriously the fact is otherwise, it is needless for us to say. Instead of consisting in one substance or element, like light, sound or heat, it is supposed to reside entire and separate, in colours, forms and motions; nay, in proportions, sentiments, arguments and imitations; and to exist, conspicuous and distinct, in landscapes, buildings, animals, verses, flowers, tunes, smiles, demonstrations, and a thousand other shapes as anomalous. Instead of being recognized by all persons who possess the sense to which it is adapted, in every object in which it is plainly perceived by any one such person, it is notorious, that not only individuals, but whole nations, daily perceive the most exquisite beauty in objects, where other individuals can see no traces of it: and, finally, the very same persons who have once rapturously admitted the beauty of certain forms, colours or proportions, in one set of objects, daily confess that they can discover no sort of beauty in the very same forms and proportions, when they happen to occur in a different set of objects. The forms, colours and proportions that are respectively beautiful in a tree,

a tyger, or a mountain, are not beautiful, to any eye, in a temple or a woman.

These very obvious considerations appear to us to be conclusive against the supposition of an intrinsic or elementary beauty addressing itself immediately to a peculiar sense or faculty, of which it is the appropriate object; and, obvious as they are, they seem also to furnish objections, not less decisive, against almost all the other theories that have been hitherto proposed on the subject. The absurdity, however, of supposing a separate sense or faculty for the perception of beauty, was too glaring to be long acquiesced in, even by the most ingenious philosophers; and, accordingly, it seems to have been very early suspected that the peculiar emotion we received from the perception of beauty, might only be a modification of some other more simple and familiar emotion; and that all the beauty might consist in suggesting this emotion. Accordingly, as many objects that are beautiful were observed to be also extremely commodious and useful, and as the ideas of use and convenience are naturally pleasing, it occurred to some ingenious persons, that beauty might perhaps consist altogether in Utility; and that the mysterious pleasure which we derived from the sight of it, might be referred to those agreeable recollections, or natural sympathies, which we know to accompany the conception of convenience and comfort. Now, this, we think, was a great step; and in the right way;—and, upon this principle, a very satisfactory explanation was given of a great part of the beauty of the proportions and forms of buildings, the limbs of animals, and other objects of this description. When applied, however, to things of a different description, this theory was found utterly to fail. Many things were eminently useful, in which even the authors of the theory could discover no beauty; and many things were indisputably beautiful, which could only be connected with utility by the most revolting and ludicrous strainings of the imagination. Ploughs, and dunghills, and bank bills, were very useful; but no one could be persuaded to think them beautiful; and people were in raptures with the beauty of rose-buds, and statues, and idle young women, that were allowed to be of no use whatsoever. It was evidently a great mistake, therefore, to suppose, that our sense of beauty was nothing more than a perception of utility.

Other theories, still more fantastical, were suggested by the same narrowness of view, and the same love of simplicity. Because every thing monstrous was found to excite disgust, beauty was held to consist in what was most ordinary and common; and because it was found possible to magnify every quality to a

disagreeable excess, it was happily conjectured, that beauty might be nothing but mediocrity. A still more notable hypothesis was founded on the pleasure which we sometimes receive from tracing the connexion of complicated phenomena; and the nature of beauty was marvellously elucidated, by affirming that it arose from the perception of relation. Others proposed to clear up the mystery, by resolving it into a feeling of moral approbation; and others made it manifest, that it arose merely from a strict observation of truth!

Of propositions that appear to have no meaning, it is not easy to offer any confutation; but of such of the preceding theories as we have the good fortune to comprehend, we would rather say that they were partially true, than that they were radically erroneous; and that the error consisted more in supposing that any one explanation would serve for all cases, than in the insufficiency of that proposed for the cases by which it was obviously suggested. It seems to be perfectly true, for instance, that certain combinations of colours and of sounds are originally agreeable to the eye and the ear, and constitute a sort of beauty, which may be said to be the direct and peculiar object of our perception; and of which no other account can be given, than that, by the constitution of our nature, such objects are agreeable to us. In the same way, it is true, and to a far greater extent, that the perception of utility, fitness and design, does communicate to us a certain sensible gratification, and constitutes the chief beauty of many objects of our admiration. The error lies, therefore, not in stating these as sources of beauty, but in holding that there are no other sources; and announcing, as universal theorems, what are only solutions of particular problems.

The grand mistake, indeed, which seems to have misled almost all the inquirers into this curious subject, consists in their taking it for granted, that beauty, in whatever variety of objects it might be found, was always in itself one and the same; and that, in order to explain the beauty of any particular thing, it was necessary to show that it had some quality in common with all other things that were beautiful. How very hopeless an undertaking this was, may be collected even from the slight and imperfect enumeration we have already given of the classes of things that are allowed to possess beauty. And indeed, when we consider, that things great and little,—regular and irregular,—simple and complicated,—useless and useful,—natural and artificial,—nay, that things material and immaterial,—intellectual and moral, are all equally susceptible of beauty; it must appear pretty evident, that this is the only quality in which they

they can agree; and that they can have nothing in common but this very beauty, which is supposed to depend upon their previous possession of some common quality.

But what do we really mean, when we say, that all these things agree in being beautiful? Do we mean any thing more, than that we call them all by this one name; and that they resemble each other in being agreeable? For, is it really true that they are all agreeable *in the same manner?* or that they affect us with one and *the same kind of sensation?* Is it not notorious, on the contrary, that there are almost as many kinds of beauty as there are varieties of mental emotion; that some are melancholy, and some cheerful,—some humble and simple, and others commanding and magnificent;—and that we are moved accordingly, by the contemplation of all those varied species, either to pensive tenderness,—to love, pity and regret,—or to gay and airy imaginations,—or to still and tranquil thought,—or to admiration, humility and awe? But if it be true, that the emotions which we receive from beauty are thus various in themselves, and that they partake thus largely of the character of other emotions, why should we not conclude, that they are but modifications of these more familiar affections,—and that the beauty which we impute to external objects, is nothing more than their power of reflecting these several inward affections? This accordingly is the theory adopted by Mr Alison; and we think made out by him by the most satisfactory evidence. We must still be permitted, however, to take our own way for a little longer, in unfolding it.

There are two things—and two only—that require a little explanation. First, What are the primary affections, by the suggestion of which we think the sense of beauty is produced? And, secondly, What is the nature of the connexion by which we suppose that the objects we call beautiful are enabled to suggest these affections?

With regard to the first of these points, it fortunately is not necessary either to enter into any tedious details, or to have recourse to any nice distinctions. All sensations that are not absolutely indifferent, and are, at the same time, either agreeable, when experienced by ourselves, or attractive when contemplated in others, may form the foundation of the emotions of sublimity or beauty. The love of sensation, as we have elsewhere taken occasion to observe, seems to be the ruling appetite of human nature; and many sensations, in which the painful seems greatly to preponderate, are consequently sought for with avidity, and recollected with interest, even in our own persons. In the persons of others, emotions still more painful are contemplated with eager-

ness and delight; and therefore we must not be surprised to find, that many of the pleasing sensations of beauty or sublimity, resolve themselves ultimately into recollections of feelings that may appear to have a very opposite character. The sum of the whole is, that every feeling which it is agreeable to experience, to recal, or to witness, may become the source of beauty in external objects, when it is so connected with them as that their appearance reminds us of that feeling. Now, in real life, and from daily experience and observation, we know that it is agreeable, in the first place, to recollect our own pleasurable sensations, or to be enabled to form a lively conception of the pleasures of other men, or even of sentient beings of any description. We know likewise, from the same sure authority, that there is a certain delight in the remembrance of our past, or the conception of our future emotions, even though attended with great pain, provided they be not forced too rudely on the mind, and be softened by the accompaniment of any milder feeling. And finally, we know, in the same manner, that the spectacle or conception of the emotions of others, even when in a high degree painful, is extremely interesting and attractive, and draws us away, not only from the consideration of indifferent objects, but even from the pursuit of light or frivolous enjoyments. All these are plain and familiar facts, of the existence of which, however they may be explained, no one can entertain the slightest doubt,—and into which, therefore, we shall have made no inconsiderable progress, if we can resolve the more mysterious fact, of the emotions we receive from the contemplation of sublimity or beauty.

Our proposition then is, that these emotions are not original emotions, nor produced directly by any qualities in the objects which excite them; but are reflections, or images, of the more radical and familiar emotions to which we have already alluded; and are occasioned, not by any inherent virtue in the objects before us, but by the accidents, if we may so express ourselves, by which these may have been enabled to suggest or recal to us our own past sensations or sympathies. We could almost venture, indeed, to lay it down as an axiom, that, except in the plain and palpable case of bodily pain or pleasure, we can never be interested in any thing but the fortunes of sentient beings; —and that every thing partaking of the nature of mental emotion, must have for its object the feelings, past, present, or possible, of something capable of sensation. Independent, therefore, of all evidence, and without the help of any explanation, we should have been [illegible] to conclude, that the emotions of beauty and sublimity must have for their objects the sufferings or enjoyments

ments of sentient beings;—and to reject, as intrinsically absurd and incredible, the supposition, that material objects, which obviously do neither hurt nor delight the body, should yet excite, by their mere physical qualities, the very powerful emotions which are sometimes excited by the spectacle of beauty.

Of the feelings, by their connexion with which, external objects become beautiful, we do not think it necessary to speak more minutely;—and therefore, it only remains, under this preliminary view of the subject, to explain the nature of that connexion by which we conceive this effect to be produced. Here, also, there is but little need for minuteness, or fulness of enumeration. Almost every tie, by which two objects can be bound together in the imagination, in such a manner as that the presentment of the one shall recal the memory of the other;—or, in other words, almost every possible relation which can subsist between such objects, may serve to connect the things we call sublime or beautiful, with feelings that are interesting or delightful. Mr Alison has not made any attempt to class or enumerate these various relations; but has grouped them all together under the sweeping name of Associations. Nor indeed can he be much blamed for the omission; when it is considered, on the one hand, that any enumeration which he could have given must necessarily have been imperfect; and, on the other, that the general nature of the law which he wished to illustrate, must, in the longrun, have been fully impressed upon the minds of all those who attended to his copious and well-chosen examples. To us, however, who have less room for examples, and less reliance on the attention of our readers, some slight attempt at describing and classing the most common of those connexions, appears to be more important,—and may even enable us to introduce the few examples upon which we can venture, with more effect and advantage.

It appears to us, then, that objects are sublime or beautiful, 1st, when they are the natural signs, and perpetual concomitants of happiness or suffering, or, at any rate, of some lively feeling or emotion in ourselves or in some other sentient beings; or, 2dly, when they are the arbitrary or accidental concomitants of such feelings; or, 3dly, when they bear some analogy, or fanciful resemblance, to circumstances or situations with which these emotions are necessarily connected. In endeavouring to illustrate the nature of these several relations, we shall be led to lay before our readers some proofs that appear to us satisfactory of the truth of the general theory.

The most obvious, and the strongest association that can be established between inward feelings and external objects is, where

the object is necessarily and universally connected with the feeling by the law of nature, so that it is always presented to the senses when the feeling is impressed upon the mind.—Take, for example, the sound of thunder.—Nothing, perhaps, in the whole range of nature, is more strikingly and universally sublime; yet it seems obvious, that the sublimity is produced, not by any quality that is perceived by the ear, but altogether by the impression of Power and of Danger that is necessarily made upon the mind, whenever that sound is heard. That it is not produced by any peculiarity in the sound itself, is certain, from the mistakes that are frequently made with regard to it. The noise of a cart rattling over the stones, is often mistaken for thunder; and as long as the mistake lasts, this very vulgar and insignificant noise is actually felt to be prodigiously sublime. It is so felt, because it is then associated with ideas of prodigious power and undefined danger;—and the sublimity is destroyed, the moment the association is dissolved, though the sound itself, and its effect on the organ, continue exactly the same. This, therefore, is an instance, in which sublimity is distinctly proved to consist, not in any physical quality of the object to which it is ascribed, but in its necessary connexion with that vast and uncontrouled Power which is the natural object of awe and veneration.

We may now take an example a little less plain and elementary. The most beautiful object in nature, perhaps, is the countenance of a young and beautiful woman;—and we are apt at first to imagine, that, independent of all associations, the forms and colours which it displays are, in themselves, lovely and engaging, and would appear charming to all beholders, with whatever other qualities or impressions they might happen to be connected. A very little reflection, however, will probably be sufficient to convince us of the fallacy of this impression; and to satisfy us, that what we admire is not a combination of forms and colours, which could never excite any mental emotion, but a collection of signs and tokens of those feelings and affections, which are universally recognised as the proper objects of love and sympathy. Laying aside the emotions arising from difference of sex, and supposing female beauty to be contemplated by the pure and unenvying eye of a female, it seems quite obvious, that among its ingredients we should trace the signs of two different sets of qualities, that are neither of them the object of sight, but of a higher faculty;—in the first place, of youth and health; and in the second place, of innocence, gaiety, sensibility, intelligence, delicacy or vivacity. Now, without enlarging upon the natural effect of these suggestions, we shall just suppose that

that the appearances, which must be admitted at all events to be actually significant of the qualities we have enumerated, had been by the law of nature attached to the very opposite qualities;—that the smooth forehead, the firm cheek, and the full lip, which are now so distinctly expressive to us of the gay and vigorous periods of youth,—and the clear and blooming complexion, which indicates health and agility, had been in fact the forms and colours by which old age and sickness were characterized; and that, instead of being found united to those sources and seasons of enjoyment, they had been the badges by which nature pointed out that state of suffering and decay which is now signified to us by the livid and emaciated face of sickness, or the wrinkled front, the quivering lip, and hollow cheek of age;—If this were the familiar law of our nature, can it be doubted that we should look upon these appearances, not with rapture, but with aversion,—and consider it as absolutely ludicrous or disgusting, to speak of the beauty of what was interpreted by every one as the lamented sign of pain and decrepitude?

Such, we conceive, would be the inevitable effect of dissolving the subsisting connexion between the animating ideas of hope and enjoyment, and those visible appearances which are now significant of those emotions, and derive their whole beauty from that signification. But the effect would be still stronger, if we could suppose the *moral* expression of those appearances to be reversed in the same manner. If the smile, which now enchants us, as the expression of innocence and affection, were the sign attached by nature to guilt and malignity,—if the blush which expresses delicacy, and the glance that speaks intelligence, vivacity and softness, had always been found united with brutal passion or idiot moodiness; is it not certain, that the whole of their beauty would be extinguished, and that our emotions from the sight of them would be exactly the reverse of what they now are?

This, we think, no idolater of beauty will be hardy enough to deny: But our natural prejudices still cling to us; and, while we are forced to admit, that the countenance which we now think most lovely, would cease entirely to please, if the qualities which constituted its beauty were significant of nothing but painful feelings and hateful dispositions, we are apt to fancy, that, though disagreeable, it might still be thought beautiful,—and be regarded, as we now regard many a beautiful face, which we know to indicate neither innocence, intelligence, nor gentleness. It is proper, therefore, that we should endeavour to explain this seeming anomaly, of admitted beauty where there is no expression of any amiable or attractive emotion.

There

There are three considerations that may serve to remove the difficulty. In the first place, it should be remembered, that our impression of the beauty of the human countenance, is derived from an habitual recollection of the interesting or amiable qualities of which it is *generally* found to be the sign; and this impression, being formed from experience of what is really the case in the far greater number of instances, cannot be entirely effaced by our conviction, that, in a particular instance, the sign has been disjoined from the thing signified. This discovery, indeed, is always accompanied by a feeling of pain and disappointment; but this will often be found to mingle with the pleasing expectations to which it has succeeded, and to constitute a compound emotion, which is far from being purely disagreeable—like the mixed feelings of respect, sorrow and indignation, with which we look upon a polluted sanctuary. In the second place, there is almost always, in these cases, the expression of youth and health; an expression, in itself, indelibly pleasing, and which does not always become less interesting for the contrasts which guilt or misery may occasionally throw over the hopes and joys of which it is naturally significant. In the last place, it is necessary to remember, that the female form is to men the object of a passion which is satisfied with the attributes of youth and health,—which has little relation to the finer elements of beauty, and is naturally gratified, both by the existence and the indications of feelings that are allowed to be guilty and degrading. This passion however is, in the progress of society, so intimately blended with higher and purer feelings, that its influence has given a colouring to the general language on the subject of female beauty, and sanctioned the application of that name to qualities, which could never have obtained it upon any other principle. The operation, indeed, of this disturbing force has given a very perplexing bias to all our conceptions of human beauty, and has sensibly affected the speculations of several ingenious inquirers into the nature of beauty in general, at the same time that it has made it somewhat difficult and embarrassing to point out the particular sources of their errors. The same general principle will serve to account for the other anomaly, of countenances that express intelligence and goodness, without admitting of being called beautiful. Where youth and health are not wanting in such cases, it will commonly be found, that there are evident traces of some physical imperfection or disaster, connected with the revolting ideas of suffering and pain, and in some measure weakening or disturbing the expression of the more pleasing qualities. Without venturing farther, however, upon this dangerous ground,

ground, we think we have said nearly enough to satisfy our attentive readers, that the beauty of the human countenance is derived chiefly from suggesting to us conceptions of human feelings and dispositions; and that our emotions are not excited by a mere assemblage of colours and waving lines, but by the legible characters of hope and joy—of innocence, sensibility and kindness, which form the proper objects of our love, and the most delightful occasions of our sympathy.

That the beauty of a living and sentient creature should depend, in a great degree, upon qualities peculiar to such a creature, rather than upon the mere physical attributes which it may possess in common with the inert matter around it, cannot indeed appear a very improbable supposition to any one. But it may be more difficult for some persons to understand how the beauty of mere dead matter should be derived from the feelings and sympathies of sentient beings. It is absolutely necessary, therefore, that we should give an instance or two of this derivation.

It is easy enough to understand how the sight of a picture or statue should affect us nearly in the same way as the sight of the original: nor is it much more difficult to conceive, how the sight of a cottage should give us something of the same feeling as the sight of a peasant's family; and the aspect of a town raise many of the same ideas as the appearance of a multitude of persons. We may begin, therefore, with an example a little more complicated. Take, for instance, the case of a common English landscape—green meadows with fat cattle—canals or navigable rivers—well fenced, well cultivated fields—neat, clean, scattered cottages—humble antique church, with churchyard elms, and crossing hedge-rows—all seen under bright skies, and in good weather:—There is much beauty, as every one will acknowledge, in such a scene. But in what does the beauty consist? Not certainly in the mere mixture of colours and forms; for colours more pleasing, and lines more graceful, (according to any theory of grace that may be preferred), might be spread upon a board, or a painter's pallet, without engaging the eye to a second glance, or raising the least emotion in the mind;—but, in the picture of human happiness that is presented to our imaginations and affections,—in the visible and unequivocal signs of comfort, and cheerful and peaceful enjoyment,—and of that secure and successful industry that ensures its continuance,—and of the piety by which it is exalted,—and of the simplicity by which it is contrasted with the guilt and the fever of a city life;—in the images of health and temperance and plenty which it exhibits to every eye,—and in the glimpses which it affords

to

to warmer imaginations, of those primitive or fabulous times, when man was uncorrupted by luxury and ambition, and of those humble retreats in which we still delight to imagine that love and philosophy may find an unpolluted asylum. At all events, however, it is human feeling that excites our sympathy, and forms the object of our emotions. It is man, and man alone, that we see in the beauties of the earth which he inhabits;—or, if a more sensitive and extended sympathy connect us with the lower families of animated nature, and make us rejoice with the lambs that bleat on the uplands, or the cattle that ruminate in the valley, or even with the living plants that drink the bright sun and the balmy air beside them, it is still the idea of enjoyment—of feelings that animate the existence of sentient beings—that calls forth all our emotions, and is the parent of all the beauty with which we proceed to invest the inanimate creation around us.

Instead of this quiet and tame *English* landscape, let us now take a Welch or a Highland scene; and see whether its beauties will admit of being explained on the same principle. Here, we shall have lofty mountains, and rocky and lonely recesses,—tufted woods hung over precipices,—lakes intersected with castled promontories,—ample solitudes of unploughed and untrodden valleys,—nameless and gigantic ruins,—and mountain echoes repeating the scream of the eagle and the roar of the cataract. This, too, is beautiful;—and, to those who can interpret the language it speaks, far more beautiful than the prosperous scene with which we have contrasted it. Yet, lonely as it is, it is to the recollection of man and of human feelings that its beauty also is owing. The mere forms and colours that compose its visible appearance, are no more capable of exciting any emotion in the mind, than the forms and colours of a Turkey carpet. It is sympathy with the present or the past, or the imaginary *inhabitants* of such a region, that alone gives it either interest or beauty; and the delight of those who behold it, will always be found to be in exact proportion to the force of their imaginations, and the warmth of their social affections. The leading impressions, here, are those of romantic seclusion, and primeval simplicity;—lovers sequestered in these blissful solitudes, 'from towns and toils remote,'—and rustic poets and philosophers communing with nature, at a distance from the low pursuits and selfish malignity of ordinary mortals;—then there is the sublime impression of the Mighty Power which piled the massive cliffs upon each other, and rent the mountains asunder, and scattered their giant fragments at their base;—and all the images connected with the monuments of antient magnificence and

and extinguished hostility,—the feuds, and the combats, and the triumphs of its wild and primitive inhabitants, contrasted with the stillness and desolation of the scenes where they lye interred;—and the romantic ideas attached to their antient traditions, and the peculiarities of their present life,—their wild and enthusiastic poetry,—their gloomy superstitions,—their attachment to their chiefs,—the dangers, and the hardships and enjoyments of their lonely huntings and fishings,—their pastoral shielings on the mountains in summer,—and the tales and the sports that amuse the little groupes that are frozen into their vast and trackless valleys in the winter. Add to all this, the traces of vast and obscure antiquity that are impressed on the language and the habits of the people, and on the cliffs and caves and gulfy torrents of the land; and the solemn and touching reflection, perpetually recurring, of the weakness and insignificance of perishable man, whose generations thus pass away into oblivion, with all their toils and ambition, while Nature holds on her unvarying course, and pours out her streams, and renews her forests, with undecaying activity, regardless of the fate of her proud and perishable sovereign.

We set all this down at random, from the vague and casual recollection of the impressions we have ourselves received from this sort of scenery;—by no means as an exact transcript of the images and feelings which it must excite in all beholders, but merely as a specimen of the manner in which it operates on the heart and imagination, and of the nature of that connexion which is established between our natural sympathies and the visible peculiarities of our mountain landscape. The truth is, that there is an endless variety in the trains of thought to which this kind of scenery is calculated to give rise; and that it differs essentially, in this respect, from the scenery of a more cultivated region, where there is scarcely any very decided expression, but that of comfort and tranquillity. To make amends, however, it must be admitted, that this last expression is much more clear and obvious to beholders of every degree and description. There is scarcely any one who does not feel and understand the beauty of smiling fields and comfortable cottages; but the beauty of lakes and mountains is not so universally distinguishable. It requires some knowledge of our species,—some habits of reflection,—some play of fancy,—some exercise of affection, to interpret the lofty characters in which Nature here speaks to the heart and the imagination; and reflects, from the broken aspects of the desert, the most powerful images of the feelings and the fortunes of man. Though it has been the fashion, therefore, for all recent travellers to affect a prodigious admiration

for these *picturesque* regions, we cannot help suspecting, that their beauty has been truly felt by a very small number; and were exceedingly delighted by the frank confession of two Cockney tourists, who lately published an account of their expedition to the Scottish Highlands; in which they fairly state, that they could discover no beauty in our naked mountains and dreary lakes; and were astonished how any intelligent person could voluntarily pass his time in the 'cold and laborious' pastimes which they afforded, when he might have devoted it to 'the gay vivacity of plays, operas, and polite assemblies.' They accordingly post back to London as fast as possible; and after yawning, in a sort of disconsolate terror, along the banks of Lochlomond, enlarge, with much animation, on the beauty and grandeur—of Finsbury Square!

We have said enough, we believe, to let our readers understand what we mean by external objects being the natural signs or concomitants of human sympathies or emotions. Yet we cannot lift up our eyes, in this delightful season, without being tempted to add one other illustration, and to ask, on what other principle we can account for the beauty of Spring? Winter has shades as deep, and colours as brilliant; and the great forms of nature are substantially the same through all the revolutions of the year. We shall seek in vain, therefore, in the accidents of mere organic matter, for the sources of that 'vernal delight and joy,' which subject all finer spirits to an annual intoxication, and strike home the sense of beauty even to hearts that seem proof against it under all other aspects. And it is not among the Dead, but among the Living, that this beauty originates. It is the renovation of life and of joy to all animated beings, that constitutes this great jubilee of nature;—the young of animals bursting into existence,—the simple and universal pleasures which are diffused by the mere temperature of the air, and the profusion of sustenance,—the pairing of birds,—the cheerful resumption of rustic toils,—the great alleviation of all the miseries of poverty and sickness,—our sympathy with the young life, and the promise and the hazards of the vegetable creation,—the solemn, yet cheering, impression of the constancy of Nature to her great periods of renovation,—and the hopes that dart spontaneously forward into the new circle of exertions and enjoyments that is opened up by her hand and her example. Such are some of the conceptions that are forced upon us by the appearances of returning Spring; and that seem to account for the emotions of delight with which these appearances are hailed, by every mind endowed with any degree of sensibility, somewhat better than the brightness of the

the colours, or the agreeableness of the smells that are then presented to our senses.

They are kindred conceptions that constitute all the beauty of Childhood. The forms and colours that are peculiar to that age, are not necessarily or absolutely beautiful in themselves; for, in a grown person, the same forms and colours would be either ludicrous or disgusting. It is their indestructible connexion with the engaging ideas of innocence,—of careless gaiety,—of unsuspecting confidence;—made still more tender and attractive by the recollection of helplessness, and blameless and happy ignorance,—of the anxious affection that watches over all their ways,—and of the hopes and fears that seek to pierce futurity, for those who have neither fears nor cares nor anxieties for themselves.

These few illustrations will probably be sufficient to give our readers a general conception of the character and the grounds of that theory of beauty which we think is established in the work before us. They are all examples, it will be observed, of the *first* and most important connexion which we think may be established between external objects and the sentiments or emotions of the mind; or cases, in which the visible phenomena are the natural and universal accompaniments of the emotion, and are consequently capable of reviving that emotion, in some degree, in the breast of every beholder. If the tenor of those illustrations has been such as to make any impression in favour of the general theory, we conceive that it must be very greatly confirmed by the slightest consideration of the *second* class of cases, or those in which the external object is not the natural and necessary, but only the occasional or accidental concomitant of the emotion which it recals. In the former instances, some conception of beauty seems to be inseparable from the appearance of the objects; and being impressed, in some degree, upon all persons to whom they are presented, there is evidently room for insinuating that it is an independent and intrinsic quality of their nature, and does not arise from association with any thing else. In the instances, however, to which we are now to allude, this perception of beauty is not universal, but entirely dependent upon the opportunities which each individual has had to associate ideas of emotion with the object to which it is ascribed;—the same thing appearing beautiful to those who have been exposed to the influence of such associations, and indifferent to those who have not. It is not easy, therefore, to conceive any more complete evidence, both that there is no such thing as absolute or intrinsic beauty, and that

it depends altogether on those associations with which it is thus found to come and to disappear.

The accidental or arbitrary relations that may thus be established between natural sympathies or emotions, and external objects, may be either such as occur to whole classes of men, or are confined to particular individuals. Among the former, those that apply to different nations or races of men, are the most important and remarkable; and constitute the basis of those peculiarities by which National tastes are distinguished. Take, again, for example, the instance of female beauty,—and think what different and inconsistent standards would be fixed for it in the different regions of the world;—in Africa, in Asia, and in Europe;—in Tartary and in Greece;—in Lapland, Patagonia and Circassia. If there was any thing absolutely or intrinsically beautiful, in any of the forms thus distinguished, it is inconceivable that men should differ so outrageously in their conceptions of it: If beauty were a real and independent quality, it seems impossible that it should be distinctly and clearly felt by one set of persons, where another set, altogether as sensitive, could see nothing but its opposite; and if it were actually and inseparably attached to certain forms, colours or proportions, it must appear utterly inexplicable that it should be felt and perceived in the most opposite forms and proportion, in objects of the same description. On the other hand, if all beauty consist in reminding us of certain natural sympathies and objects of emotion, with which they have been habitually connected, it is easy to perceive how the most different forms should be felt to be equally beautiful. If female beauty, for instance, consist in the visible signs and expressions of youth and health, and of gentleness, vivacity and kindness; then it will necessarily happen, that the forms, and colours and proportions which nature may have connected with those qualities, in the different climates or regions of the world, will all appear equally beautiful to those who have been accustomed to recognise them as the signs of such qualities; while they will be respectively indifferent to those who have not learned to interpret them in this sense, and displeasing to those whom experience has led to consider them as the signs of opposite qualities. The case is the same, though perhaps to a smaller degree, as to the peculiarity of national taste in other particulars. The style of dress and architecture in every nation, if not adopted from mere want of skill, or penury of materials, always appears beautiful to the natives, and somewhat monstrous and absurd to foreigners;—and the general character and aspect of their landscape, in like manner, if not associated with substantial evils and inconveniences, always appears more beautiful and enchanting than the scenery of

any

any other region. The fact is still more striking, perhaps, in the case of Music;—in the effects of those national airs, with which even the most uncultivated imaginations have connected so many interesting recollections; and in the delight with which all persons of sensibility catch the strains of their native melodies in strange or in distant lands. It is owing chiefly to the same sort of arbitrary and national association, that white is thought a gay colour in Europe, where it is used at weddings,—and a dismal colour in China, where it is used for mourning;—that we think yew-trees gloomy, because they are planted in churchyards,—and large masses of powdered horsehair majestic, because we see them on the heads of Chancellors and Judges.

Next to those curious instances of arbitrary or limited associations that are exemplified in the diversities of national taste, are those that are produced by the differences of instruction or Education. If external objects were sublime or beautiful in themselves, it is plain, that they would appear equally so to those who were acquainted with their origin, and to those to whom it was unknown. Yet it is not easy, perhaps, to calculate the degree to which our notions of beauty and sublimity are now influenced, over all Europe, by the study of classical literature; or the number of impressions of this sort which the well-educated consequently receive, from objects that are utterly indifferent to uninstructed persons of the same natural sensibility. We gladly avail ourselves, upon this subject, of the beautiful expressions of Mr Alison.

'The delight which most men of education receive from the consideration of antiquity, and the beauty that they discover in every object which is connected with ancient times, is in a great measure to be ascribed to the same cause. The antiquarian, in his cabinet, surrounded by the relics of former ages, seems to himself to be removed to periods that are long since past, and indulges in the imagination of living in a world, which, by a very natural kind of prejudice, we are always willing to believe was both wiser and better than the present. All that is venerable or laudable in the history of these times, present themselves to his memory. The gallantry, the heroism, the patriotism of antiquity, rise again before his view, softened by the obscurity in which they are involved, and rendered more seducing to the imagination by that obscurity itself, which, while it mingles a sentiment of regret amid his pursuits, serves at the same time to stimulate his fancy to fill up, by its own creation, those long intervals of time of which history has preserved no record. The relics he contemplates, seem to approach him still nearer to the ages of his regard. The dress, the furniture, the arms of the times, are so many assistances to his imagination, in guiding or directing its

exercise; and, offering him a thousand sources of imagery, provide him with an almost inexhaustible field in which his memory and his fancy may expatiate. There are few men who have not felt somewhat, at least, of the delight of such an employment. There is no man in the least acquainted with the history of antiquity, who does not love to let his imagination loose on the prospect of its remains, and to whom they are not in some measure sacred, from the innumerable images which they bring. Even the peasant, whose knowledge of former times extends but to a few generations, has yet in his village some monument of the deeds or virtues of his forefathers; and cherishes, with a fond veneration, the memorial of those good old times to which his imagination returns with delight, and of which he loves to recount the simple tales that tradition has brought him.

'And what is it that constitutes that emotion of sublime delight, which every man of common sensibility feels upon the first prospect of Rome? It is not the scene of destruction which is before him. It is not the Tiber, diminished in his imagination to a paltry stream, flowing amid the ruins of that magnificence which it once adorned. It is not the triumph of superstition over the wreck of human greatness, and its monuments erected upon the very spot where the first honours of humanity have been gained. It is ancient Rome which fills his imagination. It is the country of Cæsar, and Cicero, and Virgil, which is before him. It is the mistress of the world which he sees, and who seems to him to rise again from her tomb, to give laws to the universe. All that the labours of his youth, or the studies of his maturer age have acquired, with regard to the history of this great people, open at once before his imagination, and present him with a field of high and solemn imagery, which can never be exhausted. Take from him these associations,—conceal from him that it is Rome that he sees; and how different would be his emotion!' I. 39—42.

The influences of the same studies may be traced, indeed, through almost all our impressions of beauty,—and especially in the feelings which we receive from the contemplation of rural scenery; where the images and recollections which have been associated with such objects, in the enchanting strains of the poets, are perpetually recalled by their appearance, and give an interest and a beauty to the prospect, of which the uninstructed cannot have the slightest perception. Upon this subject, also, Mr Alison has expressed himself with his usual warmth and elegance. After observing, that, in childhood, the beauties of nature have scarcely any existence for those who have as yet but little general sympathy with mankind, he proceeds to state, that they are usually first recommended to notice by the poets, to whom we are introduced in the course of education; and who, in a manner, create them

for us, by the associations which they enable us to form with their visible appearance.

'How different, from this period, become the sentiments with which the scenery of nature is contemplated, by those who have any imagination! The beautiful forms of ancient mythology, with which the fancy of poets peopled every element, are now ready to appear to their minds, upon the prospect of every scene. The descriptions of ancient authors, so long admired, and so deserving of admiration, occur to them at every moment, and with them, all those enthusiastic ideas of ancient genius and glory, which the study of so many years of youth so naturally leads them to form. Or, if the study of modern poetry has succeeded to that of the ancient, a thousand other beautiful associations are acquired, which, instead of destroying, serve easily to unite with the former, and to afford a new source of delight. The awful forms of Gothic superstition, the wild and romantic imagery, which the turbulence of the middle ages, the Crusades, and the institution of Chivalry have spread over every country of Europe, arise to the imagination in every scene; accompanied with all those pleasing recollections of prowess, and adventure, and courteous manners, which distinguished those memorable times. With such images in their minds, it is not common nature that appears to surround them. It is nature embellished and made sacred by the memory of Theocritus and Virgil, and Milton and Tasso; their genius seems still to linger among the scenes which inspired it, and to irradiate every object where it dwells; and the creation of their fancy seem the fit inhabitants of that nature, which their descriptions have clothed with beauty.' I. 64, 65.

It is needless, for the purpose of mere illustration, to pursue this subject of arbitrary or accidental association through all the divisions of which it is susceptible; and indeed the task would be endless; since there is scarcely any class in society which could not be shown to have peculiar associations of interest and emotion with objects which are not so connected in the minds of any other class. The young and the old—the rich and the poor—the artist and the man of science—the inhabitant of the city and the inhabitant of the country—the man of business and the man of pleasure—the domestic and the dissipated,—nay, even the followers of almost every different study or profession, have perceptions of beauty, because they have associations with external objects, that are peculiar to themselves, and have no existence for any other persons. But, though the detail of such instances could not fail to show, in the clearest and most convincing manner, how directly the notion of beauty is derived from some more radical and familiar emotion, and how many and various are the channels by which such emotions are transmitted, enough, and more than enough, has been already said, to put our readers in possession of the principles and general

bearings of an argument which we must not think of exhausting.

Even the little, however, which has now been said on the subject of associations, which, though not universal, are common to whole classes of persons, will make it unnecessary to enlarge on those that are peculiar to each individual. It is almost enough, indeed, to transcribe the following short passage from Mr Alison.

'There is no man, who has not some interesting associations with particular scenes, or airs, or books, and who does not feel their beauty or sublimity enhanced to him by such connexions. The view of the house where one was born, of the school were one was educated, and where the gay years of infancy were passed, is indifferent to no man. They recal so many images of past happiness and past affections, they are connected with so many strong or valued emotions, and lead altogether to so long a train of feelings and recollections, that there is hardly any scene which one ever beholds with so much rapture. There are songs also, that we have heard in our infancy, which, when brought to our remembrance in after years, raise emotions for which we cannot well account; and which, though perhaps very indifferent in themselves, still continue from this association, and from the variety of conceptions which they kindle in our minds, to be our favourites through life. The scenes which have been distinguished by the residence of any person, whose memory we admire, produce a similar effect. 'Movemur enim, nescio quo pacto, locis ipsis, in quibus eorum, quos diligimus, aut admiramur adsunt vestigia.' The scenes themselves may be little beautiful; but the delight with which we recollect the traces of their lives, blends itself insensibly with the emotions which the scenery excites; and the admiration which these recollections afford, seems to give a kind of sanctity to the place where they dwelt, and converts every thing into beauty which appears to have been connected with them.' I. 23-25.

There are similar impressions,—as to the sort of scenery to which we have been long accustomed,—as to the style of personal beauty by which we were first enchanted,—and even as to the dialect, or the form of versification which we first begun to admire, that bestow a secret and adventitious charm upon all these objects, and enable us to discover in them a beauty which is invisible, because it is non-existent to every other eye.

In all the cases we have hitherto considered, the external object is supposed to have acquired its beauty, by being actually connected with the causes of our natural emotions, either as a sign of their existence, or as being locally present to their ordinary occasions. There is a relation, however, of another kind, to which it is necessary to attend, both to elucidate the general grounds of the theory, and to explain several appearances that might

might otherwise expose it to objections. This is the relation which external objects may bear to our internal feelings, and the power they may consequently acquire of suggesting them, in consequence of a sort of resemblance or analogy which they seem to have to their natural and appropriate objects. The language of poetry is founded, in a great degree, upon this analogy; and all language indeed is full of it; and attests, by its structure, both the extent to which it is spontaneously pursued, and the effects that are produced by its suggestion. We take a familiar instance from the elegant writer before us.

'What, for instance, is the impression we feel from the scenery of spring? The soft and gentle green with which the earth is spread, the feeble texture of the plants and flowers, the young of animals just entering into life, and the remains of winter yet lingering among the woods and hills,—all conspire to infuse into our minds somewhat of that fearful tenderness with which infancy is usually beheld. With such a sentiment, how innumerable are the ideas which present themselves to our imagination! ideas, it is apparent, by no means confined to the scene before our eyes, or to the possible desolation which may yet await its infant beauty, but which almost involuntarily extend themselves to analogies with the life of man, and bring before us all those images of hope or fear, which, according to our peculiar situations, have the dominion of our hearts!—The beauty of autumn is accompanied with a similar exercise of thought: The leaves begin then to drop from the trees; the flowers and shrubs, with which the fields were adorned in the summer months, decay; the woods and groves are silent; the sun himself seems gradually to withdraw his light, or to become enfeebled in his power. Who is there, who, at this season, does not feel his mind impressed with a sentiment of melancholy? or who is able to resist that current of thought, which, from such appearances of decay, so naturally leads him to the solemn imagination of that inevitable fate, which is to bring on alike the decay of life, of empire, and of nature itself?' I. 16, 17.

A thousand such analogies, indeed, are suggested to us by the most familiar aspects of nature. The morning and the evening present the same ready picture of youth and of closing life, as the various vicissitudes of the year. The withering of flowers images out to us the languor of beauty, or the sickness of childhood. The loud roar of troubled waters seems to bear some resemblance to the voice of lamentation or violence; and the softer murmur of brighter streams, to be expressive of cheerfulness and innocence. The purity and transparency of water or of air, indeed, is itself felt to be expressive of mental purity and gayety; and their darkness or turbulence, of mental gloom and dejection. All fine and delicate forms are typical of delicacy and gentleness of character; and almost all forms, bound-

ed by waving or flowing lines, suggest ideas of ease, pliability, and elegance. Rapid and impetuous motion seems to be emblematical of violence and passion;—slow and steady motion of deliberation, dignity and resolution;—fluttering motion, of inconstancy or terror;—and waving motion, according as it is slow or swift, of sadness or playfulness. A large and massive building gives us the idea of firmness and constancy of character;—a rock battered by the waves, of fortitude in adversity. Stillness and calmness in the water or the air, seem to shadow out tenderness, indolence and placidity;—moonlight we call pensive and gentle;—and the unclouded sun gives us an impression of exulting vigour, and domineering ambition and glory.

It is not difficult, with the assistance which language affords us, to trace the origin of all these, and a thousand other associations. In many instances, the qualities which thus suggest mental emotions, do actually resemble their constant concomitants in human nature, as is obviously the case with the forms and motions which are sublime or beautiful; and, in some, their effects and relations bear so obvious an analogy to those of human conduct or feeling, as to force itself upon the notice of the most careless beholder. But, whatever may have been their original, the very structure of language attests the vast extent to which they have been carried, and the nature of the suggestions to which they are indebted for their interest or beauty. It is very remarkable, indeed, that, while almost all the words by which the affections of the mind are expressed, seem to have been borrowed originally from the qualities of matter, the epithets by which we learn afterwards to distinguish such material objects as are felt to be sublime or beautiful, are all of them epithets that had been previously appropriated to express some quality or emotion of mind. Colours are said to be gay or grave—motions to be lively, or deliberate, or capricious—forms to be delicate or modest—sounds to be animated or mournful—prospects to be cheerful or melancholy—rocks to be bold—waters to be tranquil—and a thousand other phrases of the same import; all indicating, most unequivocally, the sources from which our interest in matter is derived, and proving, that it is necessary, in all cases, to confer mind and feeling upon it, before it can be conceived as either sublime or beautiful. The great charm, indeed, and the great secret of poetical diction, consists in thus lending life and emotion to all the objects it embraces; and the enchanting beauty which we sometimes recognize in descriptions of very ordinary phenomena, will be found to arise from the force of imagination, by which the poet has connected with human emotions, a variety of objects, to which common minds could not discover their relation. What the

poet does for his readers, however, by his original similes and metaphors in these higher cases, even the dullest of these readers do, in some degree, every day, for themselves; and the beauty which is perceived, when natural objects are unexpectedly vivified by the glowing fancy of the former, is precisely of the same kind that is felt when the closeness of the analogy enables them to force human feelings upon the recollection of all mankind. As the poet sees more of beauty in nature than ordinary mortals, just because he perceives more of these analogies and relations to social emotion, in which all beauty consists; so, other men see more or less of this beauty, exactly as they happen to possess that fancy, or those habits, which enable them readily to trace out these relations.

From all these sources of evidence, then, we think it is pretty well made out, that the beauty or sublimity of external objects is nothing but the reflection of emotions excited by the feelings or condition of sentient beings; and is produced altogether by certain little portions, as it were, of love, joy, pity, veneration or terror, that adhere to those objects that are present on occasion of such emotions.—Nor, after what we have already said, does it seem to be necessary to reply to more than one of the objections to which we are aware that this theory is liable.—If beauty be nothing more than a reflection of love, pity or veneration, how comes it, it may be asked, to be distinguished from these sentiments? They are never confounded with each other, either in our feelings or our language:—Why, then, should they all be confounded under the common name of beauty? and why should beauty, in all cases, affect us in a way so different from the love or compassion of which it is said to be merely the reflection?

Now, to these questions, we are somewhat tempted to answer, after the manner of our country, by asking, in our turn, whether it be really true, that beauty always affects us in one and the same manner, and always in a different manner from the simple and elementary affections which it is its office to recal to us? In very many cases, it appears to us, that the sensations which we receive from objects that are felt to be beautiful, and that in the highest degree, do not differ at all from the direct movements of tenderness or pity towards sentient beings. If the epithet of beauty be correctly (as it is universally) applied to many of the most admired and enchanting passages in poetry, which consist entirely in the expression of affecting sentiments, the question would be speedily decided; and it is a fact, at all events, too remarkable to be omitted, that some of the most powerful and delightful emotions that are uniformly classed under this name, arise altogether from the

the direct influence of these pathetic emotions, without the intervention of any material imagery. We do not wish, however, to dwell upon an argument, which certainly is not applicable to all parts of the question; and, admitting that, on many occasions, the feelings which we experience from beauty, are sensibly different from the primary emotions in which we think they originate, we shall endeavour, in a very few words, to give an explanation of this difference, which seems to be perfectly consistent with the theory we have undertaken to illustrate.

In the first place, it should make some difference on the primary affections to which we have alluded, that, in the cases alluded to, they are *reflected* from material objects, and not directly excited by their natural causes. The light of the moon has a very different complexion from that of the sun; and yet it is in substance the sun's light. In the next place, the emotion, when suggested in the shape of beauty, comes upon us, for the most part, disencumbered of all those accompaniments which frequently give it a peculiar and less satisfactory character, when it arises from direct intercourse with its living objects. The compassion that is suggested by beauty of a gentle and winning description, is not attended with any of that disgust and uneasiness which frequently accompany the spectacle of real distress; nor with that importunate suggestion of the duty of relieving it, from which it is almost inseparable. Nor does the temporary delight which we receive from beauty of a gay and animating character, call upon us for any such expenditure of spirits, or active demonstrations of sympathy, as are sometimes demanded by the turbulence of real joy. In the third place, the emotion of beauty being partly founded upon illusion, is far more transitory in its own nature, and is both more apt to fluctuate and vary in its character, and more capable of being dismissed at pleasure, than any of the primary affections, whose shadow and representative it is. In the fourth place, and this is the circumstance most relied on by Mr Alison, the perception of beauty implies a certain exercise of the imagination that is not required in the case of direct emotion, and is sufficient, of itself, both to give a new character to every emotion that is suggested by the intervention of such an exercise, and to account for our classing all the various emotions that are so suggested under the same denomination of Beauty. When we are injured, we feel indignation,—when we are wounded, we feel pain,—when we see suffering, we feel compassion,—and when we witness any splendid act of heroism or generosity, we feel admiration—without any effort of the imagination, or the intervention of any picture or vision

sion in the mind. But when we feel indignation, or pity, or admiration, in consequence of seeing some piece of inanimate matter that merely suggests or recals to us the ordinary causes or proper objects of these emotions, it is evident that our fancy is set to work, and that the effect is produced by means of a certain poetical creation, or a train of images and conceptions that are conjured up in the mind. We draw out for our own contemplation, a long train of figures and combinations, which we dispose in such a way, as to produce the most lively effect on our feelings; and are employed, therefore, partly in composing and delineating this inward and ideal picture of the objects of our emotions, and partly only in receiving the emotions which it excites. It is this active and heated state of the imagination, and this divided and busy occupation of the mind, that constitute the great peculiarity of the emotions we experience from the perception of beauty.

Finally, we think it of importance to observe, that this peculiarity is further strengthened by the great variety, and, as it were, lubricity of the pictures and emotions which are excited by the most common instances of beauty: When we experience any emotion directly, there is no choice, and no doubt in the matter. When we see wrong, we feel indignation; and when joy or sorrow are placed before us, we receive the sympathetic infection. We cannot avoid being moved in the way in which we are moved; and though we may make short excursions into the border land of imagination, we feel nothing either strongly or distinctly, but the unvarying reality before us. The case, however, is remarkably different, when we have nothing before us but objects that are merely connected with ideas of sorrow or enjoyment, and capable, in consequence, of suggesting these emotions. Here, there is, in the first place, no necessity or certainty that the emotion will be suggested at all; and, in the second place, no definite or particular image or tablature in which it is to be embodied. All that we have, is a general and vague impression of a particular class of emotions, and an undefined sort of consciousness of the capability of the objects before us to suggest trains of ideas well fitted to give them scope. The objects themselves, however, do very rarely prescribe the precise nature of these ideas; and, while an immense multitude of loose analogies and kindred recollections roll dimly over the mind, we are left to form them into such groupes and combinations as we ourselves may select; and are tempted every moment to change the form of our cloudy creation, and to wander from one set of images and impressions to another. Even when we look upon a single form of beauty—upon an antient statue for example, or a Gothic turret—we are apt to experience

perience this fluctuation of the imagination,—this unsteadiness and perpetual shifting in the particular objects of emotion, and to feel that there is nothing that is peculiarly appropriate to the form before us; and that the fancy wavers among an indistinct crowd of equal competitors. This, however, is still more remarkably the case, when the beauty that enchants us is of a more compound and complicated nature, and consists, as in the case of a fine landscape, of a great variety of parts and features, each of which may possess a peculiar character or shade of expression.

Take, for example, the scenery so beautifully, and yet imperfectly, described by Mr Scott, on the borders of Loch-Katrine. The images which it is calculated to suggest, will agree, perhaps, in being ideas of seclusion—of a life set free from the restraints of the world, and hidden from its observation—of sympathy with the simple joys and animating toils of its natives—and of awe and veneration for the Power which has left the traces of its might on the cliffs and mountains: but the particular train of images, by the help of which those general impressions may be moulded into distinct objects of emotion, is evidently altogether loose and undetermined, and must depend upon the taste, dispositions, and information of every different beholder. Thus, Fitz-James, with a due attention to his joyous and social character, is made to fill up the outline, by planting an ideal castle, filled with hunters and fair ladies, on the steep,—and an abbey of jolly ecclesiastics on the meadow,—and by rousing the mountain echoes with the hunting-horn and the matin bell and chant:—While Rousseau, in describing a kindred scene, displays in a manner much more characteristic, the romantic tenderness of his fancy, when he says, that it seemed like an asylum which Nature had spared for two faithful lovers, escaped alone from the ruin and desolation of the universe.—To a mind familiar with the imagery of Celtic poetry, the same scene, it is obvious, might have presented a vision of white-armed virgin archers, and gray-haired bards, and warriors arming to redress the wrongs of damsels:—while, to a wilder or more gloomy fancy, it might have disclosed a picture of moonlight fairies and goblins;—or dens of ambushed banditti,—or the onset of revengeful clans, and the trimuphs of patriarchal chieftains. There is no limit, indeed, to the varieties of human interest that may be suggested to a powerful imagination by a scene so striking and so various; and we only multiply those coarse and unseemly sketches, in order to show how exclusively it is human interest, or at least feeling and sentiment of some sort, that is the ultimate object of all those emotions which it is the characteristic of beauty to excite. Even where the object is simple

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and ordinary, the emotion of beauty which it excites is generally quite vague and indeterminate. Few common objects, for example, are more beautiful than a column of smoke rising slowly above trees, in a calm sky—so common is it, indeed, that it very often gives us no emotion at all—but if it once strike us as beautiful, we may be certain that we have associated with it many ideas of human interest and feeling—many abortive little sketches of groupes and persons connected with such an appearance. Mr Wordsworth, we think, (for we quote from memory), has noticed and exemplified the pliability of this very image in a very striking manner. The smoke comes to his eye, he says,

'*With some uncertain notice*, as may seem,
Of houseless wanderers in the summer wood;
Or of some hermit's cell, where by his fire
The hermit sits alone.'

Cowper, we think, makes the same appearance significant of the encampment of gypsies, and all their picturesque establishment; and it is easy to see, that, to a creative fancy, it might suggest an infinite number of similar conceptions.

We have been betrayed into this long, and we fear tedious, detail, in order to show that the emotions which are suggested to us by the appearance of beauty, have seldom any fixed or determinate objects, as all emotions that are raised directly, and not by such suggestions, must necessarily have;—and that the objects which the imagination is stimulated to conceive, are apt to shift and fluctuate before us—in many cases extending into a long train or series of connected impressions, and, in others, presenting only dim and broken outlines, that fleet away in irregular succession. This peculiarity, we are inclined to think, joined to those that have been already noticed, is fully sufficient to account for the difference that is felt to exist between the emotions of beauty, and the more simple and original emotions into which we hold that the former may be resolved. The suggestions of beauty seem, in this respect, to bear the same analogy to the direct impression of our affections, that the expression of instrumental music does to that of poetry, or language in general. The most beautiful and expressive air that ever was invented, when played without words, communicates only a vague and indeterminate emotion to the mind; at the same time that it stimulates it to fill up the blank in the imagination with some scene or story corresponding to its general character. We may be able, for instance, to say with certainty that a particular air is pathetic and plaintive; but what particular sort of sorrow it expresses, is left for every hearer to imagine. To some, accordingly, it will impart a vision of mothers wailing over their dead children;

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and to others, of divided lovers, complaining of perfidy or fortune. To one, it will speak of the desolation of captive warriors; to another, of the moanings of secluded penitence: and this very vagueness and uncertainty, joined with the excitement of the imagination which it produces, give a compass and extent to its power of expression, that familiarly distinguish it, though founded on the very same feelings, from the fixed, and limited and precise expression of poetry. The case seems to be the same with visible beauty. The qualities in which it consists, are but another set of *characters* for communicating those emotions that are more clearly, but not always so forcibly expressed by the pen of the poet. They constitute a sort of hieroglyphics, or picture-writings, that express the emotion by means of the relations and analogies of things, and not by any contrivance of direct or conventional reference. They require, therefore, to be eked out by the fancy and the knowledge of the reader; and rather rouse the imagination to a discovery, than enlighten it by a revelation. Those characters and pictures, at the same time, are just as little the ultimate objects of emotion, as the letters and syllables of the poet. They are mere signs and instruments in both cases; and produce their effects on the mind, not by any relation which they themselves have to our feelings, but by suggesting to us, more or less directly, those emotions with which they have been associated.

What we have now said is enough, we believe, to give an attentive reader that general conception of the theory before us, which is all that we can hope to give in the narrow limits to which we are confined. It may be observed, however, that we have spoken only of those sorts of beauty that we think capable of being resolved into some passion, or emotion, or pretty lively sentiment of our nature; and though these are undoubtedly the highest and most decided kinds of beauty, it is certain, that there are many things called beautiful which cannot claim so lofty a connexion. It is necessary, therefore, to observe, that though every thing that excites any feeling worthy to be called an *emotion* by its beauty or sublimity, will be found to be related to the natural objects of human passions or affections, there are many things which are pleasing or agreeable enough to be called beautiful, in consequence of their relation merely to human convenience and comfort;—many others that please by suggesting ideas of human skill and ingenuity;—and many that obtain the name of beautiful, by being associated with human fortune, vanity or splendour. After what has been already said, it will not be necessary either to exemplify or explain these subordinate phenomena. It it is enough merely to suggest, that they all

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please upon the same great principle of sympathy with human feelings; and are explained by the simple and indisputable fact, that we are pleased with the direct contemplation of human comfort, ingenuity and fortune. All these, indeed, obviously resolve themselves into the great object of sympathy—human enjoyment. Convenience and comfort is but another name for a lower, but very indispensable ingredient of that emotion. Skill and ingenuity readily present themselves as means by which enjoyment may be promoted; and high fortune, and opulence and splendour, pass, at least at a distance, for its certain causes and attendants. The beauty of fitness and adaptation of parts, even in the works of nature, is derived from the same fountain,—partly by means of its obvious analogy to works of human skill, and partly by suggestions of that creative Power and Wisdom, to which human destiny is subjected. The feelings, therefore, associated with all those qualities, though scarcely rising to the height of emotion, are obviously in a certain degree pleasing or interesting; and, when several of them happen to be united in one object, may accumulate to a very great degree of beauty. It is needless, we think, to pursue these general propositions through all the details to which they so obviously lead. We shall confine ourselves, therefore, to a very few remarks upon the beauty of Architecture, and the beauty of Versification: both which, we think, are obviously of this description.

There are few things, about which men of *virtu* are more apt to rave, than the merits of the Grecian architecture; and most of those who affect an uncommon purity and delicacy of taste, talk of the intrinsic beauty of its proportions as a thing not to be disputed, except by barbarian ignorance and stupidity. Mr Alison, we think, was the first who gave a full and convincing refutation of this mysterious dogma; and, while he admits, in the most ample terms, the beauty of the objects in question, has shown, we think, in the clearest manner, that it arises entirely from the combination of the following associations:—1st, The association of utility, convenience, or fitness for the purposes of the building; 2d, Of security and stability, with a view to the nature of the materials; 3d, Of the skill and power requisite to mould such materials into forms so commodious; 4th, Of magnificence, and splendour, and expense; 5th, Of antiquity; and, 6thly, Of Roman and Grecian greatness. His observations are summed up in the following short sentence.

'The proportions,' he observes, 'of these orders, it is to be remembered, are distinct subjects of beauty, from the ornaments with which they are embellished, from the magnificence with which they are executed, from the purposes of elegance they are intended to serve, or the scenes of grandeur they are destined to adorn. It is in such scenes, however,

however, and with such additions, that we are accustomed to observe them; and, while we feel the effect of all these accidental associations, we are seldom willing to examine what are the causes of the complex emotion we feel, and readily attribute to the nature of the architecture itself, the whole pleasure which we enjoy. But, besides these, there are other associations we have with these forms, that still more powerfully serve to command our admiration: for they are the GRECIAN orders; they derive their origin from those times, and were the ornament of those countries which are most hallowed in our imaginations; and it is difficult for us to see them, even in their modern copies, without feeling them operate upon our minds as relics of those polished nations where they first arose, and of that greater people by whom they were afterwards borrowed.' II. 156, 157.

This analysis is to us perfectly satisfactory. But, indeed, we cannot conceive any more complete refutation of the notion of an intrinsic and inherent beauty in the proportions of the Grecian architecture, than the fact of the admitted beauty of such very opposite proportions in the Gothic. Opposite as they are, however, the great elements of beauty are the same in this style as in the other,—the impressions of religious awe and of chivalrous recollections coming in place of the classical associations which constitute so great a share of the interest of the former. It is well observed by Mr Alison, that the great Durability and Costliness of the productions of this art, have had the effect, in almost all regions of the world, of rendering their fashion permanent, after it had once attained such a degree of perfection as to fulfil its substantial purposes.

'Buildings,' he observes, 'may last, and are intended to last for centuries. The life of man is very inadequate to the duration of such productions; and the present period of the world, though old with respect to those arts which are employed upon perishable subjects, is yet young in relation to an art, which is employed upon so durable materials as those of architecture. Instead of a few years, therefore, centuries must probably pass before such productions demand to be renewed; and, long before that period is elapsed, the sacredness of antiquity is acquired by the subject itself, and a new motive given for the preservation of similar forms. In every country, accordingly, the same effect has taken place: and the same causes which have thus served to produce among us, for so many years, an uniformity of taste with regard to the style of Grecian architecture, have produced also among the nations of the East, for a much longer course of time, a similar uniformity of taste with regard to their ornamental style of architecture; and have perpetuated among them the same forms which were in use among their forefathers, before the Grecian orders were invented.' II. 166, 167.

With regard, again, to Versification, we do not know whether there be any where a more ingenious or philosophical speculation,

endation, than that short one, in which Mr Alison has attempted to show, that it must have been first adopted, in ages antecedent to the use of writing, merely for the purpose of distinguishing elaborate composition from casual discourse, and pointing out to particular attention whatever was thought to deserve it, either by the importance of the matter, or the felicity of the expression. The substance of this speculation, which affords by far the best solution we have met with, of the singular fact of the priority of metrical to prose composition, will be found in the following passage.

'The use of language is acquired so early in life, and is practised upon common occasions with so little study or thought, that it appears to a rude people, as it does to the common people of every country, rather as an inherent power of our nature, than as an acquisition of labour or study; and upon such occasions, is considered as no more expressive of design or skill, than the notes of birds, or the cries of animals. When therefore men first began to think of composition, and to expect admiration from their skill in it, they would very naturally endeavour to make it as expressive as they could of this skill, by distinguishing it as much as possible from common language. There was no way so obvious for this, as by the production of some kind of regularity or uniformity; by the production either of regularity in the succession of these sounds, or of uniformity or resemblance in the sounds themselves. Such qualities in composition would immediately suggest the belief of skill and design, and would of consequence excite all that admiration which, in the commencement of every art, such qualities so strongly and so justly raise. The same cause, therefore, which induced the sculptor to give to his performances that form, which was most strongly expressive of his skill, would induce the poet to employ that regularity or uniformity of sounds, which was most immediately expressive also of his skill, and which was most likely to excite the admiration of his people. Rhyme or measure then (according to the nature of the language, and the superior difficulty of either) would naturally come to be the constituent mark of poetry, or of that species of composition which was destined to affect or to please. It would be the simplest resource which the poet could fall upon, to distinguish his productions from common language; and it would accordingly please, just in proportion to the perfection of its regularity, or to the degree in which it was expressive of his labour and skill. The greater and more important characteristics of the art, a rude people must necessarily be unacquainted with; and what would naturally constitute the distinction to them between poetry and common language, would be the appearance of uniformity or regularity in the one, and the want of them in the other.

'As thus the first instances of composition would be distinguished by some species of uniformity, every kind of composition would

gradually borrow, or come to be distinguished by, the same character. If it was necessary for the poet to study rhyme or measure, to distinguish his verses from common language, it would be equally necessary for the lawgiver to study the same in the composition of his laws, and the sage in the composition of his aphorisms. Without this character, they had no distinction from usual or familiar expression; they had no mark by which they might be known to be the fruit of thought or reflection, instead of the immediate effusion of fancy. Before the invention of writing, the only expedient by which it seems possible that composition could be distinguished from common language, must have been some species of uniformity or regularity, which might immediately convey the belief of art or design, and thus separate it from that vulgar language, which appeared to imply neither. It is hence that, in every country, proverbs, or the ancient maxims of wisdom, are distinguished by alliteration, or measure, or some other artifice of a like nature; that in many countries the earliest laws have been written in verse; and, in general, that the artificial composition which is now appropriated to poetry alone, and distinguished by the name of Poetical Composition, was naturally the prevailing character of composition, and applied to every subject which was the fruit of labour or meditation; as the mark, and indeed the only mark that then could be given, of the employment of this labour and meditation.

'The invention of writing occasioned a very great revolution in composition. What was written, was of itself expressive of design. Prose, therefore, when written, was equally expressive of design with verse or rhyme; and the restraints which these imposed, led men naturally to forsake that artificial composition, which now no longer had the value it bore before this invention. The discovery of writing seems therefore naturally to have led to composition in prose.' II. 80-84.

But though this appears to us to be a perfectly just and satisfactory explanation of the origin of metrical composition, we cannot exactly agree with Mr Alison in thinking, that the beauty of Versification is to be referred *altogether* to our associations with those standard works which were produced in an early age under this form. Many things that were first introduced for humble and vulgar purposes, have been afterwards turned to purposes of ornament and delight; and it is no doubt true, as Mr Knight has remarked, that it would very early occur to those who wished their compositions to be remembered, not only as elaborate, but beautiful, to choose such combinations of regular sound as could be most smoothly and distinctly articulated; and to dispose their emphatic words in the places where the force of the voice would naturally be thrown. It is to this observance—to sympathy with the skill and success of the poet—and to the recollection of the great body of beautiful compositions

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that exist under the same form, that we are inclined to ascribe the whole beauty of Versification: and we must own, that we think the last named author very greatly exaggerates its importance when he contends, that, without its assistance, it would be absolutely impossible to sustain that elevation of tone, and lofty flow of utterance, which is necessary to the existence of poetry, considered as the language of enthusiasm. Real enthusiasm, in so far as we have observed, has no tendency to express itself in measured language. We have no sort of notion that Demosthenes would have increased the effect of his Philippics, or Cicero of his Catilinarians, by turning them into Iambics; and are sure that we feel no want of the tone of enthusiasm, when we hear Mrs Siddons or Kemble declaim the prose speeches of Shakespeare. On the contrary, we think it is almost established as a common remark, that this very uniform elevation of tone, and regular flow of sound which are inseparable from verse, and essential, according to Mr Knight, to the animation of poetry, is found to pall upon the ear much sooner than prose of the most disorderly construction. There are very few people, we believe, who do not feel cloyed and satiated before they have read fifty solid pages of the finest poetry in the world,—though there are not many reading men who would be at all oppressed with a much larger allowance of prose: and, with regard to the assistance which one reading aloud may be supposed to derive from the verse, as directing him how to bring out the sense with effect, we are really at a loss to conceive what aid he could receive from such a guide, unless Mr Knight is of opinion, that all verses of the same structure should be read with the same accent and intonation, whatever may be their subject or meaning. To us, we will confess, it appears that, in reading either verse or prose, it is necessary to know the meaning and scope of the sentence, before it is possible to modulate the voice with propriety in pronouncing it; and that, after the meaning is known, it is just as easy to give it this modulation in prose as in verse. In both cases, it may be necessary to glance over a long and complicated sentence, before we can safely venture upon delivering it; but this is just as necessary in measured as in unmeasured composition; and, when we are once possessed of its meaning and its structure, it is generally easier to give a just utterance to the latter than the former.

Long as we have been in the exposition of this simple theory, we cannot finally conclude our account of it, without adding one or two words upon the mere organic or physical delight which appears in some few cases to procure the appellation of beautiful to the objects that produce it, and to which such ex-

travagant importance has been assigned by some writers of great note. Certain combinations of sounds, called musical concords, are agreeable to those who possess a musical ear, apparently by a primary law of our constitution, and independent of any association;—and certain colours, and combinations of colours, or of lights and shades, are supposed to be instinctively agreeable in the same way.

The last of these facts has made a prodigious figure in many theories of beauty; and even in the acute and philosophical publication of Mr Knight, a very high degree of intrinsic beauty is supposed to reside in tints, and combinations of tints, and the mere optical impression of broken or mingling masses of light and shadow. Now, we are so far from agreeing in these propositions, that we are somewhat inclined to be sceptical as to the existence of any such organical delight; and at all events to hold, that if there be any pleasures of the eye which cannot be referred to the association of human sympathies, they are exceedingly feeble and insignificant. The eye sees nothing but light; and that light most commonly coloured. It is hurt with excessively bright light, just as the ear is hurt with excessively loud sound, the nostrils by very pungent odours, or the whole body by excessive heat or pressure:—and moderate light is agreeable, just as moderate sound or moderate heat is—by giving us some intimation of our existence, and stimulating the powers of sensation and attention. We do not call moderate heat or moderate pressure *beautiful*, however, though they may be agreeable; and it is not very easy to say, why moderate light, which is only another name for colour not too glaring, should be honoured with that appellation. As to particular colours, again, we are rather slow in believing that any one is intrinsically more beautiful than another, or that they ever possess any beauty except by association with interesting objects. It is certain, at least, that there is no colour that would be beautiful everywhere. Bright and soft green is beautiful, because it is the livery of the spring; and soft and bright blue, because we see it in the summer sky; and pink and vermilion, because they blush on the cheeks of innocence:—But vermilion would not be beautiful on the grass,—nor green on the cheek,—nor blue on either. As to harmony, or composition of tints, again, of which we hear so much in the language of painters, we have sometimes been inclined to doubt a little whether it means any thing, when used without reference to the practical difficulties of the art, but the natural or common appearance of coloured objects, seen through the same atmosphere; or, if it be a source of pleasure, we are sure it is a very trifling pleasure, and scarcely deserving of the name of beauty. Suppose all the colours in nature disposed on a broad pannel, according

according to the nicest rules of this supposed harmony, and in lines as beautifully waving as any artist can devise, is there any grown creature that would call the display beautiful, or condescend to look twice at it? We do not entirely deny, that there is a certain natural beauty or fitness in the combination of what have been called the accidental or complementary colours;—but we maintain, that it is so extremely slight and insignificant, as scarcely to merit any attention.

With regard, again, to the effect of broken masses of light and shadow, it is proper, in the first place, to remember, that by the eye we see *colour only;* and that lights and shadows, as far as the mere organ is concerned, mean nothing but variations of tint. It is very true, no doubt, that we soon learn to refer many of those variations to light and shade, and that they thus become *signs* to us of depth, and distance, and relief. But, is not this, of itself, sufficient to refute the idea of their affording any primitive or organic pleasure? In so far as they are mere variations of tint, they may be imitated by unmeaning daubs of paint on a pallet;—in so far as they are *signs*, it is to the mind that they address themselves, and not to the organ. They are signs, too, it should be recollected, and the only signs we have, by which we can receive any correct knowledge of the existence and condition of all external objects at a distance from us, whether interesting or not interesting. Without the assistance of variety of tint, and of lights and shadows, we could never distinguish one object from another, except by the touch. These appearances, therefore, are the perpetual vehicles of almost all our interesting perceptions; and are consequently associated with all the emotions we receive from visible objects. It is pleasant to see *many* things in one prospect, because some of them are probably agreeable; and it is pleasant to know the condition of those things, because the qualities or associations, by means of which they interest us, generally depend upon that knowledge. The mixture of colours and shades, however, is necessary to this enjoyment, and consequently is a sign of it, and a source of associated interest or beauty.

Mr Knight, however, goes much farther than this; and maintains, that the beauty which is so distinctly felt in many pictures of objects in themselves disagreeable, is to be ascribed entirely to the effect of the brilliant and harmonious tints, and the masses of light and shadow that may be employed in the representation. The filthy and tattered rags of a beggar, he observes, and the putrifying contents of a dunghill, may form beautiful objects in a picture; because, considered as mere objects of sight, they may often present beautiful effects of colour-

ing and shadow; and these are preserved or heightened in the imitation, disjoined from all their offensive accompaniments. Now, if the tints and shades were the exclusive sources of our gratification, and if this gratification was diminished, instead of being heightened, by the suggestion which, however transiently, *must* still intrude itself, that they appeared in an imitation of disgusting objects, it must certainly follow, that the pleasure and the beauty would be much enhanced, if there was *no imitation of any thing*, and if the canvas merely presented the tints and shades, unaccompanied with the representation of any particular object.—Again, if it were really possible for any one, but a student of art, to confine the attention to the mere colouring and shadowing of any picture, there is nothing so disgusting but what might form the subject of a beautiful imitation. A piece of putrid veal, or a cancerous ulcer, or the rags that are taken from it, may display the most brilliant tints, and the finest distribution of light and shadow. Does Mr Knight, however, seriously think, that either of these experiments would succeed? Or, are there, in reality, no other qualities in the pictures in question, to which their beauty can be ascribed, but the organic effect of their colours? We humbly conceive that there are; and that, far less ingenuity than his, might have been able to detect them.

There is, in the first place, the pleasing association of the skill and power of the artist,—a skill and power which we know may be employed to produce unmingled delight, whatever may be the character of the particular effort before us. But, in the second place, we do conceive that there are many interesting associations connected with the subjects which have been represented as purely disgusting. The aspect of human wretchedness and decay is not, at all events, an *indifferent* spectacle; and, if presented to us without actual offence to our senses, or any call on our active beneficence, may excite a sympathetic emotion, which is known to be far from undelightful. Many an attractive poem has been written on the miseries of beggars; and why should painting be supposed more fastidious? Besides, it will be observed, that the beggars of the painter are generally among the most interesting of that interesting order;—either young and lovely children, whose health and gaiety, and sweet expression, form an affecting contrast with their squalid garments, and the neglect and misery to which they seem to be destined,—or old and venerable persons, mingling something of the dignity and reverence of age with the broken spirit of their condition, and seeming to reproach mankind for exposing heads so old and white to the pelting of the piti-

less storm.—While such pictures suggest images so pathetic, it looks almost like a wilful perversity, to ascribe their beauty entirely to the mixture of colours which they display, and to the forgetfulness of these images. Even for the dunghill, we think it is possible to say something,—though, we confess, we have never happened to see any picture, of which that useful compound formed the peculiar subject. There is the display of the painter's art and power here also; and the dunghill is not only useful, but is associated with many pleasing images of rustic toil and occupation, and of the simplicity, and comfort, and innocence of agricultural life. We do not know that a dunghill is at all a disagreeable object to look at, even in plain reality—provided it be so far off as not to annoy us with its odour, or to soil us with its effusions. In a picture, however, we are safe from any of these disasters; and, considering that it is usually combined, in such delineations, with other more pleasing and touching remembrancers of humble happiness and contentment, we really do not see that it was at all necessary to impute any mysterious or intrinsic beauty to its complexion, in order to account for the satisfaction with which we can then bear to behold it.

Having said so much with a view to reduce to its just value, as an ingredient of Beauty, the mere organical delight which the eye is supposed to derive from colours, we shall leave our readers to apply the same principles to the alleged beauty of sounds that are supposed to be insignificant. In this case it is indeed much clearer that *there is* such an organical delight, and that it constitutes a larger share of the beauty of sounds, than tints and shadows do of the beauty of visible objects: but all that rises to the dignity of an emotion, is the gift of association here also—of association with the passionate tones of the human voice—with the scenes to which the beautiful sounds are appropriate—with the poetry to which they have been married—the purposes to which they are devoted, or the mere skill and genius of the artist by whom they have been arranged.

Such is a very hasty and imperfect sketch of the theory unfolded, in the volumes before us, with singular beauty of language, and copiousness of illustration. After all we have said, we are aware that to some it may appear strained and fantastical, and to others trite and unprofitable. To the infidels of the former class, we can only recommend the diligent perusal of Mr Alison's whole work; to the scoffers of the second, we must beg leave to state one or two of the beneficial results of this theory, which we humbly conceive to be of some little importance, and to have escaped the notice even of its ingenious inventor.

In the first place, then, we conceive, that it establishes the substantial identity of the Sublime, the Beautiful, and the Picturesque; and, consequently, puts an end to all controversy that is not purely verbal, as to the difference of those several qualities. Every material object that interests us, without actually hurting or gratifying our bodily feelings, must do so, according to this theory, in one and the same manner,—that is, by suggesting or recalling some emotion or affection of ourselves or some other sentient being, and presenting, to our imagination at least, some natural object of love, pity, admiration or awe. The interest of material objects, therefore, is always the same; and arises, in every case, not from any physical qualities they may possess, but from their association with some idea of emotion. But, though material objects have but one means of exciting emotion, the emotions they do excite are infinite. They are mirrors that may reflect all shades and colours; and, in point of fact, do seldom reflect the same hues twice. No two interesting objects, perhaps, whether known by the name of Beautiful, Sublime or Picturesque, ever produced exactly the same emotion in the beholder; and no one object, it is most probable, ever moved any two persons to the very same conceptions. As they may be associated with all the feelings and affections of which the human mind is susceptible, so they may suggest those feelings in all their variety, and, in fact, do daily excite all sorts of emotions—running through every gradation, from extreme gaiety and elevation, to the borders of horror and disgust.

Now, it is certainly true, that all the variety of emotions raised in this way, on the single basis of association, may be classed, in a rude way, under the denominations of Sublime, Beautiful, and Picturesque, according as they partake of awe, kindness, or admiration; and we have no other objection to this nomenclature, except its extreme imperfection, and the delusions to which we know that it has given occasion. If objects that interest by their association with ideas of power, and danger and terror, are to be distinguished by the peculiar name of Sublime, why should there not be a separate name also for objects that interest by associations of mirth and gaiety,—another for those that please by suggestions of softness and melancholy,—another for such as are connected with impressions of comfort and tranquillity,—and another and another for those that are related to pity, and admiration, and love, and regret, and all the other distinct emotions and affections of our nature? These are not in reality less distinguishable from each other, than from the emotions of awe and veneration that confer the title of Sublime on their representatives; and while these are all confounded under

der the comprehensive appellation of Beauty, the distinction is only apt to mislead us into an erroneous opinion of our accuracy, and to make us believe, both that there is a greater conformity among the things that pass under the same name, and a greater difference between those that pass under different names, than is really the case. We have seen already, that the radical error of almost all preceding inquirers, has lain in supposing that every thing that passed under the name of Beautiful, must have some quality in common with every thing else that obtained that name: And it is scarcely necessary for us to observe, that it has been almost as general an opinion, that Sublimity was not only something radically different from Beauty, but actually opposite to it; whereas the fact is, that it is far more nearly related to some sorts of beauty, than many sorts of beauty are to each other; and that both are founded exactly upon the same principle of suggesting some past or possible emotion of some sentient being.

We cannot leave this subject of Sublimity, however, without alluding in one word to a very common, though, we confess, to us a very unaccountable oversight into which almost all writers have fallen,—and to a very useless controversy that has been consequently raised with regard to it. Mr Burke, and several other authors, looking to the most common and powerful operation of sublimity, have described it as having its foundation in terror,—and being produced exclusively by the suggestions of danger or suffering. Mr Knight, on the other hand, has contended, with no little warmth, that it originates in the conception of power; and consists altogether in that sympathetic elevation of spirit which is produced by the contemplation of great might and energy; and that there is nothing so contrary or opposite to this ennobling and lofty sentiment, as the degrading passion of fear. Now, men of common sense—to say nothing of men of genius—can scarcely ever be utterly in the wrong, we conceive, as to matters of common experience; and can hardly contradict each other directly, except by looking each upon a different side of the subject. The truth is accordingly, we apprehend, that both these views are to a certain extent just; and that both authors are wrong, in overlooking what had attracted the exclusive attention of their opponent. The radical error lies, as usual, in supposing that sublimity can be only of one description; and that all sublime objects must produce one and the same sort of emotion. Now, the fact is, we think, very clearly, that there are at least two sorts of sublimity, in the same way as there are many sorts of beauty;—and that some produce a kind of awe, humiliation and terror, and some a sort

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of inward glorying and elevation of spirit, according to the nature of the suggestions which they supply to the imagination. It is very true, as Mr Knight has observed, that terror, in its direct form, is a very painful feeling; and that, when it rises to any great height, it is incompatible with any agreeable or attractive emotion. But it is, notwithstanding, perfectly certain and obvious, that the spectacle or imagination of terror in others—provided it be not a dastardly and groundless fear, but a natural and irresistible dread impressed by sufficient causes—is an object of attractive sympathy. One half of the interest of tragedy is founded upon this feeling,—and far more than one half of the powerful and never-failing interest of all stories of ghosts and apparitions, and of many romances and tales of terror, both of antient and modern date. We look upon it, therefore, as no less notable a heresy in Mr Knight to deny that there is any delight or attraction in our sympathy with terror, as it was to deny that we had any pleasure in sympathising with distress.* But the shortest and most satisfactory way of settling the matter will be, to suggest a few obvious instances of the different sorts of sublimity to the reader's recollection.

All that class of sublime objects, to which we popularly apply the epithets of dreary, gloomy, dismal, awful or terrible, excite ideas of danger, and depress the mind with a sense of humiliation and awe. Gloomy caverns, and vaults, and all the apparatus and accompaniments of sepulture, and all the remembrancers of mortality,—all indications of power armed with seeming anger, which it is at once impious and impossible to resist,—the dark and stormy ocean,—lands swept with hurricanes, or shaken with earthquakes,—eclipses and thunder,—the dreariness of swampy forests,—the roar of troubled and impassable cataracts,—these and a multitude of similar objects, stand unquestionably in the very first rank of sublimity; yet their primary effect is undoubtedly, to quell and subdue the spirit with a sense of its own weakness and insignificance, and to excite those emotions of lowly awe and solemn adoration, with which an inferior nature instinctively contemplates the visible indications of irresistible danger and uncontrollable power.

On the other hand, the recital of great and magnanimous actions, and in one word, all the signal exertions and triumphs of human or imitable power, are apt to exalt the soul with that inward glorying and exultation, of which Longinus and all subsequent critics have spoken,—to kindle a kind of generous emulation in the minds of the spectators, and to elevate them, by an ambitious

* See Vol. VII. p. 320, 321.

ambitious sympathy, to the height of the noble daring of which they see that their nature is capable.

The greater part of the common objects of sublimity, however, are of a mixed character, and may excite emotions either of humiliation and awe, or of aspiring ambition, according to the temper and dispositions of those to whom they are presented;—rousing the lofty and the daring to defy the power, or to rival the exertions which they suggest; or overcoming the timid and feeble with the sense of their own littleness and danger. To the brave and ardent spirit of military youth, the sound of the war-trumpet, the noise of artillery, and the trampling and shouts of charging legions, is animating and exalting;—to women, or to timid men, it is awful and terrible;—but to both it is unquestionably sublime—and perhaps most sublime to those who feel the greatest admixture of terror. Take a sublime scene in nature in the same way—such as is represented in some of Salvator's landscapes,—a wild and desolate assemblage of solitary mountains, with cliffs, and abysses, and dark streams and caverns, with banditti, or hunters like banditti, scattered over its loneliness;—an intrepid and adventurous nature is only kindled to a loftier temper by the influences of such a prospect,—and feels strong to scale the cliffs, and pursue the savage game they conceal, and to contend with the desperate competitors that may cross his way in the chase; while a pacific and ordinary character shrinks with dismay from such a picture of danger and discomfort, and is oppressed under the load of too overwhelming a sublimity. It is only necessary to have travelled a stage in our central Highlands with a native, and with a city family, in order to understand perfectly all the different effects of sublimity.

The only other advantage which we shall specify as likely to result from the adoption of Mr Alison's theory, is, that it seems calculated to put an end to all these perplexing and vexatious questions about the standard of taste, which have given occasion to so much impertinent and so much elaborate discussion. If things are not beautiful in themselves, but only as they serve to suggest interesting conceptions to the mind, then every thing which does in point of fact suggest such a conception to any individual, *is beautiful* to that individual; and it is not only quite true that there is no room for disputing about tastes, but that all tastes are equally just and correct, in so far as each individual speaks only of his own emotions. When a man calls a thing beautiful, he may indeed mean to make two very different assertions:—he may mean that it gives him pleasure, by suggesting to him some interesting emotion; and, in this sense, there can be no doubt that, if he merely speak truth, the thing *is* beautiful; and

that

that it pleases him precisely in the same way that all other things please those to whom they appear beautiful. But if he mean to say that the thing possesses some quality which ought to make it appear beautiful to every other person, and that it is owing to some prejudice or defect in them if it appear otherwise, then he is as unreasonable and absurd as he would think those who should attempt to convince him that he felt no emotion of beauty.

All tastes, then, are equally just and true, in so far as concerns the individual whose taste is in question; and what a man feels distinctly to be beautiful, *is beautiful* to him, whatever other people may think of it. All this follows clearly from the theory of Mr Alison: but it does not follow, from it, that all tastes are equally good or desireable, or that there is any difficulty in describing that which is really the best, and the most to be envied. The only use of the faculty of taste, is to afford an innocent delight, and to aid the cultivation of a finer morality; and that man certainly will have the most delight from this faculty who has the most numerous, and the most powerful perceptions of beauty. But, if beauty consist in the reflection of our affections and sympathies, it is plain that he will see the most beauty whose affections are warmest and most exercised,—whose imagination is the most powerful,—and who has most accustomed himself to attend to the objects by which he is surrounded. In so far as mere feeling and enjoyment are concerned, therefore, it seems evident, that the best taste must be that which belongs to the best affections, the most active fancy, and the most attentive habits of observation. It will follow pretty exactly too, that all mens' perceptions of beauty will be nearly in proportion to the degree of their sensibility and social sympathies; and that those who have no affections towards sentient beings, will be just as insensible to beauty in external objects, as he, who cannot hear the sound of his friend's voice, must be deaf to its echo.

In so far as the sense of beauty is regarded as a mere source of enjoyment, this seems to be the only distinction that deserves to be attended to; and the only cultivation that taste should ever receive, with a view to the gratification of the individual, should be through the indirect channel of cultivating the affections and powers of observation. If we aspire, however, to be *creators*, as well as observers of beauty, and place any part of our happiness in ministering to the gratification of others—as artists, or poets, or authors of any sort—then, indeed, a new distinction of tastes, and a far more laborious system of cultivation, will be necessary. A man who pursues only his own delight, will be as much charmed with objects that suggest powerful emotions, in consequence

consequence of personal and accidental associations, as with those that introduce similar emotions by means of associations that are universal and indestructible. To him, all objects of the former class are really as beautiful as those of the latter—and, for his own gratification, the creation of that sort of beauty is just as important an occupation: But if he conceive the ambition of creating beauties for the admiration of others, he must be cautious to employ only such objects as are the *natural* signs and *inseparable* concomitants of emotions, of which the greater part of mankind are susceptible; and his taste will *then* deserve to be called bad and false, if he obtrude upon the public, as beautiful, objects that are not likely to be associated in common minds with any interesting impressions.

For a man himself, then, there is no taste that is either bad or false; and the only difference worthy of being attended to, is that between a great deal and a very little. Some who have cold affections, sluggish imaginations, and no habits of observation, can scarcely see beauty in any thing; while others, who are full of kindness and sensibility, and who have been accustomed to attend to all the objects around them, feel it almost in every thing. It is no matter what other people may think of the objects of their admiration; nor ought it to be any concern of theirs that the public would be astonished or offended, if they were called upon to join in that admiration. So long as no such call is made, this anticipated discrepancy of feeling need give *them* no uneasiness; and the suspicion of it should produce no contempt in any other persons. It is a strange aberration indeed of vanity that makes us despise persons for being happy—for having sources of enjoyment in which we cannot share;—and yet this is the true account of the ridicule we bestow upon individuals who seek only to enjoy their peculiar tastes unmolested;—for, if there be any truth in the theory we have been expounding, no taste is bad for any other reason than because it is peculiar—as the objects in which it delights must actually serve to suggest to the individual those common emotions and universal affections upon which the sense of beauty is every where founded. The misfortune is, however, that we are apt to consider all persons who communicate their tastes, and especially all who create any objects for their gratification, as in some measure dictating to the public, and setting up an idol for general adoration; and hence this intolerant interference with almost all peculiar perceptions of beauty, and the unsparing derision that pursues all deviations from acknowledged standards. This intolerance, we admit, is often provoked by something of a spirit of *proselytism*, and arrogance in those who mistake their own casual associations for natural or universal

universal relations; and the consequence is, that mortified vanity dries up the fountain of their peculiar enjoyment, and disenchants, by a new association of general contempt or ridicule, the scenes that had been consecrated by some innocent but accidental emotion.

As all men must have some peculiar associations, all men must have some peculiar notions of beauty, and, of course, to a certain extent, a taste that the public would be entitled to consider as false or vitiated. For those who make no demands on public admiration, however, it is hard to be obliged to sacrifice this source of enjoyment; and, even for those who labour for applause, the wisest course, perhaps, if it were only practicable, would be, to have two tastes,—one to enjoy, and one to work by,—one founded upon universal associations, according to which they finished those performances for which they challenged universal praise,—and another guided by all casual and individual associations, through which they looked fondly upon nature, and upon the objects of their secret admiration.

Art. II. *The Speech of John Leach, Esq. M. P. in the Committee of the whole House, upon the State of the Nation, on Monday, December 31st, 1810, upon the Question of Limitations to the Royal Authority in the Hands of the Regent.* 8vo. pp. 32. London. 1811.

It is a remark of Mr Hume, that every 'plan of limited monarchy, however corrected, is liable to this inconvenience, 'that the personal character of the King must still have great 'influence on the government:' And of the English constitution he observes, 'The balance of our government depends, in 'some measure, on the abilities and behaviour of the Sovereign, 'which are variable and uncertain circumstances.'

That the general remark conveyed in the preceding passage is founded in truth, few, we apprehend, will venture to deny; and no one, we are satisfied, who has watched with attention the progress of our domestic history, will dispute the justness of its application to the English constitution. For, whatever be the excellence of our government, it must be confessed, that the checks and limitations which it affords to the arbitrary and capricious will of the Sovereign, though they greatly lessen, do not entirely obviate this inherent defect of monarchy. The King of England cannot administer justice to his subjects, but through the medium of Judges, over whose decisions he has no control.

control. He cannot make laws to bind his people, but with the advice and consent of his two Houses of Parliament. Though he is the sole executive Magistrate of the state, and none of his servants can exercise the powers delegated to them but in obedience to his commands, he must act and think through his ministers and advisers, who are responsible for all the measures of his government. Though he appoints to all great offices and public employments, the persons whom he nominates must possess the confidence of his Parliament. So far the constitutional limits of the prerogative are well defined, and universally acknowledged; but the degree of influence which the two Houses of Parliament ought to exercise in the nomination of ministers of state, is still unsettled and undetermined. All agree, that the servants of the Crown must possess the confidence and support of Parliament. But, while some are of opinion that, whenever Parliament expresses to the King its want of confidence in his ministers, it becomes the duty of the Crown to change its servants; there are many who contend, that the King ought to be as little subject to control, in the selection of his ministers, as a private gentleman in the formation of his household; and that Parliament is bound to give its support to the persons he has honoured with his confidence, unless it has some specific charge of misconduct to allege against them. As we are of opinion with Mr Hume, that whatever tends to lessen the influence of the personal character of the Sovereign in the government of the state, is an improvement upon monarchy, we are inclined to think, that, in the selection of those who are to direct our foreign affairs, and conduct our domestic policy, the wisdom of many is preferable to the private bias and partialities of one. It appears to us, that the same expediency, which has subjected our Kings, in their judiciary and legislative capacities, to the guidance of others, ought to regulate their selection of the persons who are fittest to govern the state, and direct its affairs to the honour, safety and advantage of the kingdom. We are sensible, however, that a contrary sentiment is very prevalent in the country; and, in our apprehension, the difference of opinion upon this point constitutes one of the chief distinctions between the Whigs and Tories of the present day. We know also, that, with the immense patronage vested in the Crown, and the general prepossessions in its favour, it is hardly possible for an artful and ambitious prince, who steadily pursues the design of emancipating himself from the control of Parliament in the choice of his ministers, to fail of success in that enterprize. This defect, which may perhaps be palliated, but we fear can never be entirely removed, is in our apprehension the

greatest

greatest imperfection of our otherwise excellent constitution. For, in proportion as the Crown is independent of Parliament in the choice of its ministers, will the personal character of the monarch be more sensibly felt in the administration of public affairs: In the same proportion will the policy of the state be variable and uncertain, marked with prejudice or weakness, sullied with obstinacy, or disgraced with levity, swayed by caprice or favour, guided by private inclinations and personal views, instead of being regulated and steadily directed to the general good, by the great council of the nation, representing all the interests, and comprehending a fair portion of the talents of the community.

But, while our ancestors have guarded us against many of the evils arising from vices or imperfections in the personal character of the Sovereign, there is one calamity for which they have made no provision. Kings are subject, like other men, to the diseases and infirmities incident to humanity. The reigning king may be rendered incapable, by disease, of executing his regal duties. His consent is necessary for enacting laws; and, while he is incapable of giving that assent, the legislative or supreme authority of the state is necessarily suspended. His pleasure must be taken, before his forces can be employed in military expeditions, or answers returned to the amicable professions or hostile declarations of foreign states. The treasure lodged in his exchequer cannot be issued without his express command; and, though the ordinary exercise of justice be independent of his interference, the noble prerogative of mercy lies dormant, while he is incapable of dispensing it. No one act of government can be performed, while he is unable to discharge the duties of his station, which requires his signature to be affixed, or his pleasure to be taken, or demands his appearance in person to give validity to the transaction.

For this grievous calamity, for this total suspension of all the regal functions which are exercised by the King in person, we have no legal or constitutional remedy. There is no power in the state that has a legal right to supply this defect in the person of the Sovereign. No law or statute provides a remedy for such an emergency. When the legislature is incomplete by the absence of the King, there is no legal authority in the other branches to make it perfect. No principle of the constitution confers on any or all of the Estates of the realm a legal right to provide a substitute for the Sovereign, when he is incapable of naming one for himself, and unfit to execute in person the duties of his office.

It would seem, indeed, from some passages of our antient

history, that such a power was understood formerly to be vested in the House of Lords. During the calamitous reign of Henry VI, who was frequently visited with the same infirmity to which our present gracious Sovereign is unhappily subject, we find Richard Duke of York addressing the 'Peruge of the lande,' as the persons 'in whom, by th'occasion of th'infermitie of our Souveraine Lorde, resteth th'exercise of his auctoritee.'* And, at an earlier period of the same reign, it is expressly stated by the Lords of the Privy Council, in an address to the Dukes of Bedford and Gloucester, uncles of the King, and Protectors of the kingdom, that, in the nonage of the King, 'the execution of the Kynge's auctoritee, as toward 'that that belongeth unto the politique reule and governaille of 'his lande, and to th'observaunce and kepyng of his lawes, 'belongeth unto the Lordes Spirituall and Temporell of his 'lande, at such time as thei be assembled in Parlement, or in 'grete Counsaille:'† And, to this doctrine, both these noble Lords gave their unqualified assent. At a much later period, when our government had assumed nearly its present form, we find the same pretension of the Lords reasserted on a very solemn occasion, though not insisted upon. At the free conference of the Lords and Commons in 1689, the Earl of Nottingham, arguing against the abdication of King James, maintained, that 'if barely the exercise of the government were deserted, there must be a supply of that exercise in some person's 'taking the administration; and as none so fit, because of the 'Prince's relation to the crown (and his presence here) to address unto about it, so none so proper to make that address 'as the Lords; for, in the absence of the King, they are the 'King and kingdom's great council, and might have done it 'by themselves without the Commons; but being met in a full 'representative body, they joined with them.' To this pretension, though advanced by a leading member of the House of Lords, no formal reply was given by the managers of the Commons. The patriots who acted on that great occasion, had no secret or sinister views. A safe and speedy settlement of the state was the real object they had at heart; and they were not to be diverted from it, by a pretension incidentally brought forward in the course of debate, on which no claim was founded that called for their decision. Sir Robert Howard alone made a slight allusion to Lord Nottingham's argument, on which, that noble Lord thought proper, in a subsequent speech, to soften and explain away his former expressions. 'I was mistaken,'

* Rotul. Parl. vol. V. p. 242. † Ibid. p. 409, 410.

'taken,' said he, 'by the gentleman who took notice of what 'I said the Lords might do of themselves, in the absence of the 'King: I would not be understood to say, the government 'would be devolved on the Lords; but I may say, they are the 'government's great Council in the interval of Parliaments, and 'may have greater sway by the privilege of their birth, in the 'exigencies of the State; as appears in several instances, and 'particularly the first of Henry VI, and during his infancy.' *

If we look to the earlier part of our history, we shall find occurrences that countenance the assertion of this pretension on the part of the Lords. On the death of John, the nobles and clergy appointed the Earl of Pembroke to be *Rector regis et regni* during the minority of Henry III. † But the authority of that precedent is greatly weakened, by the share which the Pope's legate had in the transaction. It appears, that this personage took a lead in the election, as the representative of his master, who was acknowledged by this Convention as the liege lord of England; and, as such, the young King did homage to him for his kingdom, and promised faithfully to discharge the tribute to the holy see, stipulated by his unworthy father. A more unexceptionable instance occurs in the succeeding reign. At the death of Henry III, his son, Edward, was in Palestine, no provision having been made for the government of the kingdom during his absence. In these circumstances, the barons assembled at London, swore fealty to the King, ordered a Great Seal to be made for him, and appointed guardians to take care of his treasure, and preserve the peace of the kingdom till his return. ‡ But, whatever might have been the constitutional powers vested in the Peerage in the remoter periods of our history, the transactions referred to by Lord Nottingham himself, afford a strong presumption, that, as early as the accession of Henry VI, these powers were already considered to be obsolete. At the death of Henry V, his son and successor was an infant only nine months old; and no provision had been made for the government of the kingdom during his minority; upon which, certain Lords Spiritual and Temporal took upon them, 'pour le iminent necessité de governaunce du roialme,' to issue writs for assembling a Parliament; and afterwards granted a commission to the Duke of Gloucester, to meet that assembly as the King's lieutenant or commissioner; ‖ acts of authority,

* Cobbet's Parliamentary History, vol. V. p. 91, 96, 106.
† Math. Paris. Add. p. 150.
‡ Rymer, i. 888, and ii. 1. Brady's Continuation, App. 1, 2, 3, 4.
‖ Rymer, x. 253. Rotul. Parl. iv. 170.

thority, for which they obtained an indemnity from Parliament, as soon as that body was convened. But, surely, if it had been understood at that time to be the constitutional right of the Peerage to supply defects in the personal exercise of the Royal authority, a mode of proceeding, which required a bill of indemnity to give it sanction, would not have been resorted to, by statesmen of such experience and ability as Cardinal Beaufort and the Duke of Gloucester, who took the lead on that occasion. At any rate, if the House of Lords ever possessed a legal right of assuming the functions of royalty, when the reigning King, from infancy, absence, disease or misconduct, was incapable of exercising his authority, that right was abrogated at the Restoration, by the act of the 13th of Charles II, which declares it illegal for either or both Houses of Parliament to exercise a legislative power without the King, or to impose oaths, covenants or engagements, or to levy taxes, or to raise forces, without the royal assent, in person or by commission, expressly had and given to the same. *

But, if the House of Lords, singly, had no legal right to supply defects of the personal exercise of the Royal authority, neither can we discover any legal right of the two Houses of Parliament, conjointly, to provide for the same, previous to the resolutions of 1788, repeated in 1810, and since acted upon in the appointment of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to be Regent during the incapacity of his father. If the Lords and Commons had possessed this right, either by statute law or by the principles of the Constitution, they must also have possessed a constitutional mode of exercising it. As there can be no legal right without a legal remedy, so there can be no constitutional right without a constitutional mode of using it. And all persons are compelled to admit, that when the Regal authority is suspended by the personal incapacity of the Sovereign, there is no legal mode of supplying the defect. But necessity, we are told, at once creates the right, and imposes limits on the exercise of it. The necessity of government, it is true, gives to the people of England a moral right to the benefits of government. In the simple but explicit language of our forefathers, 'God ne reson wol that this lande stande withouten governaunce.' But that necessity confers not on any particular body of men a legal right, which they had not before, of establishing the government which is wanted. The defect, we admit, must be supplied; but the legal right of supplying it, we contend, is a *casus omissus* not provided for by the Constitution.

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* 13 Car. II. cap. 1.

No case of the suspension of the Royal authority, in circumstances precisely similar to those which occurred in 1788, is to be met with in any former period of our history. The malady with which Henry VI. was afflicted, appears to have been the same with that of our gracious Sovereign. But the Parliaments, which were called upon to supply the defect arising from the incapacity of that Prince, were full Parliaments,—consisting, not of Lords and Commons only, but of the Lords and Commons and the King's lieutenant or commissioner, legally empowered to hold the Parliament, and to do therein all that the King could have done, had he been there present in person. * The Parliament, which made a settlement of the government during the infancy of the same Prince, was also a full Parliament; the Duke of Gloucester having been appointed, by letters patent under the Great Seal, to meet that assembly as the King's commissioner. Those who granted the commission, indeed, required and received an indemnity for the power they had assumed in issuing it; but the commission was good, and the Parliament held under it was a full Parliament. And the acts of a full Parliament are complete legislative acts. Whatever such a Parliament enacts is law. It can not only settle a regency, but limit or alter the succession to the crown, and change any or every part of the Constitution. An incomplete Parliament, on the contrary, consisting only of one or two branches of the legislature, has no authority to make laws. What is enacted for law by the two Houses 'is no statute; and to it no regard is 'due, unless in matters relating to their own privileges.' † The fundamental error, which pervaded the reasonings of the majority of the two Houses in 1788, and made at that time a deep, but false, impression on the public mind, was the egregious fallacy of confounding the supreme authority of a full Parliament with the acts of two branches of the legislature, which, by the statute of the 13th of Charles II, are declared 'to be null and 'void, to all intents and purposes whatsoever.'

To maintain, that, by the incapacity of the King, the right of supplying the defect of the government has devolved upon the people, is to hold a language flattering to the multitude, who feel their importance increased by this imaginary power fallen into their hands. But, if literally taken, it is to assert that the government is dissolved. For, under the constitution of England, the legal rights of the people are as distinctly marked as those of the legislature; and, among them, is not to be found this imaginary right of supplying the defect of the royal authority.

* Rotul. Pa[illegible] v. 228 281.

† Blackstone, vol. i. p. 160, 8vo edition.

authority.—We beg not to be misunderstood. We are far from questioning the unalienable right of the people to change or new-model the political constitution of the State, when it ceases to afford them protection, or becomes an engine of oppression in the hands of their rulers. But such extreme cases are fortunately rare, and suppose a total corruption or total dissolution of the government. An infirmity of mind in the reigning Sovereign, which unfits him to discharge the duties of his station, is not a case of that quality or magnitude. To use the language of Maynard on a similar occasion,—'though the King is gone, 'the Law and the Constitution remain.'

But while we contend, that in the English constitution there is no legal right of supplying this defect of the royal authority, we admit the necessity of supplying it; and, on every principle of constitutional analogy and expediency, we hold, that the two Houses of Parliament should assume and exercise the power. Whatever be the constitution of a state, when the public safety is in danger, and no legal remedy can be applied, powers not warranted by law must be assumed; and, if exercised for the public good, and limited by the necessity of the case, the exigency of the situation will justify the act. There are cases where the collective body of the people are justified in assuming the government, and disposing of it as they please; of which we have seen a recent example in the insurrection of the Spanish provinces against the authorities that had betrayed them. There are cases where a private individual is justified in assuming a command not delegated to him by law; as in the instance of our gallant countryman, Wallace, who, without any legal commission, resisted the usurpation of Edward I., and singly commenced a contest that ended in the deliverance of his country. But where a nation is represented by Estates, who in ordinary cases are the organs that express its will, these Estates, if equal to the exigency that has arisen, are the fittest to provide for it. Whatever be the proper remedy, they are the best qualified to discover and to apply it; and from their weight and character in the country, they are the ablest to carry it into effect. Authorities entirely new are liable to be challenged and disobeyed; while they who have established opinion in their favour, may exceed the bounds of their lawful power, without provoking opposition, or even attracting the notice of the multitude. But, if it be a general maxim, that, in great emergencies, where powers not warranted by law must be assumed for the general safety, the constituted authorities, or Estates of the realm, ought to take upon themselves the exercise of this extraordinary power, the application of this maxim to the English constitution is particu-

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larly strong. The two Houses of Parliament, in the English government, are the highest council of the Sovereign; and none, therefore, can be so proper to act for him, when he is incapable of acting for himself, as they whose advice he is bound to follow in the ordinary administration of his government. They are his copartners in legislative authority; and are therefore unlikely to abuse the power which they assume, or extend it further than necessity absolutely requires. They have the same interest with the people, and may therefore be trusted to act on their behalf. It is in this qualified sense that Blackstone justifies the Estates at the Revolution, in conferring the crown on the Prince and the Princess of Orange. He does not assert that they had a constitutional right to dispose of the Crown; but, the throne being vacant, he observes, 'the right of disposing 'of this vacancy seems naturally to result to the Lords and 'Commons, the trustees and representatives of the nation.'*

If we look to precedents, we shall find many examples in our history, of the Estates interfering, in an irregular manner, to supply defects in the monarchical part of our government; and though none of these precedents are cases exactly parallel, they are not undeserving of attention, in judging of the line of conduct most proper to be followed in supplying defects arising from the mental incapacity of the Sovereign.

Without recurring to the earlier periods of our history, when our records are imperfect, and the constitution of Parliament unknown, we find, in the latter part of the reign of Edward II., the Lords and Commons acting in conjunction to supply a defect of the Royal authority, occasioned by the flight and absence of the Sovereign. A convention of Lords and Commons, irregularly assembled on that occasion at Bristol, elected Prince Edward, the heir-apparent of the monarchy, to be *Custos Regni* in the absence of his father: And the young Prince having summoned a Parliament in that capacity, the legality of the summons was subsequently confirmed by writs issued in the King's name, after his return to the kingdom, proroguing the meeting of the Parliament to a more distant day.†

The next instance that occurs to us, of the Estates of the realm supplying the defects of the royal authority, is in the deposal of Richard II., and elevation of Henry IV. to the throne. This part of our history is the more deserving of regard, because it bears, in many particulars, the strongest analogy to the revolution of 1688. Richard II. having exhausted the patience of his subjects by a long course of mismanagement, found at length,

* Blackstone, i. 213. † Brady's Continuation, App. 70, 71.

length, like James II., an universal confederacy against him, headed by a near relation of his own. Like James, he attempted to escape to France for assistance; but, less fortunate in that respect than his successor, he fell alive into the hands of his enemies, and was induced by them to sign an abdication of the crown, and confess himself unworthy to reign. Previous to this act, however, he had convoked a Parliament, which met accordingly at the time appointed. But, having abdicated the crown before it assembled, he could neither appear in it in person nor by a commissioner. The assembly was therefore held, as the record tells us, * 'absque præsidente quocumque;' and in its proceedings, as the same record informs us, it was styled, not a Parliament, but the Estates of the Land. In that capacity the abdication of Richard was presented to the assembly; —in that capacity, after hearing a recital of his various acts of misgovernment, similar in its tenor and purport to the declaration of the Lords and Commons in 1689, the Estates accepted his abdication, and formally deposed him;—and in that capacity they appointed a committee, in the name, and by the authority of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons of the Kingdom, representing all the Estates thereof, to convey to him the solemn renunciation of their allegiance. The throne being thereupon declared vacant, Henry of Lancaster, unlike in that respect to William III., rose in his place, and laid claim to the crown; and his pretensions being admitted by the Estates, 'absque ulla difficultate aut mora, ut dux præfatus super eos 'regnaret unanimiter consenserunt.' Hume has given a false colouring to this transaction, by insinuating, that the deliberations of the Estates were overawed by violence. He tells us, that the Bishop of Carlisle, who singly opposed the resolutions of the Estates, and defended the cause of Richard, was instantly arrested and committed to prison, for the noble freedom of his conduct. But this insinuation has no other foundation than a perversion of historical fact, originating from the party prejudices of Carte. If the speech of the Bishop of Carlisle, given by Hall, was ever delivered in Parliament, it was after the coronation of Henry IV., when that prince was the acknowledged king of England, and when the denial of his authority was an impeachment of the established government of the kingdom. † The censure bestowed on Henry, for causing him to be arrested, is therefore as unjust, as it would have been to censure King William's government for having arrested a Jacobite, who had publicly

* Rotul. Parl. vol. 3. 417.

† Elsynge's Method of holding Parliaments, 173. Hall.

publicly maintained the right of King James to the crown of England, after the settlement at the Revolution.

The third example in our history, of the Estates of the kingdom declaring the incapacity of the reigning Sovereign, and afterwards supplying the defect which their declaration had created, is at the accession of Richard III. The proceeding, in this case, appears to have been more irregular than in the former; but it was equally sanctioned by the act of a subsequent Parliament. An assembly of Lords and Commons,—in what manner or by what authority convened appears not from the record,—after enumerating the grievances of the kingdom, and stating, that the children of Edward IV. were disqualified from inheriting the crown by the illegitimacy of their birth, and those of George Duke of Clarence by the attainder of their father, addressed the Duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard III., to take upon him the crown and royal dignity, as due to him both by inheritance and election of the Estates. With this recommendation Richard complied; and a Parliament being afterwards convened, the proceedings of this meeting were there confirmed by a statute, which declares them to have been the Estates of the realm assembled *out of Parliament.* *

The fourth instance, is the memorable revolution of 1688, when the Estates, assembled in convention, after declaring that the throne was vacant, resolved that the Prince and Princess of Orange should be King and Queen of England.

These, we will venture to affirm, are the only precedents to be found in the history of England, of the Lords and Commons declaring, and afterwards supplying, a defect of the royal authority, without the concurrence of the reigning king, or of some person fully and legally authorised to act for him in Parliament. They are all cases of extreme necessity, for which no provision had been made, or could have been made by the Constitution. They were not occasioned by a casual incapacity of the King, but by malversations of his government, defects of his title, or dereliction of his duty, which compelled the Estates to deprive him of the government, and elect another person in his place. But, though a defect from incapacity differs from the defects in all of these instances, except that of Edward II, in as much as it requires only a temporary supply, the cases are so far similar, that in none of them was a legal remedy provided by the Constitution; and in all of them it was the exercise of the Royal authority which was to be supplied; and they who assumed the right of supplying it, were the two houses of Parliament, or

* Rotul. Parl. 6. 240.

or Estates, acting for the use and benefit of the people. The mode of proceeding adopted by our ancestors on these occasions, is therefore worthy of attention, as well as the laudable caution with which, on these extraordinary emergencies, they limited themselves in the use of the powers which they assumed. It is, in the first place, to be observed, that immediately after they had declared the existence of a defect of the royal authority, they *instantly* proceeded to supply that defect, by vesting the dormant authority of the Crown in the hands of *an individual* competent to exercise it. And, in the second place, though the malversations of the preceding government were, in two of these cases, the sole ground and justification of the irregular measures which they adopted, they attempted not to prevent the recurrence of such evils, by limiting the Crown, or new-modelling its prerogatives, but left that duty to be performed by subsequent legislatures, legally competent for the task. So careful were they, in the most trying circumstances, to avoid any act of legislative authority, while the legislature was incomplete, that when a Committee of the Commons was appointed, at the Revolution, 'to bring in general heads of such things as are 'absolutely necessary to be considered for the better securing of 'our religion, laws, and liberties,' they were ordered 'to distinguish such of the general heads as are introductory of new 'laws, from those that are declaratory of ancient rights:' And, when it was resolved, that the Prince and Princess of Orange should be King and Queen of England, the same Committee were instructed 'to connect to this vote such part of the heads 'which had passed the Houses, as are declaratory of antient 'rights, leaving out such parts of the heads as are introductory 'of new laws;'* and to this order we owe the declaration of rights,—the foundation of our present establishment.

At the Restoration, the forbearance of the two Houses was still more remarkable. Though a general act of amnesty and oblivion was necessary, after the recognition of Charles II., for the security of those who had so long kept him out of his kingdom; † and though a majority of the two Houses, that recalled him, had held situations of trust under his enemies, and were therefore, by their own act of recognition, liable to all the penalties of treason, no attempt was made to pass an act of indemnity *before* his return. On the contrary, the Committee appointed to prepare this and other acts recommended to Parliament

* Journals of the Commons.

† Trial of Sir H. Vane — State Trials — Foster's Crown Law, p. 402.

ment by the King's declaration from Breda, are expressly called, in the Journals of the Commons, 'a Committee appointed to prepare bills to be tendered to his Majesty for his assent.' An act for the security of property, no less necessary for those who recalled the King than the act of indemnity itself, was required to confirm the judicial proceedings that had taken place during the Commonwealth. This act was accordingly prepared during the absence of the King, and had passed both Houses of Parliament before his arrival in London: But, however immense the property which it secured from being forfeited or reclaimed, no attempt was made to give it the sanction of law, by any legal fiction, or unconstitutional assumption of regal authority, till it had been duly submitted to the King, and had received, in the accustomed form, his royal assent;—so studious were our ancestors, when placed in a situation not provided for by the Constitution, and compelled to exercise an authority not vested in them by law, to permit no argument of expediency, however strong or specious, to urge them beyond the strict necessity of the case, the foundation and sole justification of their proceeding.

But these precedents, though valuable as historical lessons, confer not on the two Houses of Parliament, or Estates of the realm, a legal right of declaring and afterwards supplying defects of the monarchical part of the government. They show, however, that whenever such defects have arisen, our ancestors have had recourse to a convention of the Estates, or irregular and imperfect semblance of a Parliament, to recognize the existence of the defect, and apply to it a suitable remedy. But, though the two Houses or Estates, have no legal right to declare a defect of the royal authority which they are afterwards to supply, they may be considered as having the sanction of precedents to justify them, when the defect occurs, in taking upon themselves to supply it,—no legal remedy for it existing. But considerations of expediency and constitutional analogy have already led us to the same practical conclusion. The abdication, much less the infirmity of the King, is no dissolution of the social compact: Society is not bound together by so slender a thread. The laws are still in being, and all the orders of the State retain their rights and privileges. The Two Estates are the organs that express the will of the people in matters of legislation; and, in the executive department, they are the supreme council, by whose advise the Sovereign is guided in the administration of his affairs. Though not legally competent to provide a remedy for the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority, they are best entitled, by the digni-

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ty of their station, and preeminence of their functions, to assume that power under the pressure of necessity, and in the absence of positive law, and to exercise it for the general good of the community. Where the legislature is incomplete, by the moral incapacity of the King, none can be so fit as its remaining branches to supply the defect, and restore activity to the supreme power, which cannot remain dormant without endangering the State.

Having admitted that, in these circumstances, the Two Houses ought to assume the power of supplying defects of the regal part of the government, we are aware that it is in vain to propose afterwards to set limits to the power which they assume. It is easy to say, that the right which necessity creates, necessity limits. But, while the Two Houses are to exercise the right, and judge of the necessity, it is manifest their power will have no other limits than their own discretion. To their discretion we must therefore appeal in the subsequent part of our argument. We must entreat them, therefore, to recollect, that, in the exercise of this assumed authority, they are not the supreme legislature of the country, legally authorised to limit or alter the succession of the Crown, to abridge or suspend the prerogatives of the King, or otherwise to change the fundamental constitutions of the State. Though not legally restricted in the exercise of a power, which, though justified in assuming, they derive not from the Law or the Constitution, we request them to consider, that, having assumed that power on grounds of expediency and constitutional analogy, they are morally bound in acting upon it, in the form as well as in the substance of their proceedings, to respect precedent and analogy, and to abide by those maxims of government which experience has shown to be most congenial and suitable to the English Constitution. To depart from these principles, is to abuse the power which necessity has thrown into their hands, and may provoke discussions which will be more easily silenced than satisfied.

To apply these observations to the case before us. On the demise of the King, the crown devolves on the next heir. By every principle of analogy, therefore, when the King is incapable of discharging the duties of his office, the performance of these duties ought to be delegated, during the continuance of his indisposition, to the individual who, of right, would have filled his place had it been vacant; provided that individual is of age to execute the trust, and free from any stain or personal objection, which might justify his exclusion from the throne. This conclusion is founded on the nature of the royal dignity, which is not a property, but a trust; and on the importance to

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the public peace, of preserving sacred and inviolate, in the minds of the people, the notion of hereditary succession to the crown. A distinction has been made between an heir presumptive and an heir apparent; and, though we are not disposed to admit that the two branches of the Legislature, in the absence of the third, ought to exclude from the Regency an heir presumptive, for reasons short of such personal objections as would have justified his exclusion from the throne, had it devolved upon him in the regular course of succession; we cannot deny, that the claim of an heir apparent, who has a certain, and not merely a contingent right of inheritance, is free from objections on the score of expediency, to which the Regency of an heir presumptive may perhaps be liable. We are the more inclined to consider the claim of the heir apparent as one that, consistently with the analogies of the constitution, cannot be disregarded; when we find that, in 1789, the ministers of the Crown, however hostile to the heir apparent, never ventured to set him aside, though they endeavoured to shackle him in the exercise of the Regency, and render him either subservient to themselves, or impotent against them. If we look to our ancient records, we shall find this opinion of the claims of the heir apparent so deeply rooted in the minds of our ancestors, that, in the reign of Henry VI, the Parliaments which appointed the Duke of York Protector of the kingdom during the incapacity of their Sovereign, enacted, at the same time, that, as soon as the Prince of Wales arrived at years of discretion, the Protectorate should devolve upon him.* And this designation was only frustrated by the civil wars, to which the frequent relapses of the King, and the obstinacy with which the faction, calling themselves his friends, clung to power, unhappily gave rise.

If we descend to later times, we find a very strong opinion expressed by the ministers of George I. in favour of the pretensions of the Prince of Wales to the Regency during the absence of his father from the kingdom. George I., soon after his arrival in England, being desirous of visiting Hanover, appointed a Committee of the Privy Council, consisting of the Lord Chancellor Cowper, the Dukes of Devonshire and Marlborough, the Earl of Sunderland, and Lord Townshend, 'to 'consider in what manner it might be most adviseable to settle 'the Regency here, in case his Majesty should determine to 'spend some part of the year at Hanover.' These ministers, after giving their opinion with great freedom against the journey,

* Rotul. Parl. V. 243. 238.

ney, conclude their letter by stating, that having 'proceeded 'to consider, in obedience to his Majesty's commands, in what 'manner the Regency might be most properly constituted du-'ring his absence; and, upon a careful perusal of the prece-'dents, finding no instance of persons being joined in com-'mission with the Prince of Wales, and few, if any, restric-'tions on such commissions; we are of opinion, that the con-'stant tenor of ancient practice cannot conveniently be receded 'from.' * They seem never to have thought it possible, that any other person could be proposed for the Regency than the Prince of Wales; and though the appointment was to be made by the King himself, they were of opinion, that few, if any restrictions, could be introduced into the commission, without violating what they term the 'constant tenour of ancient prac-'tice.' They nowhere insinuate that the Prince of Wales has a legal right to the Regency; but they consider his pretensions to hold it, with few or no restrictions, to be so strong, that the Sovereign himself could not conveniently reject his claim.

It is in this sense we understand the argument maintained, in 1788, for the right of the Prince of Wales to the Regency, subject to the adjudication of the two Houses of Parliament. Strict legal right, which could be asserted and made good in a court of judicature, he certainly had none. It was observed, with more truth than decorum, by Mr Pitt, that every individual of his Father's subjects had as good a legal right to the Regency as his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. But, in his eagerness to combat the pretensions of the Heir apparent, the minister forgot to add, that there was not a corporation in the kingdom which had not as good a legal right to supply the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority, as the two Houses of Parliament. Strict or legal right, there was none, either of the Prince to claim, or of the two Houses to confer, the Regency. A defect existed in the government of the State, and necessity required that the defect should be supplied. But necessity did not, and could not, point out the instruments to supply it. Expediency and analogy were the sole grounds on which the two Houses could found their resolution, that it was *their* duty to supply the defect of the royal authority. But expediency and analogy equally pointed out the Heir apparent of the monarchy as the person who, during the incapacity of his father and no longer, ought to exercise the powers of the Crown. It would not have been more preposterous for the Livery of London to have claimed the right of naming

* Cox's Memoirs of Sir Rob. Walpole, II. 61.

naming to the Regency, than for the two Houses of Parliament to have appointed any other person to that office than the Prince of Wales.

The argument against restrictions of the royal prerogative in the hands of a Regent, lies in a narrow compass, and seems to us equally clear and irresistible. The power and splendour of the Crown are bestowed on the monarch, not for his personal convenience or private gratification, but for the use and benefit of his people. If that power and splendour are greater than the public service requires, let them be permanently contracted and reduced. But, on what pretence select the government of a Regent, which, from the uncertainty of its duration, must be weaker than that of a King, in order to deprive it of powers given to the Crown for the service of the State, and still held in argument to be necessary for that end? The particular season chosen by Mr Pitt for making his experiment on the smallest quantity of power with which the machine of government could be kept in motion, appears to us so obviously unfavourable, that, uncharitable as it may seem to ascribe sinister motives to any one, we cannot help believing, that if his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales had signified to the minister, in 1788, that filial piety, or some other motive, would prevent him from making any change in his father's councils, we should never have heard of the restrictions of the Regency bill.

But, what are the arguments on the other side? We shall here quote from the excellent pamphlet before us.

'It is said, if the Regent be entrusted with certain prerogatives of the Crown, he may, during this temporary exercise of the royal authority, so abuse his power, as to create obstruction to the due exercise of the future government of the King, when he resumes the throne. An instance has been put, that he may, during the Regency, create so many Peers, that when the King returns to power, he cannot, upon principles of public policy, for some time add to the number; and thus the King's government will be enfeebled by the want of this power of making Peers. The supposed evil therefore is, that when his Majesty is happily restored to the throne, the public interests may suffer by the want of his entire constitutional prerogatives. Now this evil is at least uncertain, for although we all look with sanguine hopes to the recovery of his Majesty, yet it is not morally certain. It is fair in argument, to assume the possibility of the abuse of power by the Regent, however little to be apprehended in fact; but it cannot even in argument be assumed, that it is certain the Regent will abuse his power. Now, to avoid this uncertain evil, what are we called upon to do? To incur, certainly, an evil of precisely the same nature;—the evil which the public interests may suffer by the want of the entire constitutional prerogatives of

the Crown in the hands of the Regent; and we are desired to consider this certain evil as so much preferable to the same evil in uncertainty, that we are to purchase this preference at the price of assuming in the two Houses a power over the royal authority, which in its principle cannot be denied to be of most dangerous and unconstitutional tendency. In this way of viewing this part of the case,' continues Mr Leach, 'I have given a weight to the argument of the possibility of the abuse of power by the Regent, to which I think it in no degree entitled on general principles. A Regent may abuse the royal power; a Monarch may abuse his power. But has not the Constitution given to the two Houses of Parliament such means of restraint and control upon the royal authority, as both in theory and practice effectually to guard against such abuse; and is it to be apprehended that these means, which have been found efficient in the case of Monarchs, will be too feeble to resist a Regent? —that a regency, a temporary government, will prove more powerful than a monarchy, a permanent government?'

If we look to precedents, and examine regencies appointed or confirmed by act of Parliament, we shall find, as Mr Leach has remarked, 'that in no case in the English history, except 'in 1788, has it ever been thought expedient to suspend, dur- 'ing the temporary possession of power, any function or pre- 'rogative of royalty.' In a great number of instances which he has collected, the same learned gentleman has shown in the most satisfactory manner, that though the royal prerogative has been often divided and placed in more hands than one, because there was no heir apparent to exercise it, there is no precedent, of the powers of the Crown having been suspended, so that they could not be exercised, if necessary, for the service of the State; or if, in some instances, particular limitations were introduced, they have been in matters nowise connected with the ordinary administration of the government; much less were they calculated, like the restrictions proposed in 1788, to establish a fourth estate in the kingdom, which, in the hands of the exministers of the Crown, might be converted into the means of controlling the Regent, and subjecting him in the choice of his servants to an influence unknown to the Constitution. To the deductions of Mr Leach upon this point, we have only to add, what we have already shown, that neither at the Restoration, nor in any instance where the two Houses of Parliament or Estates of the realm supplied defects of the Royal authority without the concurrence of the reigning King or of some one legally empowered to act in his name, was an attempt ever made to limit or abridge the prerogative, while the Crown was incapable of defence. Even when the offending Monarch was sacrificed to the

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just indignation of his people, the rights of the monarchy were respected and preserved.

The result of our opinions on this subject is shortly this. Where no legal provision has been made for the incapacity of the Sovereign, and where the supreme legislative authority is suspended by his infirmity, there is no legal or Constitutional mode of supplying the defect of the government. But as there exists a necessity to supply the defect, the power of supplying it must be assumed; and from every principle of expediency and Constitutional analogy, as well as from precedent, the two Houses of Parliament, or Estates of the realm, are justified in assuming that power. But, in exercising it, they are bound, by a regard to expediency, analogy and precedent, to transfer the Royal authority which they have assumed, unaltered and unimpaired, to the Heir apparent. In what manner this transfer ought to be made, will be the next subject of our consideration.

Two modes of appointing the regency have been proposed; the one, by bill; the other, by address. We have no hesitation in stating, that in our opinion, the second is the preferable mode of proceeding. The other appears to us contrary to statute, inconsistent with the general principles and analogies of the Constitution, dangerous as a precedent, and in practice slow and unsuitable to the exigency of the occasion.

In the first place, to proceed by bill, the two Houses must assume an authority over the Great Seal. The royal assent is given to bills either in presence of the King, in the Upper House of Parliament, or by letters patent under the Great Seal. But when the King is rendered incapable, by mental indisposition, of executing the duties of his office, he can neither appear in the House of Lords in person, nor direct letters patent to be issued to notify his assent to Parliament. In order to give to a bill, under these circumstances, the force and effect of law, the two Houses must take upon them to direct the Great Seal to be applied to letters patent, in the King's name, appointing commissioners to declare his assent to the bill; which thereby acquires, in the courts of law, the force and validity of an act of Parliament. But this stretch of authority of the two Houses, in ordering the King's Great Seal to be employed to give his royal assent to a bill which he has never seen or assented to, is such, that we will venture most confidently to affirm, that, till 1811, there was no example of it in the monarchy of England. So scrupulous were former Parliaments of usurping authority over the Great Seal, that after the recognition, and before the return of Charles II, when great inconvenience was felt from the want of the Great Seal, though the Commons resolved at

one time to make use of it, in the King's name, for writs of error and other legal purposes, they were obliged to desist, because they could not obtain the concurrence of the Lords, though they had a conference with the Upper House on the subject. * Some years before, when the Parliament was engaged in open hostilities with the King, and the Great Seal had been surreptitiously conveyed from them by the Lord Keeper Littleton, notwithstanding the difficulties to which they were exposed for want of it, they allowed more than thirteen months to elapse, before they ventured to fabricate another Seal in place of the one which had been clandestinely carried away from them; and, after they had made a new Seal, they waited four months longer, before they could agree to use it for the ordinary purposes of law. † But, even in those troublesome times, they never thought of applying it to letters patent, in the King's name, giving the royal assent to bills, but contented themselves with passing ordinances of the two Houses, which had at that time the force of temporary laws. Nor did they ever attempt to give to their acts the force of statute law, till after their votes of the 4th of January, 1649, which abolished the antient constitution of the kingdom, and virtually established a Commonwealth. ‡ The precedent, thus begun, was continued till the Restoration. It was then declared to be illegal; and, to maintain the legality of it 'by 'writing, printing, preaching, or other speaking,' was made punishable as a *præmunire*. § Is it, then, no objection to a mode of proceeding, that it is declared to be illegal on our statute book, and that he who maintains the contrary incurs the danger and penalty of a *præmunire*? We admit, that if no other course remains for restoring efficiency to the government, but through the violation of a statute, not one law only, but every law in the statute book, ought to be disregarded and set aside, rather than the State should perish, or the nation suffer, for whose benefit all laws are made. But, to establish the conclusion, it must be shown, that no other course can be followed which is not equally a violation of the law.

But this is not all. The royal assent given to bills by commission is not valid, unless the letters patent are signed with the King's hand. By an act of the 1st of Queen Mary, it is declared, by authority of Parliament, 'That the law of this 'realm is, and always hath been, that the Royal assent, or consent

* Journals, from 5th to 11th May, 1660.

† Journals, from May 11th to July 5th, and from October 11th to November 10th, 1643.

‡ Scobell's Acts and Ordinances. § 13 Car. II. cap. 1.

'sent of the King or Kings of this realm, to any act of Par-
'liament, ought to be given in his own Royal presence, being
'personally present in the Higher House of Parliament, or by
'his letters patent under a Great Seal, *assigned with his hand*,
'and declared and notified in his absence to the Lords Spiri-
'tual and Temporal and the Commons assembled together in
'the Higher House.' A bill of attainder against the Duke of Norfolk having passed the two Houses of Parliament in the last year of Henry VIII, and commissioners having been appointed by the King to give his Royal assent to the bill, it is declared by the same act of Queen Mary, that this commission 'having no words in the same, whereby it may appear that the said late King did himself give his Royal assent to the said bill; and that for that also the said commission was not *signed with his Highness' hand*, but with his stamp put thereunto; nor that it appeareth of any record, that the said commissioners did give his Royal assent to the bill aforesaid;†—therefore, all that was done by virtue of the said commission by the said commissioners, concerning the giving of the late King's Royal assent and consent, was clearly *void in the law*, and made not the same bill to take effect, or be an act of Par-
'liament.' This bill of attainder is therefore declared, in a subsequent part of the act, to have 'remained in every deed as
'*no act of Parliament*, but as a bill only, exhibited in the said
'Parliament, and only assented unto by the said Lords and
'Commons, and not by the King:' And, finally, it is declared, 'that this *pretended act* is, by the common laws of this your
'realm, *void and of none effect*: And, by the authority above
'said, shall be taken, adjudged and decerned to be *no act of*
'*Parliament*, and that it never took any effect as an act of
'Parliament; and that the same, to all intents and purposes,
'is, and shall be, of *no validity or effect*.'

This act reduces us to the following dilemma. Letters patent under the Great Seal, giving the Royal assent to a bill by commission, when the King is incapable of affixing to them his signature, either want the sign-manual, in which case the assent 'is void in law, and maketh not the bill to take effect or be
'an act of Parliament;' or have the King's signature annexed to them by some one 'falsely forging or counterfeiting the sign-
'manual,' which is high treason by statute,‡ and subjects the 'offenders

† It appears from the Journals of the Lords, that this pretext for annulling the attainder was unfounded in fact. The Royal assent was given, under the commission, by the Chancellor, in the usual manner.

‡ 1 Mar. Sess. 2. cap. 6.

'offenders therein, their counsellors, procurers, aiders and 'abetters,' on conviction, to be deemed and adjudged traitors, and to suffer all the penalties of treason. The proceeding, therefore, must either remain void and of no effect, or the actors and advisers of it will be liable to punishment as traitors. To escape from this dilemma, is impossible; and therefore the advisers of the phantom, on a late occasion, had only to choose between leaving their work imperfect, and exposing their persons to condign punishment. In this trying situation, we applaud the prudence and wisdom of their choice. Some valuable lives have perhaps been saved to the community; and a most unconstitutional proceeding, when it has served its turn, may perhaps be annulled by some future Parliament, as the attainder of the Duke of Norfolk was declared void and of no effect by the Parliament of Queen Mary.

The want of the sign-manual was not the only circumstance in which the commission issued by the phantom differed from the commissions of our ordinary Sovereigns. The latter begin with the words, 'Whereas we have seen and fully understand an act, agreed upon by you,' &c.; and it is the absence of these words in the commission for the attainder of the Duke of Norfolk, which is called, in the act of Queen Mary, the 'having no words in the same whereby it may appear that 'the King did himself give his Royal assent to the said bill.' But the phantom's commission contained no such words; and it is therefore, in this respect also, liable to the same objection as the commission for the attainder of the Duke of Norfolk.

But, without insisting further on these technical objections, the great argument against proceeding by bill is, that it carries fraud and absurdity on the face of it, and attempts to do that which is contrary to the fundamental principles and uniform practice of the Constitution. It professes to be an act of the King, while it is merely an act of the two Houses. It notifies his assent to a bill, while it declares his incapacity to exercise the government. It assumes the form of a statute, while it is 'a bill only, exhibited in Parliament, and only assented unto 'by the Lords and Commons.' It is an attempt to legislate, unprecedented in our history. When the Long Parliament enacted statutes, it was fairly and openly done. They first declared, that the Commons of England, assembled in Parliament, have the supreme power of the nation, and then abolished the House of Lords as useless, and the office of King as dangerous. But, while the government of England was acknowledged to be in King, Lords and Commons, we will venture to affirm, that no statute was ever enacted in Parliament

without the assent of the King, declared in his own presence, or in presence of some one legally authorised to represent him in that Assembly, and to do therein all that he could have done, had he been there present in person. Since the accession of the house of Tudor, there have been no representatives of the King in Parliament, except commissioners, specially appointed and limited, either by their commission or by the law and practice of Parliament, to the performance of some specific duty. But, in the remoter periods of our history, it was common for the King to grant a general commission to one or more of his subjects, which enabled the persons named therein, to exercise, according to their discretion, his power of assent or dissent, when bills or petitions were presented to the Throne by the other branches of the legislature. It is from inattention to this part of our antient constitution, that so many persons have been deceived upon this subject, and led into the mistake of supposing, that during the absence, nonage or infirmity of our Sovereigns, it was usual for the other branches of the legislature to enact statutes without their concurrence. To place this point in a clearer view, we shall enter into a short history of these representatives of the Royal authority in Parliament.

The first in dignity and antiquity is the *Custos Regni*, or guardian of the kingdom during the absence of the Sovereign in foreign parts. This office is mentioned as early as the time of William the Conqueror. When that Prince returned to Normandy, soon after his acquisition of England, we are told that he left Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, and William Fitzherbert, to exercise the office of guardians of the kingdom in his absence. Such appointments must have been extremely common afterwards, under the Norman Kings, his successors, and the earlier Plantagenets, as these princes had extensive dominions on the Continent, which they were continually visiting. But, from the loss of our antient records, there is no commission of *Custos* to be found in Rymer, † of an older date than the reign of John. From that time they are very common; and though the duties and privileges of the office are now involved in doubt and obscurity, it appears that they were then familiarly known and accurately defined. The commission of Edward I. to the Earl of Pembroke, directs his subjects to obey that nobleman 'tanquam custodi nostro dicti regni et locum nostrum tenenti 'in eodem, *in hiis quæ ad dictam custodiam pertinent;* ‡ and the same words are used in many subsequent commissions. The *Custos* was sometimes appointed in Parliament, but more frequently by the King alone, without the advice of that assembly.

Whether

† Rymer, i. 181. ‡ In 1285. Rymer.

Whether the *Custos Regni* had the power of convoking and holding parliaments, by virtue of the general authority entrusted to him by his commission, is a doubtful question. On the one hand, special powers are frequently conferred upon him, 'tam parliamenta quam concilia nostra intra idem regnum nostrum tenendi, Et Prælatos, Magnates et Proceres ac communitates dicti regni nostri, cum tempus exegerit vel necesse fuerit, convocandi et summonendi, et cum ipsis consulendi, Et ea quæ nobis et regno nostro prædicto necessaria fuerint vel oportuna de assensu parliamentorum—faciendi, ordinandi et disponendi, Et ea quæ de assensu parliamentorum—tractata vel ordinata fuerint, executioni debitæ vice nostra demandari faciendi.* On the other hand, there are instances of Parliaments having been convoked and held by the *Custos Regni*, when no special powers of this nature appear to have been given to him. This much, however, is certain, that when Parliaments were held by the *Custos*, he represented the King, and exercised the same powers and authority in these assemblies; gave or refused, at his discretion, his assent to the petitions presented to him; and enacted laws, many of which are still extant in our statute-book. The particular facts to be found in the rolls of Parliament and other public records, which justify us in making this general statement, are too numerous to be here cited. We shall therefore confine ourselves to a very small number of instances.

The earliest case we have met with, of a Parliament convoked and held by a *Custos Regni*, is in the reign of Edward I. That monarch having occasion to go to Flanders, left his son, Edward, *Custos* and *Locum Tenens* during his absence. The King embarked at Winchelsea on the 22d of August 1297; and between the 9th and 15th of the following month of September, intelligence arrived from Scotland of a general insurrection against the English government in that kingdom. Whereupon the young Prince, with advice of his Council, issued writs, on the 15th of September, for the convocation of a Parliament; which met accordingly on the 7th of October, and, among other acts, passed the celebrated statute of 'Confirmatio Cartarum,' which is still to be found in our statute-book, with the addition of 'Tesmoigne Edward nostre fitz.'†

The Parliament which deposed Edward II., was originally summoned by his son as *Custos Regni*, though afterwards held by him in a different character. In the reign of Edward III., no less than five Parliaments were held or summoned by persons

E 3 officiating

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* Rymer, 7. 790. † Ib. 2. 791—796. Statutes at Large.

officiating as *Custos*; one in the reign of Richard II.; five in the reign of Henry V.; and one in the reign of Henry VI., which was the last Parliament held in England by a *Custos Regni*. For these facts we refer to the rolls of Parliament, and to Rymer's Fœdera.

That the *Custos Regni*, when petitions were presented to him in Parliament, had a discretionary power of giving or withholding the Royal assent, appears evident from the words of the commission above recited; and that he exercised this discretion freely, is manifest from the rolls of Parliament, in which we find petitions addressed by the Commons to the '*Gardeyn* d' Engleterre,' in the same terms as to the King himself; and these petitions either granted by him, or refused, before the rising of the Parliament: And that from these petitions statutes were afterwards framed by the law-officers of the Crown, in the manner usual at that time, is equally certain from a comparison of the statute-book with the rolls of Parliament. We have a striking illustration of this in the 8th of Henry V., when the Commons presented a petition to the Duke of Gloucester as 'Gardeyn d' Engleterre;' in which they complain, that several Lords have told them, 'that the petitions presented in this Parliament are not to be engrossed, till they have been sent across the sea to the King, for his Royal assent and opinion;' whereupon they pray, 'that it be enacted by the Duke of Gloucester, Guardian of England, with authority of this present Parliament, that all such petitions be answered and concluded within the realm of England, and while the Parliament is sitting; and that such petitions as are not answered during the sitting of Parliament be held null and void; and that this be perpetually observed in all future Parliaments.' To this petition the Duke of Gloucester thought proper to oppose the Royal negative placed in his hands; but the petition shows, that it had been the usual practice for the *Custos Regni*, in the absence of the King, to answer the petitions of the Commons in Parliament, without referring them to his absent Sovereign; and it fully demonstrates, that a Parliament held by the *Custos* was understood to have the power of making laws, which the King could not afterwards set aside.

But it occasionally happened, that the King was unable to attend his Parliament, when he was unwilling to appoint a *Custos*, or prevented from doing so, by being resident within the kingdom: For it was one of the peculiarities of the office of *Custos*, that it could exist only when the King was absent from the kingdom, and expired immediately on his return. Of this fact, as well as of the happy tenacity of our ancestors, in adhering to the

the forms of the constitution amidst scenes of the greatest turbulence and disorder, we have a curious illustration in the latter part of the reign of Edward II. That misguided prince, being hotly pursued by his enemies, at the head of which were his wife and son, fled into Wales, and from thence embarked for Ireland. Intelligence of his flight, without any provision for the government of the kingdom in his absence, having been conveyed to Bristol, where the Barons in arms against him were assembled, an irregular convention of Lords and Commons met in that city, and unanimously elected his son, Edward, to be *Custos Regni* in his absence. In that capacity the Prince, afterwards the renowned Edward III., issued writs for assembling a Parliament; but the old King being driven back to England by stress of weather, no sooner was his return known to the insurgents, than they held the commission of *Custos* to be vacated, and applied to him by message for the Great Seal, to enable them to conduct the government in his own name.*

On such occasions, when it was impossible or inconvenient to appoint a *Custos*, our Kings used to name a special Commissioner or Lieutenant to represent them in Parliament, invested with the same authority which, if there present, they would themselves have possessed. These Commissioners had the same power in Parliament as the *Custos*. They granted or refused petitions at their discretion, and gave their assent to laws, which acquired thereby the force of statutes. Of this there are innumerable proofs in our statute-book, particularly in the Parliaments held during the reign of Henry VI. The practice of appointing Commissioners was, however, much more antient than that period. We find it in use as early as the time of Edward II., who, in the 6th year of his reign, being detained in France longer than he expected, appointed four Commissioners to hold a Parliament, which he had summoned before he left the kingdom, and obliged himself to confirm their acts in the following terms—'Nos autem rata habebimus et accepta ea, quæ per vos, 'tres vel duos vestrum, nomine nostro, fieri contigerit.' The next Parliament we meet with, held by Commissioners, was that which deposed Edward II. It is remarkable of this Parliament, that it was originally summoned by Prince Edward as *Custos Regni*; afterwards prorogued, in the King's name, to a more distant day; and ordered to be held, in case of his own absence, by his Queen and son; and finally, after his abdication and deposal, it was continued by Edward III., and employed in transacting

* Brady's Continuation, App. No. 70.

acting business.* Another Parliament was summoned by Edward III., to meet at Lincoln before the close of the first year of his reign, to be there held by himself, or, in case of his absence, by persons to be deputed by him.† In the 13th year of the same reign, Edward, the Black Prince, who was *Custos* of the kingdom, being prevented from meeting a Parliament which he had summoned, letters patent were issued under the Great Seal, authorizing certain persons named therein to open and hold the Parliament, 'en noun de n're Seignur le Roi et 'du dit Gardeyn; et a faire les choses q'' sount a faire p' meisme 'le Gardein taut q'' sa veuue.' ‡ Two other Parliaments were summoned by the same King, to be held by Commissioners; § and during the reign of Henry VI., no less than five Parliaments were held by Commissioners, two by the Duke of Gloucester, one by the Duke of Bedford, and two by the Duke of York, in which many laws were enacted, and the Royal negative exercised with the same freedom as it was usual, at that period, for our Kings themselves to exercise it. ‖ In the 3d of Edward IV. is the latest instance we have found on record of a statute enacted by the King's Lieutenant in Parliament, in virtue of his general powers. ¶

After this short explanation of the powers of the *Custos Regni*, and of the King's Lieutenant or Commissioner in Parliament, we have no hesitation in repeating our assertion, that no Parliament of England ever presumed to enact statutes, except during the time of the Commonwealth, without the presence of the King, or of some one legally empowered to represent his person, and exercise his functions, in that assembly. But we have better authority than the accuracy of our own researches for this conclusion. We have the joint opinion of some of the best patriots, and greatest constitutional lawyers, who ever sat together in an English House of Commons. No party will deny that we use these appellations justly, when we apply them to such men as Hampden and Holles, Hyde and Falkland, Pym and Selden, Maynard and Whitlocke, St John and d'Ewes. It is well known, that before the rupture between Charles I. and his Parliament, that Monarch thought proper to visit Scotland, on pretence of fulfilling a promise made to his subjects of that kingdom. The Commons, alarmed at his intention of leaving the country, immediately after the discovery of a plot to overawe

* Brady's Continuation, App. No. 70, 71 and 81.
† Rymer, 4. 301. ‡ Rot. Parl. 13 Ed. III. Pars C.
§ In the 25th and 51st of Edward III.
‖ In the 1st, 2d, 4th, 32d and 33d of Henry VI.
¶ Rot. Parl. 3d Ed. IV. No. 10, 11.

awe their deliberations, by petitions from the army, and before the settlement of the kingdom was completed, appointed a committee to consider, 'what was fit to present to the House, in 'case the King should be out of the kingdom when the Parlia- 'ment was sitting.' *. Of this committee Mr Selden was chairman, and the other persons above-mentioned, with some others, were members. After hearing the report of their committee, the House resolved, 'That the Lords be desired, in a confer- 'ence, to join with this House in a petition to his Majesty, that 'his Majesty would be pleased to grant a commission to one or 'more person or persons, to have the power for a *Custos Regni*, 'or *Locum Tenens*, during his absence out of the kingdom; 'and amongst other things, in especial, to grant to such per- 'son or persons power to give the Royal assent in Parliament; 'and to do such other things as the King might do in Parlia- 'ment, if he were present.' † This petition, though it appears to Hume disrespectful to the King, and inconsistent with the constitution, was conformable to antient practice, and warranted, as we have seen, by numerous precedents in our history; and these we learn, from the journals of the Lords, were cited by Mr Selden at the conference. ‡ Another mode of proceeding, however, was adopted in preference by the Lords; who, 'after 'much consideration, whether a commission to a *Custos Regni*, 'in the King's absence, or some Parliamentary power, was 'more convenient and best,' resolved, 'That a Parliamentary 'power, by commission, to do such things as should be thought 'by the Parliament, was the best.' § To this proposal of the Lords the Commons stated, in objection, among other reasons, 'that *by all precedents* it does appear, that when a Parliament 'was sitting in the King's absence, there was a *Custos Regni*, 'or *Locum Tenens*. ‖ And in the further prosecution of this business, the Lords having passed a bill, 'authorizing certain 'Commissioners, named by his Majesty, to give his Royal as- 'sent to certain bills mentioned in the commission of this act,' (which bills, it is to be observed, had not then passed the two Houses of Parliament), the Commons returned the bill with amendments to the Upper House; and in stating their reasons, they allege, 'that they find *no precedent that a Parliament was 'ever sitting without a general power*.' ¶ Here the matter dropped, in consequence of the King's departure for Scotland. But the

* Journals of the Commons, July 28th, 1641.
† Ib. July 29th. ‡ Journals of the Lords, July 30th.
§ Journals of the Lords, August 4th. ‖ Ib. August 6th.
¶ Ib. August 10th.

the transaction, though never brought to a conclusion, has served to transmit to us the opinion of the House of Commons in 1641, that before that period no Parliament had ever sat in the King's absence, without some one being present, who had a general power to exercise his authority.

We shall not insult the understanding of our readers, by a comparison between these representatives of Royalty, and the phantom engendered in 1788, though then fortunately stifled in its birth, but since reproduced, and at length dragged into life in 1811. One difference it is sufficient to point out. The old substitutes for the Sovereign were intelligent and moral beings, who had a will of their own, and the same power of exercising it with the kings whom they represented. The phantom, on the contrary, is said to be the offspring of necessity; and, so far, it has a perfect resemblance to its parent, that its acts are blind, and from an impulse not its own. The creation of the two Houses, it is an instrument in their hands, to be used in any manner they please to direct. It has no power of choice—no right of saying 'No' to its masters. Acts, to which its sanction is given, whatever be the legal forms with which they are invested, continue still to be the acts of only two of the branches of the legislature. The consent of the third is still wanting; and to pretend to it by the instrumentality of the Great Seal, is a mockery, and, could it deceive any one, a fraud.

These reflections lead us to the dangerous consequences of this precedent. The stability of our constitution consists in the balance of the different members of the supreme power. If the two Houses may not only establish, by their votes, a defect in the third branch of the legislature, but afterwards assume a power of representing it and declaring its will, the constitutional independence of the Crown is at an end. If the Sovereign should still retain his weight in the government, it must be by other arms than those provided by the Constitution. But if, on the contrary, it were understood, that whenever the two Houses declare a defect of the exercise of the Royal authority, they were bound to delegate to some person or other, independent of themselves, all the powers and prerogatives of the Crown, to be exercised, according to law, during the incapacity of the Sovereign, whatever infirmity or calamity might befal the Monarch, the rights of the monarchy would be secure. We would not be understood to state any general opinions concerning the preference of one form of government to another. We are satisfied, that the government of King, Lords and Commons, is the best for England, not only because it is the established government, but because it is adapted, by time and experience, to the laws,

customs

customs and opinions of the people. It is because we wish to preserve this form of government entire, that we deprecate the exercise of Royal authority by the two Houses of Parliament.

The difficulties and objections to which our legislators have exposed themselves by the adoption of the procedure by bill, are the more inexcusable, because they had before them the plain and simple course of supplying the defect of the Royal authority by address, sanctioned and authorized by the example of the Revolution. Had the Convention, which, happily for these kingdoms, administered, on that occasion, the trust confided to them with so much firmness and wisdom, been inspired with the metaphysical refinements of our modern statesmen, they would doubtless have dragged the Thames for the Great Seal, and, when they had fished it out of the stream, they would have applied it to a bill, in the name of King James, formally abdicating the Crown, declaring the supposititious birth of his pretended son, and placing his nephew upon the throne. But our ancestors, at that great and glorious epoch, acted in a more direct and manly manner. After having declared the vacancy of the Throne, they resolved that the Prince and Princess of Orange should be King and Queen of England, and presented to them a declaration to that effect. Our situation, on a late emergency, was so far different, that we had no vacancy to declare or to supply. The Throne was full; but the individual who filled it was incapable of exercising its duties, or asserting its rights. At the Revolution, our ancestors had to appoint a King, who should govern in his own name, and during his own natural life. In 1789 and 1811, their posterity have been called upon to appoint a Regent, who, during the incapacity of the reigning King, and no longer, should exercise the Royal authority, in the name, and on the behalf, of his Sovereign. But a difference in the duration and tenure of the power to be delegated, affects not the question of how it ought to be conferred. With such a precedent before them as the Revolution, so celebrated for its wisdom, so fortunate in its consequences, it was a strange and unaccountable blindness in Mr Pitt and his followers, to have missed, in 1789, the application of it, and to have substituted in its stead, new and unheard of devices of their own. It was truly founding a Chalcedon, with Byzantium before their eyes.

To have followed the course adopted at the Revolution, conforming, in other respects, to the analogies of the Constitution, and securing to the reigning Sovereign the resumption of his authority, when recovered from the afflicting malady with which

Providence

Providence had been pleased to visit him, it would have been necessary for the Lords and Commons, after declaring the existing defect in the exercise of the Royal authority, to have resolved, that, during the incapacity of the King, and no longer, the Heir-apparent should administer the Royal authority, by the style and title of Regent, in the name, and on the behalf, of his father. Resolutions to that effect would have invested the Regent with the legislative as well as the executive functions of the King; and the legislature being once completed, by the nomination of a real effective representative of the Sovereign, whatever confirmation was wanting to give validity, in the courts of law, to the acts of the Regent's government, would have been supplied by a full Parliament, perfect in all its members. To this mode of proceeding, which has at least directness and simplicity to recommend it, two objections have been started.

It has been said, that the name and office of Regent are unknown to our Law and Constitution; and practitioners from the Courts below have been found to state the fact with boldness, and to argue upon it as conclusive. But, in the first place, if the fact were so, we must confess, that it seems not to us of the slightest consequence. The title of Protector and Defensor was unknown in our government till the minority of Henry VI, as we are expressly told in the rolls of Parliament; but that did not prevent the Parliament from conferring certain functions of Royalty on the Dukes of Bedford and Gloucester, to be exercised by one or other of them under the style and title of Protector and Defensor of the kingdom, and First Counsellor of the King. Though the word *Regent* had been unknown to our language, as well as to our Constitution, would it have been a reason against delegating the exercise of the Royal authority to the Prince of Wales, that they who proposed it had recommended a title which sounded new and unpleasant in our ears? We might as well reject the conclusions of a speaker, not because he had confidence without knowledge, screaming without acuteness, or bluster without force; but on the miserable pretext, that his voice was harsh, grating, and offensive. In the second place, the word Regent is not only to be found in modern statutes, but in the rolls of Parliament as early as the reign of Henry VI., in the course of which it is used on two different occasions by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled, as a title equivalent to Tutor, Lieutenant, or Governor, 'emportyng auctorite of governaunce of the lond.'*

And

* Rot. Parl. 4. 327. and 5. 242. — Statutes of 24. Geo. II. and 5. Geo. III.

And at a still earlier period it is found in our records, in the style and title of *Rector Regis et Regni;* and by the Earl of Pembroke, during the minority of Henry III.

We come now to the last and greatest of the objections to the course of proceeding, for which we have declared a preference. We are told, that it is impossible for the two Houses of Parliament to make a Regent by address; that their resolutions to that effect would be null and void, and could not communicate to the object of their choice the power and authority of the Sovereign. If no more is meant by this objection, than that it is impossible for the two Houses of Parliament *legally* to appoint a Regent, it is what we have been contending for in the whole course of our preceding argument; with this difference only, that, in our opinion, there are no *legal* means whatever of supplying, by the two Houses of Parliament or otherwise, a defect of the government, arising from the incapacity of the King to discharge the duties of his station. But, if they who urge this objection, mean to insinuate, that resolutions of the two Houses appointing a Regent to administer the government in the name of the Sovereign, will not, in fact, confer on the Regent whom they designate, the power of exercising the functions of Royalty; it seems to us, we must own, a strange and paradoxical opinion, to maintain, that resolutions of the two Houses, which have frequently disposed of the Crown itself, with all its rights and appurtenances, should be unable to delegate to the Heir-apparent the temporary exercise of the Royal authority, during the declared and recognised incapacity of the King. Who is there to dispute the resolutions of the two Houses of Parliament, acting under so imperious a necessity, and providing for so laudable an end? Is it from the army, from the navy, or from the *posse comitatus*, that this resistance is to be apprehended? If the nation were inclined to question the authority of the two Houses, to make provision for the government of the kingdom, during the unhappy infirmity of his Majesty, would the phantom frighten them into obedience, and, with the terrors of its name, reduce them to submission? Did not the Convention, irregularly assembled at Westminster in December 1688, address the Prince of Orange to take upon him the administration of public affairs, both civil and military, and the disposal of the public revenue? And was it not the first act of the Convention Parliament, to repeat that address, and reiterate the prayer which it contained? Was it ever doubted, whether, in virtue of those addresses, the Prince of Orange could take upon him the administration of the government? Did he not actually exercise it? Did he not disband soldiers,

soldiers, raise money, grant commissions, and do other things necessary for the public service? Were these acts contested at the moment, and were they not afterwards declared, by act of Parliament, to have been 'necessary in regard of the exigency 'of public affairs, and therefore to be justified?'

We are ready to admit, that, without an act of Parliament, or authority under the Great Seal, there is a technical and official difficulty in carrying on the government under a Regent, which might in time lead to very serious inconvenience, if it were not obviated. Commissions signed by the Prince Regent, if questioned in the courts of law, could not be received there as valid commissions, till the judges had been directed to recognise the authority of the Regent by act of Parliament, or commission under the Great Seal: And there may be other technical and official difficulties in the administration of the government, for which the aid of Parliament would be equally necessary. An act, confirming and recognising the Regent's authority, would, therefore, in all probability, be one of the first measures submitted to Parliament by his advisers. But, an act to that effect, at once declaring and enacting, that the exercise of the royal authority committed to the Regent, during the indispostion of his father, should be held in law to commence from the day on which he assumed the administration of the government, on the joint address of the two Houses, would remove the difficulty in a manner perfectly analogous to precedent, and to the usage of our ancestors in similar emergencies. Such acts of confirmation were passed by the Parliaments of Edward IV, Richard III, and Henry VII, recognising the right and title of these monarchs to the throne; and on two more recent, and far more memorable occasions, at the Restoration and Revolution, acts were passed by the Convention Parliaments, declaring themselves 'to be the two Houses of 'Parliament to all intents, constructions and purposes, notwith'standing any want of writs of summons, or any other defect 'of form, or default whatsoever.'* The act to be passed on this occasion would merely require, that the Regent should be present in Parliament when the royal assent was given to it.

But, when we have admitted, that an act of Parliament, confirming the Regent's authority, would be necessary for the security of persons acting by commissions under his government, we are told, with an air of triumph, that, do what we may, we must come at last to an act of Parliament, assented to in the King's name, without the King's actual consent. Whoever

* Rot. Parl. V. 464. VI. 262 & 270. Statutes, 12 Car. II. c. 1. 1 Will. et Mar. Sess. 1. cap. 1.

ever doubted it? Who ever supposed, that the Regent could administer the government without adding to our statutes; or that, administering it in the King's name, he could add to their number, without giving the royal assent to acts of Parliament in name, and on the behalf, of his father? If there should be any understanding so perplexed, or so obtuse, as not to perceive the difference between an act of Parliament enacted by the two Houses and the Prince Regent, and a bill passed by the two Houses and assented to by themselves, through the instrumentality of the Phantom, we might deplore, but we should think it hopeless to supply, the defect. The Prince Regent has the duties of a King to perform, and is, or ought to be, invested with all the powers necessary for so important a trust. Though appointed by the two Houses of Parliament, his authority has no other limits to its duration than the unhappy infirmity of his Sovereign. He has a will and understanding of his own; and is bound to employ these faculties, under the advice of responsible ministers, it is true, but with the same free exercise of his judgment and discretion, which the Sovereign himself could use in the plenitude of his power. The Phantom has neither will, judgment, nor independent existence. It expresses the will, and obeys the mandates of its constituents, the two Houses of Parliament. Its existence is limited to a day. Like a worthless grub, it emerges into life; exhausts itself in a single effort; and expires in the act for which it was created. To dispute with one who professed to see no difference between the Prince of Wales and the Phantom, would be as idle a task, as to argue with a schoolman, 'an chimæra bombitans 'in vacuo posset concedere secundas intentiones.'

We have now brought to a conclusion the observations we proposed to make on the important question before us. We are sensible how difficult it is to procure attention to a subject which has recently occupied the public mind, as a matter not of speculative curiosity, but of the greatest practical importance to the State. But we are convinced, that it is only after that agitation has passed away, that the country can be expected to judge of it dispassionately, or to listen with coolness to the arguments on either side. It is with this view that we have hazarded the preceding observations; and we are confident that whatever differences of opinion may exist as to the constitutional merits of the question, all parties must agree, that if it be not deliberately considered at such a moment as the present, no impartial judgment is to be expected, or speedy decision to be hoped for, when the difficulty actually recurs. If the same defect should again overtake us, without any provision having been made for it by statute, we must look for a

 revival

revival of the old controversies, and for a repetition of the old delays. But, surely, the same emergency may recur, when it would be not only inconvenient, but eminently hazardous, for the State to remain for three months without a legal or efficient Government. Some comprehensive and prospective enactment, therefore, appears to be absolutely necessary to complete the plan of the Constitution. And there are few, we believe, who will be of opinion, that the foundations of such an arrangement would be best laid in the heats and alarms, the cabals and pretensions, inseparable from the recurrence of such a calamity.

ART. III. *New Theory of the Formation of Veins; with its application to the Art of Working Mines.* By ABRAHAM GOTTLOB WERNER, Professor of Mineralogy at Freyberg, Counsellor of the Mines of Saxony, &c. &c. Translated from the German, with an Appendix, by Charles Anderson, M. D. Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, &c. &c. Edinburgh, 1809.

THE author of the treatise just named, is one of the few instances which the present age affords, of an individual who has formed a school in any branch of science or philosophy. The school of Werner is well known to geologists; and few sects ever looked up to their head with sentiments of more profound admiration. This is not confined to Germany; it has extended to other countries; and, even here, in the midst of a University remarkable for freedom of opinion, a SOCIETY, by the name it had assumed, seems to profess an unqualified adherence to the doctrines of the Saxon mineralogist.

With all this high reputation, Werner has written but few books; and it is not clear that his fame would have been greater, if he had written more. The instructions given by oral communication, are most likely to excite the wonder and admiration of a scholar. They are heard with partiality by an audience to which they must necessarily be new; and they escape the severe ordeal to which every thing is exposed that is submitted to the public at large. The more restricted the intercourse of the learned, the more probable their division into sects. The schools of antiquity bore the names of their masters much more frequently than those of modern times. The art of printing, by the multiplication of books, and the diffusion of knowledge, has proved unfavourable to all monopoly in literature or science.

It was by his treatise on the External Characters of Minerals that Werner first became known. In that treatise, he explained the principles of a language much more adequate to the purposes of mineralogy, and more fit for discriminating its objects, than any that had yet been employed. The invention of such a language was a matter of great difficulty; and it was long before the ingenuity of Linnæus and Wallerius made any material improvement on the sketch which had been first traced out by Agricola, the father of Mineralogy. Werner, taking advantage of what had been done by his predecessors, gave to the system of external characters a very high degree of perfection, and taught mineralogists how to mark and to describe many circumstances in the structure of minerals, which hitherto had entirely escaped observation. His descriptions, therefore, compared with those that were formerly given, have a great superiority, though, compared with the idea of a perfectly scientific arrangement, they must still seem to be defective. The reason is, that though minerals are divided into *genera* and *species*; yet that which constitutes the specific difference, or the principle which discriminates one species from another, does not appear to be constant and invariable.

This imperfection, indeed, we should be inclined to ascribe chiefly to the nature of the subject, and to suspect that it was not in the power of human ingenuity to remove it entirely, if the French mineralogist, Haüy, had not found out a method of distinguishing species, according to one distinct and uniform principle, in all the cases of minerals regularly crystallized.

The arrangements of Werner, though the want of a constant specific difference takes from their logical accuracy, are, nevertheless, of great value. In some more inconsiderable points, they are rendered less perfect than they might be, by a puerile affectation (for so we must call it) of rejecting the helps to accurate observation which the mineralogist might derive from other sciences. A lens to examine the structure of a mineral, a steel to explore its hardness, a goniometer to measure its angles, nay, a balance to determine its specific gravity, are rejected by Werner, as aids unworthy of a skilful and independent geognost. His technical language, too, at least when hastily transferred from the German to other tongues, is uncouth in its sound, inartificial in its formation, and often, as one would think, studiously inaccurate. With all these imperfections, it has been of great service to mineralogy.

The work which is now before us was first published in 1791, after the author, as he tells us, had been thirty years occupied in

in studying the nature of veins, and investigating their formation, and six years after he had first explained his new theory in his lectures. He nevertheless complains, that he had wanted time to digest and arrange it sufficiently. 'I have been,' says he, 'under the necessity of composing and putting it in 'order within the space of three months, and that at a time, 'too, when I have been engaged, for eight or ten hours a day, 'in works requiring great exertion of mind: Every sheet was 'printed as soon as it was written; so that I had no opportu-'nity of altering or revising it, far less of correcting the 'whole.'

In this apology, we must say, that there is some appearance of affectation; and that it is scarcely possible to suppose, that a professor, who had read lectures on a theory for six successive years, could want time for digesting and arranging a volume of 250 octavo pages, on a subject that he had so often treated. The truth is, that the faults in the composition and arrangement of this work, seem to us to be such as time alone would never have enabled the author to correct. A French translation of it was published in 1802, and is the subject of an article in the second volume of our Journal, p. 391. This, however, being the first appearance of the book in English, and the science of Geology having undergone many changes, even in the short interval of seven years, our adverting again to the same work cannot be supposed to require any apology.

The first proposition in this new theory is, that veins were originally open fissures; the second, that they have been filled from above.

The production of these fissures, it is said, may be ascribed to different causes. Mountains having been formed by the deposition of beds one above another, and the mass of these beds being at first wet, and possessed of little tenacity, the mountain yielded to its weight, cracked, and sunk down on the side where support was wanting. As the waters, also, which assisted in giving them support, begun to lower their level, the mass would yield to its weight more readily, and would fall to the side where least resistance was opposed. The shrinking of the mass in drying, and the operation of earthquakes, may have farther assisted in the formation of such rents.

Much has been said of the strict attention paid, in this theory, to induction, and the great care with which the author excludes all hypothesis; and it is worth while to take notice how little the first outset corresponds to this character. In the above account of the origin of veins, two hy-

potheses

potheses are involved, and are essential in every line of what follows; and yet no proof is given of them, or even offered to be given, in any part of the work. The first is, that mountains were formed by the deposition (from the sea) of beds one above another. The second is, that the waters of this sea began, after the deposition of these beds, to lower their level, and thus to withdraw their support from the mountains so formed.

It is impossible to conceive any thing more hypothetical than this, or any investigation where the method of induction is more completely disregarded. Instead of reasoning on facts, it sets out immediately from a hypothesis, and a hypothesis, too, that is contradicted by many of the phenomena. Mountains, it is said, were formed from the deposition (by water) of beds on one another. Now, to say nothing of the *deposition*, which is certainly no part of the fact observed, we remark, that it is not true that all mountains are formed of beds laid one above another. The primitive mountains, to which the argument chiefly relates, are formed of beds very often in a vertical, or very erect position; so that they cannot be said to lye, nor even to lean on one another; and hence it is quite evident that they were not deposited by water in their present situation. Now, if they were actually deposited, and yet not deposited in the situation they now occupy, they must have been displaced by the action of some force; and to that action many fissures and clefts in the strata must necessarily be attributed. The origin of all the openings which are now formed into mineral veins, is not, therefore, to be sought for in the subsidence and settling of the strata. It is very true, that Werner allows the earthquake to have assisted in the formation of veins; but it is used only as a subsidiary and accidental cause. If there be any truth in what we have just remarked concerning the position of the strata, the earthquake, or a cause similar to it, has been the principal agent in the formation of veins.

Further, if all veins were confined to mountains, there might be some colour for supposing, that on the retreat of the waters, some parts would be left without the support that their weight required, and that rents and fissures would of course be formed. But veins are often found in countries where there are hardly any mountains at all, and where, consequently, the desertion of the land by the water, and the consequent subsidence of the parts, could not have taken place. Neither Derbyshire nor Cornwall are mountainous countries, and they abound nevertheless in mineral veins. Derbyshire consists entirely of secondary and horizontal strata; Cornwall consists of granite

and other primary rocks; its surface is uneven, but not mountainous. Veins indeed are often in plains, and extending to a vast depth, and dividing masses of solid rock that are themselves bounded by other solid rocks in all directions. If subsidence took place in such instances, it was not from the sinking of the water or the withdrawing of its support.

Indeed fissures of various dimensions, some of them empty, others filled, are found in flat countries—in coal fields, for example,—where the strata on one side are cast down many fathoms below the level of the other, and this frequently to a great extent and an unknown depth. Such openings it is probable owe their origin entirely either to earthquakes, or some other causes of disturbance that have displaced the rocks, removed them from their original position, and produced in them vast rents and openings. Even where the veins are in mountains, they only begin there, and usually extend to an indefinite depth under the base of the mountains. This inferior part of the vein could not be produced by the unsupported weight of the superior mass. It could hardly be produced but by the action of some disturbance displacing at once large bodies of rock in the interior of the earth. The rents which this system would explain, are mere superficial openings that could not penetrate into the interior of the earth: It is not a theory, therefore, that explains the nature of mineral veins such as they actually exist.

It is a question that would require some consideration, how far the lowering of the waters, supposing all things according to Werner's hypothesis, would tend to leave the mountains unsupported, so long as they did not leave any part of them dry. An additional depth of water would no doubt create an additional lateral pressure, and therefore, in certain cases, would give support to the bodies immersed. But the same additional depth would equally operate in increasing the weight that pressed the body perpendicularly down, and therefore, if there was any thing weak or infirm in any part of the base, would increase the tendency to settle on that side. In the increased depth of the water, therefore, there is a cause to prevent settling, and another to promote it; and, of these, sometimes the one might prevail, and sometimes the other. In general, however, we think the increased depth of the water would tend to produce fissures in the mountains. If there was any thing infirm or weak in one part of the base more than in another, the increase of weight by an increase of the superincumbent water, would produce a perpendicular settling on that side. The continuity of the beds would thus be broken, and

and the water gaining admission into the opening however narrow, the support by the lateral pressure of the water would be entirely removed, as an equal pressure would be now produced in the opposite direction. The whole weight therefore would now operate to give an oblique direction to the settling of the mountain, and to widen the breach between the one part of it and the other. The rising therefore, rather than the falling of the waters (if the mountain was not left dry) would tend to produce veins or fissures. Werner, however, is so much satisfied with his own theory, that he thinks he can almost determine, with mechanical precision, the direction of the force which has rent the rocks, and produced those veins in which the metals are now lodged. (See p. 88.)

'We can determine, with almost mechanical precision, the position and direction of the force which has rent and produced the cavities which are now occupied by veins. For, if we consider attentively the inclination and direction of the principal veins of the same formation in any country, which are usually almost parallel, but still more those of each particular vein; we shall be able to determine with sufficient accuracy, the place from whence the force which has cut the rock has proceeded, and also the direction which it has taken. This force was nothing else but the weight of a considerable part of the rock itself which had not found sufficient support. It is,

'1. Necessary, that the force which has produced the rent, should have existed in that part of the rock which composes its hanging side.

'2. This force (that is to say, the pressure arising from the weight of a mass which was increasing, or which had not a sufficient support, or which had in part lost that support) has acted by forcing from the upper part of the rent, a portion of the rock, and thrust it to that side which was most free, and had the least support.

'3. The direction of the force which produced the interruption of continuity, passed through the centre of gravity of the mass which acted by pressure, or rather of that mass which was separated: We can easily conceive this force to act in a plane passing through the middle of the roof of the rent produced, and perpendicular to the principal line of its direction; consequently, this line must have also passed through the line of the inclination.

'It would perhaps be possible to describe a line in this plane which would represent pretty nearly the direction of the force.'

This reasoning appears to us perfectly fallacious, and quite inconsistent with the phenomena which are visible at the intersections of veins. If the forces which rent asunder the rocks had their direction perpendicular to the plane of the vein, so that,

 when

when the vein was formed, the motion of the rocks was entirely in the direction of that perpendicular, it would then follow that when one vein intersects another at right angles, it could produce no shift nor any change of direction in the vein which it intersected. This, however, is contrary to the fact, as we know that veins are shifted by the intersection of other veins, whatever be the angle in which they meet one another.

Further, if the theory were true that the only force, or the only motion which the rocks had when veins were formed, was perpendicular to the sides, we should be able in all cases, knowing the angle at which a later vein intersects an older one, and also its breadth, to determine from thence by a geometrical rule, the amount of the shift produced in the older vein, by the rocks containing it being forced to recede from one another, for a given distance in a given direction. This, however, is not the fact, the shifting of veins being by no means reducible to any such simple and geometric rule as that to which we refer.

It is not probable that the author of this theory was aware, when he was affecting to subject it so accurately to mechanical rules, that he was offering a test by which it might be tried, and its errors, if there were any, infallibly detected. It was, in fact, a very dangerous experiment to be made on the theory, as it might prove it to be false, but could not prove it to be true; for the conformity of the fact to the mathematical conclusion would not have established the truth of it, as there may be other theories that would lead to the same conclusion; but the want of that conformity must unavoidably prove fatal to it, and to all other theories from which the same conclusion arises. It is not therefore a matter of mere opinion, or of simple probability, that this Theory of the Formation of Veins is erroneous, but of certain and clear demonstration, on the principles of Werner himself, and admitting his own conclusions.

A similar conclusion may be deduced from the consideration of single veins, or veins not intersected by others. It is rare that there is a vein or fissure of any size, or in any direction, without the strata being cast down on one side of it below their level in the other. It is said by Werner, that this downcast is usually on the hanging side of the vein, and that the quantity of it bears a certain proportion to the width of the vein. (§ 51.) Indeed, if his rule for determining the direction of the force by which the fissure was made were well founded, the downcast on the hanging side should always be as the breadth of the vein and the tangent of the angle which the plane of the vein makes with the vertical, jointly, and equal to the product of these quantities

multiplied

multiplied into one another. But this does not hold; for fissures, or slips, that are almost vertical, and of very inconsiderable wideness, often have the strata on one side cast down some hundred feet below those on the other side. This happens in the coal field of Newcastle, in a great many instances. It is indeed well known to be a frequent occurrence in other places, whether coal fields or mining districts; and yet the rule which follows necessarily from Werner's principle, leads to a very different conclusion, as it gives the downcast, in these instances, either nothing, or infinitely small. The principle therefore is erroneous; and as it seems fairly deduced from the New Theory of Veins, that theory must be held inconsistent with the phenomena which it is intended to explain.

It must be observed, then, that we admit with Werner, that veins were originally open clefts; but we differ as to the manner in which these clefts were formed, thinking it probable that they are not so much to be ascribed to the settling of a wet and soft mass, as to the action of a disturbing or expansive force directed upwards. But though we admit that veins were originally open fissures, we cannot acquiesce in all the arguments brought in support of that conclusion. Veins, it is said, like rents formed in the way here supposed, grow narrower, or their sides seem to converge on going down. But this is exactly what might be expected, on the supposition that veins proceed from an expansive force acting from below, and thrusting the strata upwards. It is evident, that if a concave shell, like the crust of the earth, was burst open by a force from below acting perpendicularly upward, the masses on each side of the cleft being heaved up would be farthest asunder at the upper part of the cleft, and would converge, in a certain degree at least, toward the lower. The fact, however, that veins not only converge but terminate on going down, if it held generally, or in the case of great and independent veins, would no doubt be decisive, if not against the formation of fissures by a force from below, yet certainly against their being filled by materials from that quarter. It is however acknowledged, we believe on all hands, that great veins have never been known to terminate. Those, of which the sides have been actually found to meet, are ramifications we believe from larger veins; they may derive their origin from those larger veins, and, communicating with them, may have no direct communication with the mineral regions.

Another of the arguments on this head we admit to be more conclusive. It is founded on the fact, that rolled masses, or water-borne stones, are sometimes found in the interior of veins. It is

is plain that such materials could never have gained admission into a vein, if it had not been originally open above. 'I found,' Werner says, 'a vein filled with rolled pieces, at Joachimsthal; 'it was a small vein in gneiss, that contained rolled pieces of 'gneiss, some of them quite round, at the depth of a hun-'dred and eighty fathoms. Veins of the same kind occur in 'other parts, particularly in the Alps of Dauphiny.' We may observe, that a similar phenomenon in Cornwall has lately been described by Mr Giddy in the Philosophical Transactions. It will not be disputed, that such facts are very satisfactory proofs of the proposition which Werner here brings them to establish, namely, that the veins were open clefts at one period; such materials as are here described having no doubt fallen in from the surface. But when the same facts are brought, as they have often been, by the disciples of the Saxon Mineralogist, to prove, that all the contents of the veins have in like manner come in from the top, we cannot admit them as at all conclusive. The great mass of crystallized materials which fill the veins, may have been thrown up from the mineral regions; for, in those materials, we discover no marks of attrition or of any other mechanical operation. Had they all descended from above, as they were introduced long after the formation of the rocks themselves, we might have expected that coming, as they are supposed to have done, from a surface, where many loose and worn fragments could not fail to be accumulated, such fragments would have been very common among them. They are, however, comparatively very rare. Those in Cornwall, already hinted at, are found in a small branch issuing from a great vein, and consist of gravel compacted together by a crystallization of tinstone and quartz. There is nothing in this, inconsistent with the crystallized substances in the vein having come from below. The same may be said of the petrifactions sometimes found in veins. These prove nothing more, in strictness, than that veins were open clefts. It is for this purpose that they are adduced by Werner; and he himself does not attempt to derive from them any other conclusion.

We cannot but take notice of an expression used by this great patron of the Neptunian system, in treating of the connexion between veins and the rocks intersected by them, which, we doubt not, is read with regret by the more zealous partizans of that system. 'The union of the veins,' says he, 'with 'the rock, is on some occasions so intimate, as to give the ap-'pearance of their having been *melted* together, if I may so 'express myself.' This is a concession extorted by the evidence of sense, from the conclusions of theory, and points very

directly

directly to that class of facts so well exemplified in this country, where the veins of greenstone and basalt are found to have imparted much hardness and density to the contiguous rocks; manifesting very clearly, as some think, the action of that power, to which our learned Professor hardly ventures to allude.

It appears that the intersection of veins with one another, in those cases where there are more than two of them, and where a mass of the rock, of a pyramidal form, is cut off on all sides from the rest, has sometimes been alleged as an objection to veins having existed as open and empty fissures. It is no doubt an unanswerable objection to any theory that would suppose that all these veins had existed as empty fissures at the same time; but it is no objection at all to a theory which admits veins of different formation, and supposes them to have been both opened and filled at very distant periods of time. Werner's answer to the objection proceeds on this principle; and the solidity of it cannot be questioned.

The Sixth chapter of this treatise has for its object to prove, that the materials of the veins were introduced into them from above. The mass of veins, Werner tells us, has been formed by a series of precipitations, which have filled, in whole or in part, the spaces now occupied by veins. These have entered by the superior parts of the rents which were open, and have been furnished by a solution in water, generally chemical, which covered the country in which these rents existed.

To account for the high degree of crystallization which prevails in the veins, he supposes that the precipitations and depositions which formed them, were made with more tranquillity than those which produced beds; that mechanical solutions and depositions have disturbed the formation of veins much less than of beds; and that the spaces in which veins are found, have preserved, for a longer time, the faculty of receiving and retaining different solutions. In proof of these conclusions, it is alleged, that the substances contained in veins and in beds, are in a great measure the same. There are, for example, besides metallic veins, veins of granite, porphyry, greenstone, coal, and rock salt. The two latter we believe to be extremely rare; but we do not conceive that their existence is totally inconsistent with every hypothesis except that of the aqueous formation of veins. According to the igneous theory, veins were open clefts: they may have sometimes, therefore, been entirely filled with matter from above; and a degree of heat, short perhaps of fusion, may have been sufficient to give to them, as it is admitted to have done to the strata, all the degree of consolidation that veins of coal or of salt can be supposed to possess.

At

At the Seventh chapter, Werner begins to treat of the source of the metallic particles contained in the vast solutions or waters which, as he expresses it, overspread whole countries.

It is impossible not to remark, how difficult it is to reconcile the preceding expressions with the notion which is the basis of this theory. What is meant by the vast solutions or waters which overspread whole countries? They were, in fact, no other than the universal water, as it is elsewhere denominated, which covered the globe all round, and certainly was not confined to any particular country. Again, at p. 112. it is said, the solution contained in its great reservoir, the *excavation which held the universal water*, was necessarily subjected to a variety of motion, &c. Now, the excavation which held the universal water, can mean nothing else than the convexity of the solid nucleus round which the universal water was diffused. To call this convexity an excavation, is to use such a freedom with language as can only be accounted for by the perplexity in which every man, of whatever talents, must find himself involved, when he attempts to describe a whole, of which the parts are inconsistent with one another.

But we proceed to consider the answer which this great mineralogist gives to the question which he has himself proposed concerning the source of the metallic particles which were dissolved in the universal water, as there is nothing contained in this volume that gives so full an insight into the Philosophy of the Wernerian school.

'Some,' says he, 'will imagine that, by this question, a great objection is made to what I have just said on the manner in which veins have been filled up.—To this I reply, that although we do not know from whence these particles have come, this circumstance does not prevent us from conceiving the existence of a phenomenon which with all its consequences is before our eyes. Of the state of ignorance in which we remain, with regard to the origin of the metallic and mineral matters, we never can avail ourselves, as a means of combating the fact itself. In the mean time, we must content ourselves with knowing that, at certain periods, the materials which now constitute the substance of veins were in reality contained in the sea, which covered our globe universally: and we must wait with patience till new observation teach us (if it be possible) from whence the component particles were derived, and by what means they were introduced into the general solvent. In all researches into natural effects and their causes, as well proximate as remote, we at last arrive at the investigation of ultimate causes beyond which we cannot proceed. In some cases, it is even difficult to discover the remote cause of certain effects and phenomena.'

In this passage we cannot but remark a singular confusion of facts

facts with the inferences deduced from them, and a constant substitution of the latter for the former. 'We must,' it is said, 'content ourselves with knowing that, at certain periods, the materials which now constitute veins were contained in the sea, which covered our globe universally;' and this is the phenomenon which, with all its consequences, is stated to be now before our eyes. But how is it that these facts have become known to us—how is it that they are before our eyes? They have not become known from our own observation, nor from the testimony of history; for they relate to a period earlier than the existence of either. It is therefore merely as inferences from the facts which we now observe, that they have become known. If from these facts they were necessary inferences, like the propositions in Geometry or Mechanics, however difficult they were to be explained, they must no doubt be acknowledged as true. But if they are only probable inferences, their probability may be balanced by the evidence on the other side, or by the difficulties which they themselves involve. For instance, the solution, in water, of substances that are now quite insoluble in it, or the deposition, by water, of substances chemically dissolved in it, without any cause of such deposition being assigned—the frequent repetition of these extraordinary vicissitudes—the alternate rising and falling of the waters at many different periods—the universal disposition of the waters all round the globe to deposit the same materials at the same time:—All these, united, certainly form an improbability which it must require the strongest possible evidence to overcome. There are here many physical inconsistencies; and it would require to be shown that, by denying them, we must fall into some inconsistency greater even than they are. Now, nothing of all this is done in the work before us; and we are not informed on what grounds we are required or admit these extraordinary *postulata*. It seems to be assumed for the foundation of the whole, that no account of the formation of veins can possibly be given, without supposing the solution of the materials contained in them in the waters of the sea. But this, in reality, is to take for granted the very thing that is required to be proved.

The same substitution of theory for fact may be remarked in all the propositions that follow; which, taken together, constitute a creed as comprehensive, and as little under the direction of experience or analogy, as was ever introduced into physical science. Thus it is said, in recapitulating the state of our knowledge, 'it is obvious that we know with certainty, that the floetz and primitive mountains have been produced by a series of precipitations and depositions formed in succession; that these took

took place from water, which covered the globe, existing always more or less generally, and containing the different substances which have been produced from them.

'We are also certain, that the fossils which constitute the beds and strata of mountains, were dissolved in this universal water, and were precipitated from it.

'We are still further certain, that at different periods different fossils have been formed from it.

'We know, too, from the position of these fossils one above another, how to determine, with the utmost precision, which are the oldest, and which the newest precipitates.

'We are also convinced, that the solid mass of our globe has been produced by a series of precipitations formed in succession.'

To these five propositions are added two or three others, all taking for granted, that there is no way of accounting for the phenomena of the mineral kingdom but by means of these propositions. Werner has called them facts; but they are in truth a series of hypothetical propositions, unsupported by analogy, and having no other proof but this, that, if taken for granted, they will afford a kind of explanation of some of the great phenomena of Geology.

Take, for example, any one of the preceding propositions; as this—'We are certain that the fossils which constitute the 'beds and strata of mountains were dissolved in this universal 'water, and were precipitated from it.'

Now, how is it that we are made certain of this proposition, or on what foundation does it rest? No proof whatever is brought in support of it; but it is laid down as a self-evident truth. We cannot conceive any thing more contrary to the rules of sound philosophical investigation, than the application of a principle to the explanation of a phenomenon which is entirely without proof, and liable to the strongest objections. 'It is on the principle of this treatise,' says the translator, 'that Werner has raised that beautiful superstructure to account for the mode of formation of this earth in general, which has obtained his name. It is the result of thirty years close and unremitted application to the nature of veins and the mineral masses, and is deduced from facts alone, to the exclusion of all hypothesis.'

To this encomium we cannot by any means subscribe; and we would request the author of it to point out a theory, in any branch of Physics, that rests upon a greater number of propositions purely hypothetical, than the system by which Werner proposes to explain the formation of the earth. Can it be said that there is nothing hypothetical in assuming that all mineral substances have

have been dissolved in the waters of the ocean; that those waters stood at first at the height of many thousand feet above the present surface of the land; that the ocean became afterwards disposed to deposit minerals of a certain kind, all over its extent; that having lowered its level by a certain quantity, it began to deposit other minerals still universally like the former—and this for a succession of thirteen or fourteen different repetitions; that it rose up afterwards to a level as high as ever, and continued to go through a greater series of similar vicissitudes than any body has yet presumed to enumerate:—With what justice can it be said that a system so full of detached and gratuitous suppositions, is deduced from facts alone, to the exclusion of all hypothesis? It is impossible, we should imagine, to find any instance of praise bestowed in more complete contradiction to the facts. It is added, however, 'such a mode of philosophizing, viz. observing facts, arguing from them, and then establishing a theory on what has been seen and can be explained, gives us all the probability of reaching the truth that legitimate induction is able to afford.' Waving all remarks on the confusion and obscurity of the expression, 'establishing a theory on what has been seen and can be explained,' we must acknowledge that we know of no system in which there is less appearance of any thing like legitimate induction—any thing like that rigorous mode of investigation which, going gradually from particulars to things that are a step more general, excludes by degrees every theory but one. As a proof that the principles of inductive investigation are unknown in the Wernerian theory, we have to observe, that there is no branch of physical knowledge where theory and fact are so essentially and radically confounded, as in the Geognosy of this celebrated mineralogist; no system in which the language employed to describe the simplest fact is so involved in theoretical obscurity; nor any in which it is rendered so extremely difficult to come at the knowledge of the truth, if we would have it such as it exists in nature, without a gloss or commentary from the observer. If the theory of Werner shall be found to be true, it will show, in a most remarkable degree, the empire of Chance even in matters of Science, the objects, of all others, from which we might expect its influence to be most perfectly excluded; for no theory whatever has been formed, more completely in contempt of the rules of legitimate induction.

We have already had occasion to remark, how much inconsistency there is between the theory which we are now treating of, and several of the sciences which are the best established. The principle on which the direction of the force that

that tore the rocks asunder is determined in this theory, is inconsistent with Mechanics, and can never be established as long as the facts concerning veins remain as they are, and the composition and resolution of forces are admitted. The rising and falling of the universal water sets at defiance all the principles of Hydrostatics; and the solutions and precipitations which it produced, are not to be reconciled with those of Chemistry. The *postulata*, indeed, which Philosophers have required for the establishment of their systems, have been very different.—Give me whereon to stand, said ARCHIMEDES, and I will move the whole earth.—Give me matter and motion, said DES CARTES, and I will construct a world.—Take away the sciences of Mechanics and Chemistry, says WERNER, and I will explain the phenomena of the mineral kingdom.

The extravagance into which the author of this theory, though a man of talents, has suffered himself to be betrayed by it, should be a warning to all who engage in similar pursuits, to proceed no further than close and accurate analogy will carry them; and to stop short whenever they come in sight of a state of things altogether unlike the present: one, for instance, in which, what is now solid was wholly fluid; when water, which can now dissolve so few things, was capable of dissolving every thing; when, after having dissolved all mineral substances, it became incapable of retaining them in solution; and when the sea, which cannot now rise in one place without descending as much in another, and of which the oscillations are confined to the height or depression of a few fathoms,—when this same sea would suddenly rise up to the height of many thousand feet all over the earth, and descend again as far, without any cause that could be assigned. When a philosopher sees himself approaching to such objects as these, it would be prudent for him to stop, and to consider what good can arise from pursuing such a train of improbable speculations. Might he not as well imagine to himself a time when matter was not inert, and did not gravitate; when fluids did not press equally in all directions; or, what would be still better, when all the angles of a triangle were less than two right angles? All this might form a very innocent, though not a very philosophical amusement, and could only prove offensive when it was accompanied with high pretensions to wisdom—when the men thus employed professed to pursue truth with the greatest zeal—to be the most determined enemies to all hypotheses, and the most scrupulous followers of inductive investigation. We do not however dispute, that notwithstanding this perverse system of philosophizing, Werner has really discovered some of the laws that regulate the disposition of mi-

neral substances as they now exist, and some of the invariable relations, in place and structure, which they maintain in respect of one another. But in no part of science, do we believe, has there ever been exemplified a stronger desire to find out in nature more of an orderly and systematical arrangement, than actually exists in it; or any thing that better illustrates the great principle of scientific delusion which Bacon has so justly reproved. '*Intellectus humanus ex proprietate sua facile supponit majorem ordinem, et aequalitatem in rebus, quam invenit; et cum multa sint in natura monodica, et plena imparitatis, tamen affingit parallela, et correspondentia, et relativa quae non sunt.*'* This delusion, however, is very captivating; and we believe that the vast power of Generalization which the Wernerian system appears to possess, is the basis on which its popularity is founded.

The distinction, in this system, between minerals composed of chemical and of mechanical deposites, is real and important; and if it were expressed in language less theoretical, is fit to be the basis of all geological arrangement. In like manner, that some mineral substances, relatively to others, occupy always a certain place, is true to a considerable extent, and is a fact which, though not first discovered by Werner, has been traced by him with much more diligence and accuracy than by any former mineralogist. The arrangement of the rocks, in respect of position, is however supposed, in his system, to have been traced with a far greater precision and minuteness than has been actually done. That there are three divisions of rocks, distinguishable by their external characters, of which one is always the lowest, another always the nearest to the surface, and the third always intermediate between both, we readily admit; as also, that, in each of these divisions, there are some subordinate arrangements, generally, though not universally observed, and some others that are entirely excluded. Beyond this, neither actual observation, nor the nature of the thing, yet enables us to go; and no rule can be laid down that does not admit of so many exceptions, that it is impossible to say whether the instances conformable or contrary to it are the most numerous. This is so much felt in the Wernerian Geognosy, that it is full of fictions, contrived, like those in the law of some countries, for the purpose of preserving the form of a rule entire, when its essence is violated. If a granite comes into a place inconsistent with its supposed antiquity, we are told that it is Newer Granite. A similar apology is made, when Serpentine or Porphyry intrude themselves

* Nov. Org. lib. 1. § 45.

themselves into situations which they were not originally meant to occupy. These are subterfuges, by which the force of facts is evaded. Add to all this, that the number of formations, or rocks, to which their precise places are assigned in this theory, amounts in all to 31 or 32, together with many subordinate arrangements under the head of particular species of rocks; so that a vast series of observations would be required to determine, from actual examination, their different positions. Consider also how difficult it often is to make the observations required, for determining the relative position of two rocks, from the manner in which they lye, one stretching (horizontally) in one direction, another in another, and both of them, perhaps, being very nearly in a vertical position. The principle admitted in this system, that the same rule regulates the position of rocks everywhere, is not established by observation, but by means much more compendious; it is founded on the theory of universal formations; that is, on the opinion that rocks of a particular character were deposited at the same time all over the ocean. This hypothesis, in itself so gratuitous, is the foundation of almost all the generalizations in this part of the Wernerian system. CUVIER, in his report on the different branches of physical science, made to the Emperor of the French, stated, with reason, that the great object of Geology ought to be, to determine the relative position of rocks, if it is subject to any fixed and invariable law. He gives also much credit to the school of Werner, for what has been done on that subject. But this distinguished naturalist probably was not aware, that the same school to which that credit is due, does, at present, obstruct the progress of this very discovery. The manner in which it does so, is plain. By supposing the order already fixed and determined, when it really is not, further inquiry is prevented; and propositions are taken for granted, on the strength of a theoretical principle, that require to be ascertained by actual observation. It has happened to the Wernerian system, as it has to many other improvements: they were at first inventions of great utility; but by being carried beyond the point to which truth and matter of fact could bear them out, they have become obstructions to all further advancement, and have ended with retarding the progress which they began with accelerating. This is so much the case in the instance before us, that when a Wernerian geognost, at present, enters on the examination of a country, he is chiefly employed in placing the phenomena he observes, in the situations which his master has assigned them in his plan of the mineral kingdom. It is not so much to describe the strata as they are, and to compare them with rocks of the same cha-

racter in other countries, as to decide whether they belong to this or that series of depositions, supposed once to have taken place over the whole earth; whether, for example, they be of the independent coal, or the newest Floetz Trap formation, or such like. Thus it is to ascertain their place in an ideal world, or in that list of successive formations, which have nothing but the most hypothetical existence;—it is to this object, unfortunately for true science, that the business of mineralogical observation has of late been reduced.

Perhaps, however, the greatest fault in Werner's system remains yet to be mentioned. It is the theoretical language which it employs, by which hypothesis is interwoven with the description of every phenomenon. The word *formation*, for example, which is used, not for the act of forming, but for the thing formed, has a constant reference to the fabulous origin of the strata, and involves the notion of rocks formed by simultaneous deposition from water, however distant they may be from one another. The same is the case with many other terms:—hence theory is constantly employed in what is the business of description; it becomes difficult to separate the fact from the hypothesis; and very difficult, on that account, when you are to argue, to be assured that you are not reasoning in a circle. In the mean time, the true method of composing natural history in simple and plain language, free from all theory, and even metaphor, is entirely lost—or exchanged for a dry, hypothetical, and mysterious nomenclature.

Such are the defects of this system, and the errors into which it leads. Still, however, we admit, that Werner has really contributed to the advancement of Mineralogy, and even of Geology itself. Without having done so, he would have had little power to hurt these sciences. It is the maxim of a celebrated moralist, that it is only great men who have great faults. We are not sure that this maxim holds in all cases; but every body must acknowledge, that no writer can do a great injury to science, who has not rendered it some material service. The credit gained by doing good, is necessary to produce the power of doing ill. This has been but too often exemplified; and, from Aristotle to Werner, many men of great genius and talent might be enumerated, who began with doing infinite service to Philosophy, and ended with raising obstacles, almost insurmountable, to its improvement.

ART. IV. *Memoires de Candide, sur la Liberté de la Presse, la Paix generale, les Fondemens de l'Ordre social, et d'autres Bagatelles.* Par le Docteur Emmanuel Ralph. Ouvrage traduit de l'Allemand, sur la Troisième Edition. à Altona.

THIS is a work of wit and humour; and it really contains more strokes of genuine satire, than any production of the Continental press which we have seen for several years. It professes to be a continuation of the adventures of the celebrated hero of Voltaire, whom it brings again to Paris, and makes a spectator of the changes that had taken place since his former visit to that metropolis. It was published two or three years ago; and professes to refer to no later period than the consulship of Bonaparte. Of course, it has been circulated only by stealth, within the sphere of his influence; for it abounds with observations which he does not tolerate. The grand subject is the liberty of the press. The other topics, announced in the title-page, occupy but a small proportion of the volume; and it is to this great theme, which alone is too extensive for us, that we shall now confine our attention.

The subject strongly recommends itself to us on a double account. In the first place, deploring as we do the state of the press on the Continent, it is highly interesting to gain some information relative to the sentiments concerning it which still remain alive in the breasts of instructed men, and promise, at some future day, the commencement of a better era. In the next place, observing with extreme satisfaction, the attention which this most important subject has recently attracted among ourselves, we feel an anxious desire to contribute our little aid to confirm and direct the ardour which seems to be again reviving in favour of this best bulwark of our liberties.

Candide, who for many years had been reading, with faith and joy, the lofty accounts of the liberty which the people of France had maguanimously reconquered from their Sovereigns, met with many things which surprised him upon his arrival in Paris. We pass over the history of his adventures, however, till we come to the account of his application for a license to print his Travels. For this important purpose,

'Il se presenta au Palais Directorial, un jour d'audience publique des ambassadeurs, pour avoir un privilege. On etait alors en Vendemiaire de l'an VIII, qui par un rapport assez bizarre, repond à-la-fois aux mois de Septembre et d'Octobre de l'année 1799: le hasard fit adresser Candide au General Moulins, devenu depuis peu un de cinq rois amovibles de la republique: ce general, aux premiers

miers mots de l'humble harangue du petitionaire, se mit à sourire avec dignité: "Mon ami, lui dit-il, on imprime en France tout ce que l'on veut, *pourvu qu'on ne conspire pas contre le gouvernement; la presse est libre, et il n'y a que les esclaves couronnés qui donnent des privileges.*"

Candide was astonished and delighted with the answer. It appeared to him to breathe the very spirit of liberty. Printing by license stigmatized as the characteristic badge of slavery;—freedom to publish every thing, provided an author conspires not against the government!—Nothing, it appeared to him, could be more noble and magnanimous. He hasted to carry his work to a printer, saying to himself,

'Enfin, j'ai trouvé le pays où l'homme de bien peut penser tout haut; où l'on peut dire impunément, que les nations n'appartiennent pas en propre à l'individu qui les gouverne; que les assassinats glorieux en bataille rangée ne sont pas, dans l'ordre social, les premiers des exploits.'

He soon found, however, that the little clause which had at first appeared to him so reasonable, '*pourvu qu'on ne conspire pas contre le gouvernement,*' was big with consequences he was far from suspecting. He carried his work to Didot, 'le premier des imprimeurs de l'Europe.'

'Celui-ci le parcourt, et trouve quelques petites libertés philosophiques, sur le droit naturel, sur l'essence de la morale, sur le principe primordial de la proprieté; et le rend à l'etranger, sous pretexte qu'un pareil ouvrage ferait saisir ses presses.—Mais je n'y vois que la verité, dit Candide. Quelle verité, répond le typographe? Est-ce celle qui est à l'ordre du jour, celle qui le gouvernement permet de propager? Je ne connais pas deux especes de verités, repart l'amant de Cunégonde. Tant pis, citoyen, reprend l'imprimeur du senat; votre livre, si je le publiais, vous conduirait en droiture à Sinnamari et moi à l'hôpital...... Souvenez-vous bien du mot despotiquement lumineux que vous a dit le General Moulins: *On peut imprimer en France tout ce qu'on veut, pourvu qu'on ne conspire pas contre le gouvernement.* La loi permet bien à votre verité de voyager; mais pour peu que cette verité contrarie le patriotisme factice d'un homme en place, celui-ci ne manquera pas de dire qu'elle conspire.'

Another friend, whom he consulted, told him,

'Il est bien evident que vous conspirez contre les deux partis qui tour-à-tour se partagent ici la toute-puissance: ces deux partis, tout acharnés qu'ils sont l'un contre l'autre, se reunissent, quand il le faut, non contre le royalisme auquel ils ne croient pas, mais contre la masse des gens de bien.'

Such then, as Candide experienced, was the state of the liberty of the press in France under the Directory; and the circumstances of the case appear to us to be full of important

admonition. Nothing could be more lofty and comprehensive than the expressions by which the liberty of the press was ostensibly sanctioned; yet, by the addition of a short, general, qualifying clause, they were substantially abrogated and annulled; and, instead of affording protection, became an instrument of delusion. Is there, or is there not, any resemblance between this Directorial law, about the liberty of the French press, and the law of libel in England?

Our law in favour of the liberty of the press consists in mere general expressions, and these not engrossed in statutes, but inserted in the works of individual lawyers, and there accompanied with qualifying clauses altogether as vague and comprehensive as the '*pourvu qu'on ne conspire pas contre le gouvernement*,' which was found so efficacious in France. Thus, Blackstone tells us—'Every person has an undoubted right to 'lay what sentiments he pleases before the public: to forbid 'this, is to destroy the liberty of the press.' This is nearly equivalent to the general permission of Directorial law. The learned author proceeds—'But if he publishes what is impro-'per, mischievous, or illegal, he must take the consequence of 'his own temerity.' Now, where are we to look for the authentic definition of these important words *improper*, *mischievous*, *illegal?* Alas, we know not. They stand on the very same foundation with the '*pourvu qu'on ne conspire pas contre 'le gouvernement*' of General Moulins; and had our government the same views, and were our people equally submissive, the same use might no doubt be made of them. That the qualifying clause is of this comprehensive nature, we may appeal to the sentiments of the most celebrated judges and authorities. The Lord Chief Baron Comyns, in his justly admired Digest of the English Law, defines a libel to be, 'a contumely or re-'proach, published to the defamation of the government, of a 'magistrate, or of a private person.' Now, *contumely*, *reproach*, and *defamation*, include every thing that can be construed into censure. No censure, therefore, of the government, or even of a public functionary, is safe in England. We shall produce only one other authority, as being both a very recent, and a very high one. On the trial in the cause, entitled, The King against Cobbet, 24th May 1804, Lord Ellenborough said, 'It is no new doctrine, that if a publication be 'calculated to alienate the affections of the people, *by bringing 'the government into disesteem*, whether the expression be ridi-'cule or obloquy, the person so conducting himself is exposed 'to the inflictions of the law:—It is a crime.' Now, to point out any fault in the government undoubtedly tends to bring, so far,

far, the government into disesteem. Therefore, to point out any fault in the government, is a liberty not allowed to the press by the law of England.

Several years ago, we expressed our sense of this important matter in the following terms—

'The liberty of the press is, indeed, the most inestimable security of that of a people, because it gives that tone to the public feelings on which all liberty must ultimately rest. But how is it that we have learned to deem it one of our constitutional rights? A great deal is said about it in pamphlets; a great deal is said about it in essays on government; it is an acknowledged privilege everywhere, but in Westminster-Hall. *There, unluckily, it has neither a habilation nor a name.* M. de Lolme tells us, that he was struck at not being able to hear of any law which enacted the liberty of the press, till it occurred to him that it existed, because it was not forbidden. But, with a little more inquiry, this ingenious foreigner might have found law enough *against* this *soi-disant* right, though none *for* it. The truth is, the liberty of the press *does not exist*, nor ever did exist in England, but by connivance. And unless, at our distance from the metropolis, we are deceived as to the actual practice of the English courts, the indulgence itself (viz. the connivance) has been reduced within very narrow limits. It is as difficult for the most adroit pamphleteer to arraign public measures, without blaming public men, as for Shakespeare's Jew to take his pound of flesh without a drop of blood; and if this is the fullest extent of the privilege, we may safely pronounce, that *fari quae sentias* will be as much a phantom of right *in practice*, as it has always been in law.' *

It certainly is not because we expect to prove any thing by our own authority, that we have thought it worth while to present this passage to the eye of our readers; but merely to satisfy them that the opinions which we now deliver have not been hastily adopted, and are not the immediate suggestion of any particular occurrence to which the public attention may have been recently attracted. In fact, the authors most inclined to strengthen to excess the springs of authority have not, when men of discernment, failed to come to the same conclusion. 'That the *letter* of the law,' says Mr Hume, 'as much as the 'most flaming court sermon, inculcates passive obedience, is 'apparent.' † 'The laws of this country,' says Mr Burke, 'are for the most part constituted, and wisely so, for the general ends of government, rather than for the preservation 'of our particular liberties. Whatever, therefore, is done in 'support of liberty, by persons not in public trust, or not act-'ing

* Vol. ix. p. 365.

† Hume's History of England, vol. vii. p. 40.

'ing merely in that trust, is liable to be more or less out of 'the ordinary course of the law; and the law itself is sufficient 'to animadvert upon it with great severity. Nothing, indeed, 'can hinder that severe letter from crushing us, except the 'temperaments it may receive from a trial by jury.' * These passages merit no ordinary attention. In the latter, 'more is 'meant,' by a great deal, 'than meets the ear.' The letter of the law would crush liberty, says Burke, but juries save it. They can only do so, then, by counteracting the law; by breaking it. And the sum of the matter is, that juries save liberty from being crushed, by delivering verdicts contrary to law. But, is this actually the case? or, if it were, is it desireable or necessary that it should be so? Is it true, that juries would afford us sufficient security, had we administrators really bent on mischief, and were they then not to be deterred from their purposes by the sense of public disapprobation? For our own parts, we are not of the same opinion with Mr Burke. We do not ascribe it to juries, that the letter of the law has not been allowed to crush our national liberties. We ascribe it, without any hesitation, to the forbearance of Judges, and the forbearance of Ministers; perhaps, we should rather say, to the prevalence of public virtue in the nation; which disinclines judges and ministers, though impelled to arbitrary conduct by the strongest motives, and unrestrained by law, from extinguishing the power of censure on their conduct. They are restrained by their respect for public opinion; by the knowledge which they are aware exists in the nation; and the prospect of the danger which, at a certain point, would attend national disapprobation. That juries, who, except on rare and remarkable occasions, are passive instruments in the hands of the judge, would afford an adequate security against power and talents resolutely applied to the destruction of our liberties, there is not, we should suppose, a man in the kingdom who would undertake to maintain. The nation, as Lord Liverpool on a recent occasion very justly observed, had the protection of juries in the time of Henry the Eighth and Charles the Second, but found them a very feeble obstacle to the inroads of arbitrary power. In fact, the atrocious scenes which were acted in the courts of justice, on the occasion of the Popish plot, afford a lamentable and instructive instance of the facility with which juries, when public delusion is most artfully spread, may be made use of as instruments to perpetrate the most foul and odious of the purposes of tyranny.

With regard to the protection which it is pretended that the liberty

* Burke, Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents, p. 75.

liberty of the press receives from juries, another circumstance of decisive influence is to be considered. It is not by common juries, selected under extraordinary securities for impartiality of choice, but by special juries, selected under no adequate securities for impartiality of choice, that all causes for libel are tried. We are far from saying, that any improper influence has been used, for a greater number of years than it is needful for us to look back, in selecting special jurymen for such trials. Indeed, we are perfectly persuaded, that if *any* such instances have occurred, they have been exceedingly few. But this we will say, and without fear of contradiction, that with ministers and judges rests the *power* of selection; and that to their virtue or discretion it is owing, if they make no use of it. The fact is, that they never need send a man to trial for a libel, without being able to render themselves, if they please, sure beforehand of the verdict which will be pronounced against him.

It is right that this important circumstance should be fully known. It is right that the merit of preserving to us that portion of the liberty of the press which we actually enjoy, should be ascribed to those to whom it is really due—not to juries, but to those under whom juries act. It is right to point it out as an interesting subject of consideration, whether so important a security, for every thing valuable in government, should be left to depend, as in this country it does, upon the virtuous forbearance of public men, under no other restraint against abuse, than the uncertain and ever-varying control of public inspection and opinion. 'The dangerous consequences,' said Lord Erskine, in his memorable speech on the trial of the Dean of St Asaph, 'of the doctrines established on the subject of libel, are obscured from the eyes of many, from their not feeling the immediate effects of them in daily oppression and injustice: But that security is temporary and fallacious; it depends upon the convenience of government for the time being, which may not be interested in the sacrifice of individuals, and in the temper of the magistrate who administers the criminal law.' *

In such a state of things, there is undoubtedly much to reform. The power of punishing for libel, assumed and exercised by the Court of King's Bench, is neither founded upon, nor guided by, any provision of the legislature whatsoever. The assent of Parliament to it is merely negative. We assert, that there is not within the statute-book a single form of words, by which it is attempted to declare what libelling is, by which

 any

* Speeches of Lord Erskine, vol. i. p. 261.

any form or degree of punishment is appointed for it, or by which it is so much as forbidden. There is no written standard, according to which the decisions of the courts are pronounced. The power rests on the sole foundation of the practice of the court of Star-Chamber, in which prosecutions for libel first commenced; and the Judges of the Court of King's Bench have all along had no other rule whatsoever for their conduct, but the decisions pronounced by that arbitrary Court, and the decisions of preceding judges who followed its example.

There are two principal sets of causes, in which Government may emphatically be considered as a party. These are, causes for treason, and causes for political libels. The punishment, in the case of treason, which is death and attainder, is greater than that in the case of libel. But the punishments awarded in the case of libel, fine, and imprisonment for any number of years, not to mention the pillory, cannot be regarded as light ones. They may happen, and every now and then must happen, to be equal to the greatest—to involve the utter ruin and death of the individual;—death, not instantaneous, and therefore easy; but death by the slow poison and protracted torture of a dungeon. Seldom indeed can it happen, that the injury to a man's health, the detriment to his affairs, the pains of confinement, do not amount to substantial confiscation and torture. To many men, the pains of confinement alone, for any considerable time, are hardly less terrible and shocking than execution itself. Less than capital in appearance, the punishment for libel is on every occasion liable to become more than capital in reality; and, under the severe sentences which have been pronounced in our own remembrance, must very often indeed, in point of actual suffering, approach to it.

It is against the wrong application of the power of punishing as for treason, and the power of punishing as for libel, that society has the greatest occasion to be effectually guarded by laws. If a choice were to be given, and it were absolutely necessary for society to remain exposed to the misapplication of the one power or the other, we should have no hesitation in declaring, that it is of infinitely more importance to be protected in the case of libel, than in the case of treason. Of the two means of raising opposition to bad government, viz. the application of physical force, and the application of intellectual force, it is to the application of physical force that the law of treason stands opposed, and to the application of intellectual force that the law of libel stands opposed. But if the due and useful application of intellectual force were thoroughly secured, a case cannot very easily be conceived, in which any attempt to employ physical

force

force would not be unnecessary, and hence improper. The accusation too, and the punishment as for treason, are something great and alarming. They figure dreadfully in all imaginations, and rouse the public to attention. Wherever despotism is not already confirmed, and the public sentiments securely set at defiance, unjust punishment for treason is not likely to be often inflicted. In a comparatively rude period of society, it may be used, to a considerable extent, as a means of protection for a despotism already established, which then degenerates into a tyranny. But it is in little danger of being employed, as a means of converting a free government into an absolute one. The case is exactly reversed with regard to libel. The punishment and accusation, in this instance, strike not so forcibly upon the imagination. When cases calculated to interest the public are artfully avoided, prosecutions for libel are very apt to be passed over with neglect and indifference. The truth however is, that nothing more is wanted than a habit of intimidation, produced by these prosecutions, to silence the press with regard to the abuses of government; and, after that, the road to arbitrary power is clear of almost all obstructions.

It is unfortunate that the British Legislature has adopted a very different conduct with regard to treason, and with regard to libel. The one it has defined. It has declared, in express and solemn words, what shall be punished as treason, and what shall not. The other it has not defined. It has left, as yet, altogether undescribed by words, what shall be punished as libel, what shall not. The judge, without a shadow of a law given him by the legislature, looking only to the practice of the Star-Chamber, and of his predecessors who followed the example of the Star-Chamber, makes up a rule, according to his own views, for each particular occasion. Let us attend to what the most eminent lawyers have advanced concerning the danger and mischief of leaving, in any degree of ambiguity and uncertainty, the laws on which the vital interests of the people depend;—hear their well merited and vehement praises of the legislature, for taking the law of treason out of the incurable vagueness and uncertainty of unwritten or common law,—for limiting and circumscribing it by an express form of words; and then estimate the calamity, which still remains to be removed, of standing exposed, as a nation, to punishment for a libel, while the offence has never yet been limited by any form of words, and the range of punishment may be widened or narrowed at the discretion of the judges.

The following are the words of Blackstone. 'If the crime of high treason be indeterminate, this alone (says the President

 Montesquieu)

'Montesquieu) is sufficient to make any government degenerate 'into arbitrary power.' We may certainly add, with equal truth, if the crime of libel be indeterminate, this alone is sufficient, if the rulers chuse, to destroy the liberty of the press. Blackstone goes on: 'And yet, by the ancient common law, 'there was a great latitude left in the breast of the judges, to de-'termine what was treason, or not so.' Not only the same, but a much greater latitude, as the nature of the case implies, is now left, by the existing common law, in the breast of judges, to determine what is libel, or not so. The learned judge continues—'Whereby the creatures of tyrannical princes had op-'portunity to create abundance of constructive treasons; that 'is, to raise, by forced and arbitrary constructions, offences 'into the crime and punishment of treason, which never were 'suspected to be such.' And in the same manner we may pronounce, that if ever we shall have a prince of despotical, not to speak of tyrannical inclinations, his creatures will, by the indeterminateness of libel law, have opportunity to create abundance of constructive libels; that is, to condemn and punish, not any crime, but the most meritorious actions, the just and faithful exposure of acts of misgovernment, with the ruin and destruction of the authors.

What was the remedy against so much danger, from a common, unwritten, indeterminate law, respecting treason? An act of the legislature, making the law *written*, precise, and unambiguous. 'But however,' says Blackstone, 'to 'prevent the inconveniences which began to arise in England 'from this multitude of constructive treasons, the statute 25. 'Edw. III. c. 2. was made; which *defines* what offences only, for 'the future, should be held to be treason. Thus careful,' he continues, after specifying the different provisions of the statute, 'was the Legislature, in the reign of Edward the third, to 'specify and reduce to a certainty the vague notions of treason, 'that had formerly prevailed in our Courts. Sir Matthew 'Hale is very high in his encomiums on the great wisdom and 'care of the Parliament, in thus keeping judges within the 'proper bounds and limits of this act, by not suffering them 'to run out (upon their own opinions) into constructive trea-'sons, though in cases that seem to them to have a like parity 'of reason.'

The application of all this is too obvious to require any observation. But this is a point of such vital importance, that we must be forgiven for accumulating a few more authorities. In the admirable speech which was delivered by Sir Vicary Gibbs,

in the defence of Mr Tooke, in 1794,* he makes some valuable remarks on the mischief and danger arising from the uncertainty, from the power of unlimited extension, which belongs to an unwritten law, on the chief points liable to come to issue between governments and their subjects. 'Gentlemen,' he says, 'I will now state the authority under which this Court is founded,—I mean that statute which passed in what Lord Coke called a *blessed* Parliament, namely the stat. 25. Edw. III, stating what constitutes treason, and laying down an unerring path by which a man's conduct could be followed; and showing how a man should not be implicated in guilt without knowing what it was, which, I am sorry to say, before this statute, was a state engine for prosecutions for high treason.' After reciting the principal provisions of the act, he goes on, 'Gentlemen, you will observe, before this statute passed, treason was a crime undefined by the statute law;'—just as libel is now. What was the consequence? Sir Vicary tells us;—'If a man was indicted for high treason, and a jury was told so, they could not have information enough to try him.' It followed, as Sir Vicary most truly remarked, that the jury in such circumstances were necessarily dependent upon the Court. He goes on;—'And they must know,' (viz. before their verdict) 'what treason is, and must learn from the Court what it was imputed to him.' He adds, 'After that statute, they learnt from a higher authority what treason is. By this statute every branch of treason is pointed out, and therefore, that which was matter of law in the breasts of the judges, became, by this statute, a matter of fact in the breast of the jury.' He goes on;—'The makers of the statute knew what an engine prosecutions for treason were made; and in the anxiety, that the subject should not be exposed to *vague* and *loose* charges of treason, the statute goes on to prohibit any thing being considered as treason, except in the words of the statute.'

If it was of so much importance 'that the subject should not be exposed to vague and loose charges of treason,' we have already declared, and we cannot too often repeat our opinion, that it is of still more importance that writers on government, and the great principles of society, should not be exposed to vague and loose charges of libel. And if the remedy against the evils of loose and vague charges of treason, was a definition by statute of the crime; so the only remedy against the evils of loose and vague charges of libel, is a definition of libel by the legislature.

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* Trial of John Horne Tooke, &c. taken in short hand by J. H. Blanchard, Vol. 2. p. 137.

We are extremely happy to be supported in the view we have taken of the importance of such an amendment of our libel law, by so high an authority as Lord Erskine. In his speech on the motion of Lord Holland, 4th March 1811, for an account of informations *ex officio* filed by the Attorney-General, he said, * 'When a man is accused of high treason, he is covered all 'over with the armour of the law. He has a giant to fight with, 'when he has to encounter the whole weight and influence of the 'Crown; and he is protected accordingly....Now, why should 'not persons accused by the Attorney-General by *ex officio* in- 'formation, have analogous protections? They have the same 'antagonist to fight with, and why not the same armour to cover 'them? All the power and influence of Government are exerted 'equally against them; and the cases are precisely the same, ex- 'cept that the Crown does not fight with the weapons that are 'mortal; but the wounds they inflict may be desperate. Yet they 'not only have not analogous protection, but they are exposed to 'greater dangers than in cases of ordinary crimes, *by the abuse of* '*special juries.* He did not mean to complain of the institution, 'but of want of proper regulation. He had long had the great- 'est respect for many gentlemen who served upon them; but the 'most honest men were not equally fit for all trusts. *They were* '*often deeply connected with government; engaged in the collection* '*of the revenue, and magistrates in every county in the kingdom.* 'The list was not returned by the sheriff, but *was made up by the* '*Master, in the office of the King's-Bench.*' Lord Erskine, on the subject of special juries, goes further than we ventured to go. He says, that abuses do now exist; all that we have said is, that special juries are an instrument ready prepared for abuse; and that it is owing to the virtue of ministers if the abuse was not perpetrated. The points as to which Lord Erskine desired to see the law of libel placed on the same footing with the law of treason, are points of great importance certainly; but the accuracy or vagueness of the law itself is a point of still higher importance.

Blackstone informs us, and informs us truly, that 'from all open attacks' upon our liberty, we are, in the present state of knowledge in England, abundantly secure. It is from 'secret machinations,' he says, 'which may sap and undermine it,' that we have every thing to fear. † To the same purpose, Hume, in his Essay on the Liberty of the Press, informs us, that 'it 'is seldom that liberty is lost all at once. Slavery has so fright- 'ful

* See the Report in Cobbet's Polit. Reg. March 13th, 1811.

† Commentaries, vol. iv. p. 350.

'ful an aspect to men accustomed to freedom, that it must steal 'in upon them by degrees, and must disguise itself in a thou-'sand shapes, in order to be received.' He asserts, accordingly, that 'it is sufficiently known, that despotic power would 'steal in upon us, were we not extremely watchful to prevent 'its progress, and were there not an easy method of conveying 'the alarum from one end of the kingdom to the other. The 'spirit of the people must frequently be roused to curb the am-'bition of the court; and the dread of rousing this spirit must 'be employed to prevent that ambition. Nothing so effectual 'to this purpose as the liberty of the press, by which all the 'learning, wit and genius of the nation, may be employed on 'the side of liberty, and every one be animated to its defence. 'As long, therefore, as the republican part of our government 'can maintain itself against the monarchical, it must be ex-'tremely jealous of the press, as of the utmost importance to 'its preservation.' Mr Burke says—'Great, determined mea-'sures, are not commonly so dangerous to freedom. They are 'marked with too strong lines to slide into use. No plea, nor 'pretence of *inconvenience* or *evil example*, (which must, in 'their nature, be daily and ordinary incidents) can be admitted 'as a reason for such mighty operations. But the true danger 'is, when liberty is nibbled away, for expedients, and by 'parts.' †

These opinions, which we have chosen to support, not only by their own intrinsic evidence, but by the high authority of the writers who delivered them, sufficiently imply, that of all dangers at the present day besetting our liberties, the danger of leaving a door open for the destruction of the liberty of the press, by a vague and indeterminate law of libel, is by far the greatest.

The law of libel in this country presents, indeed, a phenomenon, to which we know not that a parallel is to be found in the history of mankind. Although founded entirely upon recent and practical authority, and claiming no reverence for antiquity or legislative sanction, it is a law at utter variance with the sentiments of every class and denomination of men, both public and private, in the kingdom. Even Attorneys-General themselves, in the very act of arraigning some unfortunate man for a libel, never fail to declare themselves friends to the liberty of the press. Not a man, probably, could be found in the nation capable of understanding the meaning of the terms, who would not declare the freedom of the press to be one of the first of

† Letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol. p. 112.—Works, vol. ii. 4to edition.

of political blessings—to be that sort of security for our liberties, without which all other securities would prove vain and ineffectual. In the celebrated trial of John Stockdale in 1789, for a libel on the House of Commons, the Attorney-General endeavours to persuade the jury to bring in a verdict of guilty, 'lest a prejudice, on account of its licentiousness, should 'be raised against the press, and lest something,' said he, 'should be done, in that paroxysm of disgust, which might 'be the gradual means of sapping the foundation of that '*best of our liberties*,—A FREE PRESS.' * In the trial of Mr Perry, in 1793, the Attorney-General (now Lord Eldon), after a panygeric upon the constitution, as 'a mo'del *nearly approaching to perfection*,—a constitution, un'der which a greater degree of happiness has been enjoyed 'than by the subjects of any other government whatever,' adds—'These blessings have, in a great measure, sprung from 'the properly regulated *freedom of the press;* and, on maintain'ing *that freedom* on its proper principles, chiefly depends our 'security for the enjoyment of those blessings.'—'I never will,' he says, 'dispute the right of any man fully to discuss topics 'respecting government, and honestly to point out what he may 'consider as a proper remedy of grievances.' † The Judge himself (Lord Kenyon), in the opening of his charge to the Jury on the same trial, said—'The liberty of the press has al'ways been, and has justly been, a favourite topic with Eng'lishmen.... Gentlemen,' he continued, 'it is placed as the 'sentinel to alarm us, when any attempt is made on our liber'ties.' ‡ Even Sir Vicary Gibbs himself (for it is necessary to have a specimen of the man whose reputation stands at present the highest for hostility to the press) declared, and we doubt not with perfect sincerity, on the trial of Mr Perry, February 24th, 1810—'A free, full and open discussion of every measure con'nected with the public affairs of the country, and into the 'conduct and measures of government, he was far from refus'ing to the conductors of the public prints. An attempt to 'control the free exercise of this right, he should admit, would be improper and unjust. On that liberty, some of our best privileges depended. It had been instrumental, in former days, in establishing and securing our free constitution; and it might, when properly directed, be the means of preserving to us the same invaluable blessings in time to come.' ‖ Honourable,

* See the Speeches of Lord Erskine, vol. ii. p. 283.
† Ibid, p. 404, 405.
‡ Ibid. p. 447.
‖ See Report of the Trial by Mr Perry.

nourable, however, as these declarations are to the eminent persons who pronounced them, we cannot hesitate in saying, that they are all of them at variance with the law. That liberty of the press, so uniformly extolled, the law entirely disallows. There is not a conceivable expression, passing censure upon any institution, any measure, or any member of Government, which the all-comprehending law of libel places not within the verge of punishment,—of punishment short of life, and liable to any degree of severity the Judges please. The author of the Digest of Libel Law, quoting for his authorities Bacon's Abridgement and Hawkins's Pleas of the Crown, states it as the law, 'that 'words, if published in writing, and tending in any degree to '*the discredit* of a man, are libellous, whether such words de-'fame private persons only, or persons employed in a public 'capacity; in which latter case, they are said to receive an ag-'gravation, as they tend to scandalize the Government, by re-'flecting on those who are entrusted with the administration of 'public affairs.'* But if every thing that *reflects* on those entrusted with the administration of public affairs,—if every thing tending to the *discredit* of any one of them be an *aggravated* libel,—it is absurd and ridiculous to speak of the liberty of the press. Under the pressure, however, of this law, Lord Ellenborough found himself constrained, in the case of Cobbett to which we have already alluded, not only to declare, that every thing which tends to bring the Government into disesteem is libellous, but to say, that, 'by the law of England, there is no 'impunity to any person publishing any thing that is injurious 'to the feelings and happiness of an individual;' † and, in perfect conformity with this principle, to enumerate among the different libellous passages which the writing in question contained, that which questioned the fitness of Lord Hardwicke for the situation of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. 'He admits' (says his Lordship) this noble person to be celebrated for understanding the modern method of fatting a sheep as well as any man in Cambridgeshire. Now, gentlemen, what does this mean? Does it not clearly mean to infer, that Lord Hardwicke is ill-placed in his high situation, and that he is only fit for the common walks of life?' ‡ There can be no doubt, that to pronounce a man in a high situation unfit for his office, would be disagreeable to his feelings; but if the press must not so much as insi-nuate

* Digest of the Law concerning Libels, p. 5.

† See Report of the Trial, Cobbett's Polit. Reg. 2d June 1803, p. 854.

‡ Ibid. p. 857.

nuate that any public functionary is only fit for the private walks of life, it is but an idle mockery to tell us we have a free press. We are far, however, from blaming Lord Ellenborough for these declarations; for, upon the only ground of law, or supposed law, on which he had to proceed, we know not what else it was possible for him to declare; unless he had declared, that though such was the law, it was a law which Juries and Judges had very often taken the liberty of disregarding; that, as often as they had done so, they had done their country good service; and that, in general, by executing it, they had done nothing but mischief.

Can any contradiction, then, be greater than that which exists between this law and the sentiments and practice of the nation? Is there any man, however inclined to screw up the springs of authority, who reckons it criminal to lay before the public, expressions reflecting upon the qualifications or practices of public men? Hear Mr Windham himself, speaking directly to this very point—'With respect to the abuse of patronage, 'one of those by which the interests of countries will in reality 'most suffer, I perfectly agree, that it is likewise one, of which 'the government, properly so called, that is to say, persons in 'the highest offices, are as likely to be guilty, and from their 'opportunities more likely to be guilty, than any others. Nothing can exceed the greediness, the selfishness, the insatiable 'voracity, the profligate disregard of all claims from merit or 'services, that we often see in persons in high official stations, 'when providing for themselves, their relations or dependants. 'I am as little disposed as any one to defend them in this conduct. Let it be reprobated in terms as harsh as any one 'pleases, and much more than it commonly is.'* Does Mr Windham here teach the legal doctrine of not touching the feelings of public men? Does he not, in opposition to it, say, that they cannot be touched too harshly, when by the abuse of patronage they have acted wrong? Did Mr Burke think it criminal to publish any thing having a tendency to bring the government into disesteem, when he thus wrote? 'No man, I 'believe, will consider it merely as the language of spleen or 'disappointment, if I say, that there is something particularly 'alarming in the present conjuncture. There is hardly a man 'in or out of power who holds any other language. That government is at once dreaded and contemned; that the laws are 'despoiled of all their respected and salutary terrors; that their 'inaction is a subject of ridicule, and their exertion of abhor-'rence;

* Cobbet's Parl. Debates, v. 14, p. 758.

'rence; that rank, and office, and title, and all the solemn 'plausibilities of the world, have lost their reverence and effect; 'that our foreign politics are as much deranged as our domestic 'economy; that our dependencies are slackened in their affec-'tion, and loosened from their obedience; that we know nei-'ther how to yield nor how to enforce; that hardly any thing 'above or below, abroad or at home, is sound and entire; but 'that disconnexion and confusion, in offices, in parties, in fa-'milies, in parliament, in the nation, prevail beyond the dis-'orders of any former time!—These are facts universally admitted 'and lamented.' † Did he regard the feelings or reputation of ministers, in a body, when he printed these words?—'The mi-'nisters, instead of attending to a duty that was so urgent on 'them, *employed themselves*, AS USUAL, *in endeavours to de-'stroy the reputation of those who were bold enough to remind 'them of it:*' ‡ Did he think it wrong to defame the govern-ment, when he declared, as in the following words, that the House of Commons had become so corrupt, that he felt degrad-ed by being placed in it?—'But, when I found,' says he, 'that the House, surrendering itself to the guidance, not of an 'authority grown out of experience, wisdom and integrity, but 'of the accidents of court favour, had become the sport of the 'passions of men, at once rash and pusillanimous,—that it had 'even got into the habit of refusing every thing to reason, and 'surrendering every thing to force,—all my power of obliging 'either my country or individuals was gone; all the lustre of 'my imaginary rank was tarnished, and I felt degraded even 'by my elevation.' § Did he think it wrong to pour forth the most unmeasured accusations against the highest men, when he printed and published the following expressions relating to Mr Pitt and Lord Melville?—'With a knowledge of this disposi-'tion, a British Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Treasurer 'of the Navy, impelled by no public necessity, in a strain of 'the most wanton perfidy which has ever stained the annals of 'mankind, have delivered over to plunder, imprisonment, ex-'ile, and death itself, according to the mercy of such execrable 'tyrants as Amir al Omra and Paul Benfield, the unhappy and 'deluded souls, who, untaught by uniform example, were still 'weak enough to put their trust in English faith.' ‖ Or, when, in

† Burke, Thoughts on the Cause of the present Discontents, p. 4.
‡ Letter from Edmund Burke, esq. to T. Burgh, esq. p. 38.
§ Ib. p. 54.
‖ Speech on the Nabob of Arcot's Debts; Burke's Works, vol. ii. p. 494. Ed. 4to.

in the same speech, he declared, by one of the most cutting expressions which the language afforded, that Mr Pitt, by a specific attraction, gravitated to every intriguing and rapacious character? * Or, when he accused the same celebrated minister of sacrificing 'all the natural interests of this kingdom,' to an intriguing connexion with Mr Benfield? 'A single Benfield,' he says, 'outweighs them all; a criminal, who long since ought 'to have fattened the region kites with his offal, is, by his Majesty's ministers, enthroned in the government of a great kingdom, and enfeoffed with an estate, which in the comparison 'effaces the splendour of all the nobility of Europe.' †

When the press teems every day with censures so severe as these, both on the agents and measures of government, censures published by the highest and most respected characters in the nation, who, so far from being punished, are often raised to honours and power, what is the public to think, when it every now and then beholds an unfortunate victim singled out for censures not exceeding, if they equal, those which are unpunished? Seldom, indeed, can it forbear to think, what, in the celebrated prosecution of Wilkes for a libel, Mr Burke declared that he thought. 'I will not believe, what no other man living believes, that Mr Wilkes was punished for the indecency of his 'publications, or the impiety of his ransacked closet. If he 'had fallen in a common slaughter of libellers and blasphemers, 'I could well believe that nothing more was meant than was 'pretended. But when I see that, for years together, full as 'impious, and perhaps more dangerous writings to religion, and 'virtue, and order, have not been punished, nor their authors 'discountenanced, I must consider this as a shocking and shameless pretence. Does not the public behold with indignation, 'persons not only generally scandalous in their lives, but the 'identical persons who, by their society, their instruction, their 'example, their encouragement, have drawn this man into the 'very faults which have furnished the cabal with a pretence for 'his prosecution, loaded with every kind of favour, honour and 'distinction which a court can bestow? Add but the crime of 'servility (the *foedum crimen servitutis*) to every other crime, 'and the whole mass is immediately transmuted into virtue, 'and becomes the just subject of reward and honour. When, 'therefore, I reflect upon this method pursued in distributing 'punishments, I must conclude, that Mr Wilkes is the object 'of

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* Speech on the Nabob of Arcot's Debts, Burke's Works, vol. ii. p. 513. † Ibid. p. 516.

' of persecution, not on account of what he has done in common with others who are the objects of reward, but for that ' in which he differs from many of them; that he is pursued ' for the spirited dispositions which are blended with his vices; ' for his unconquerable firmness, for his resolute, indefatigable, ' strenuous resistance against oppression.' *

One thing there is which, in the present state of prosecutions for libel, cannot fail to command attention, viz. that the ministerial prints abound, to fully as great a degree as their antagonists, in all the vices which can adhere to the mode of censuring public men; yet it is a rare case, indeed, to see any of them punished. Let any one read the abuse which, during the present administration, has in certain prints been poured out against another eminent party in the State, for not one word of which did we ever hear that one man has ever been called to account. And what conclusion can the fair, the disinterested and intelligent part of the community form? What else, than that the law of libel is a law to punish all those who dare to speak ill of the minister; and that the liberty of the press, is a liberty to speak ill of all those who are the minister's enemies?

It is sufficiently obvious, that, with regard to political subjects, and public men, the liberty of the press may be abused in two ways. The one is, when good public measures, and good public men, are blamed;—the other is, when bad public measures, and bad public men, are praised. Of these two, we should consider the last as being infinitely the worst. It is not only, beyond all comparison, the most prevalent, as being the best paid, and not at all punished: But it is infinitely the most dangerous and fatal in its operation. It is the skreen by which, more effectually than by any thing else, power is concealed in that *gradual* progress to despotism, which the distinguished authors above quoted described as its most dangerous, and almost its only dangerous approach. And, even when nothing worse than imbecillity wields the reins, it is that by which it is chiefly upheld in its blunders, till it ripens national misfortunes into national ruin. Every thing the government performs is asserted, and with pretended demonstration proved, to be excellent. Every plausible circumstance which can be discovered belonging to it, is displayed in the most advantageous light, and fixed habitually in the public eye, while every dangerous or mischievous circumstance is carefully disguised or hidden from the view. To the great mass of mankind,

 whose

* Burke, Thoughts on the Cause of the present Discontents, p. 76.

whose minds are chiefly passive in the reception of their opinions, nothing more is needed to make them believe that their government is admirable, than perpetually to hear that it is so. And, even upon the strongest minds, it is well known that the tide of popular opinion, if running with any considerable strength, is all but irresistible. If all the writers, then, in the pay of government, or who aspire to share in the wages of servility, have full scope to praise and misrepresent, as well as to calumniate and abuse, in the maintenance of promotion and misrule; and if those who are independent and virtuous are either prevented altogether from laying the mischief open to view, and creating a proper sense of its magnitude, or even to any considerable degree intimidated from doing so; it is evident what an opportunity is afforded to delusion, and how an infatuated people may be led on to hug their chains, and kiss the hand that fastens them on, till they not only surround their bodies, but are rivetted to their necks.

Such are the fatal consequences of misplaced praise of public measures and public men, as it regards the people. As it regards princes themselves, it is that flattery, and on its most extensive scale, and in its most operative shape, which all the wise and virtuous men who have written on the interests of princes have described as their most deadly bane; as the grand seducer which misleads them from their duties; which encourages them in every weakness and in every vice; and places and keeps them in the road which conducts both them and the people to their ruin. It is evident, therefore, that if any exercise whatsoever of the press be an abuse, its becoming the vehicle of undeserved praise of public men and public measures is an abuse; and if mischief be the ground of complaint, no other abuse presents so many and cogent reasons for being restrained by punishment. When we hear the censures, therefore, pronounced by the press, made the perpetual topic of invective and execration, while all the mischief committed by it, in shedding the poison of false praise, is regarded with approbation, we can be at no loss for the motives of such a conduct. When, of two national evils, the greatest is adopted as a favourite, while the smallest is selected as the object of concentrated antipathy, we know what to think either of the heads or of the hearts of the men who thus distribute their affections.

We have, at the same time, a just sense of the evils which arise from the abuse of censure pronounced by the press. In regard to the public transactions of public men, or their qualifications for public trusts, as we deem no praise to be an abuse

but

but that which is undeserved, so we deem no censure. Where-ever real incapacity in a public man is pointed out—wherever the real impolicy or mischief of a wrong measure is stript of its disguise, and made to appear in its own shape, we conceive that the nation is served in the highest instance; and any thing rather than an abuse, has been effected by the press. But we readily grant, that when, by the influence of false censure, a nation is made to disapprove of a good measure, or a good minister, and to defeat the one, or deprive itself of the other, the press has been the source of mischief. There are, however, two remedies against this, whose united virtue can seldom fail to be effectual. There is, in the first place, refutation of the censure by the same channel; a grand and appropriate cure, and which, considering the force of truth, will generally prevail. And there is punishment, which, as often as a man brings an accusation which he cannot support, may be inflicted in measure and proportion.

There is, however, another danger, real or imaginary, of which certain classes of men hold up to their own eyes a colossal and hideous picture; and labour earnestly with it to appal the hearts of other men;—that is, the danger of anarchy, arising from excessive censure of measures of government and public men. Now, without pretending for the present to measure very accurately the degree in which the press ever has contributed to produce the evils of anarchy, or is ever likely to contribute, this we take upon us without any hesitation to say, that the abuse, in the way of censure, has far less tendency to produce the evils of anarchy, than the abuse in the way of praise has to produce the evils of despotism; and that despotism is by far the most imminent danger. It is from the praise, and not from the censure, that society has infinitely the most to dread.

To point out the exact limits of the power of the press to disorder society by the abuse of censure, would require a minute analysis of the nature and constitution of different governments. A few obvious considerations, however, may be presented, which afford no inaccurate standard to judge by. Of those countries which have enjoyed the most of the power of censure by the press; and those which have enjoyed the least:—in which has there appeared the greatest disposition to anarchy, and in which the least? The answer which the experience of history presents to us, will surprise those who have credulously lent their faith to the men who have lately been so active in traducing the application of censure by the press. The only

countries in which any tolerable degree of the liberty of the press has ever been enjoyed, have been a few of the Protestant countries of modern times---England, Holland, Switzerland, and the United States of North America. Now, so far from showing the greatest tendency to anarchy,—of all countries that ever existed, these have been the farthest removed from that tendency. In what country in Europe is there so much tendency to insurrection, as in Turkey? And what other countries of Europe have the most nearly resembled Turkey in that particular? We answer—Italy; and whatever country has shared the most in that despotism which Italy exercised upon the thoughts and expressions of the people.

But the revolution of France is something which agitates the imaginations of men, and which, without allowing them time to render themselves in any tolerable degree acquainted with the facts of that extraordinary event, makes them fear and detest in the mass all things which, justly or unjustly, have been ever supposed to have had a share in producing it. The abuse of the press was carried to a great height during the excesses of the French revolution;—the abuse, therefore, of the press was, they tell us, the cause of these excesses. This we consider to be that fallacy, or mistake of the judgment, which, in classing and demonstrating the sophisms, Aristotle called το μη αιτιον ως αιτιον, *non causa pro causâ*. The abuses of the press which attended the excesses of the French revolution, we regard as the effect, not the cause of the public disorders. It will not be asserted, that public discontent and public insurrection were not more frequent before there was a press than since. Now, suppose that, by the progress of such discontent, the bands of government had become as nearly dissolved as they were in France at the time of the assembling of the States General; will any considerate man take upon him to say, that the same, or as great excesses might not have taken place had no press existed? Were there never any cruel and sanguinary revolutions, but where there was a press? It would really appear as if the terror of the French revolution had paralyzed the understandings, as well as extinguished the public virtues of a great number of men.

Mr Burke, who, though his lights were not very steady, saw by glances a great way into the structure and play of the machine of society, has well described those turbulent spirits who, by means of the press, or by any other means, are in danger of becoming the authors of mischief in a revolution. 'A species of men,' says he, 'to whom a state of order

'would

'would become a sentence of obscurity, are nourished into a 'dangerous magnitude by the heat of intestine disturbances; 'and it is no wonder that, by a sort of sinister piety, they che-'rish, in their turn, the disorders which are the parents of 'all their consequence.' * To the prevalence, in France, of such men as these, and to the abuse of the press, has the revolution and all its evil consequences been ascribed. Now, what says Mr Burke on this important question? 'Superficial 'observers,' says he, 'consider such persons as the *cause* of 'the public uneasiness, when, in truth, they are nothing more 'than the *effect*.' This is a truth of prodigious importance; of which Burke himself but too easily and too completely, at an after period, lost sight; and by his eloquence, induced too many others to follow his example. The expressions which immediately follow in the same passage are not less remarkable, nor less at variance with subsequent doctrines of the same writer. 'Good men,' says he, 'look upon this distracted 'scene with sorrow and indignation. They stand in a most 'distressing alternative. But, in the election among evils, they 'hope better things from *temporary confusion*, than from *estab-'lished servitude*.'

There is another grievous mistake involved in this prejudice with regard to the matter of fact. It was not the abuse of a *free* press which was witnessed during the French revolution; it was the abuse of an *enslaved* press. The press was at all times the exclusive instrument of the domineering faction, who made use of it to calumniate their enemies and agitate the people; but prevented, by the terrors of extermination, all other men from making use of the press to expose their machinations and character. It was exactly that species of abuse which is committed, in different degrees, by every set of rulers in France, in England, or any where else, who allow more latitude to freedom of expression on their own side, than on that of their opponents. Had real freedom of the press been enjoyed—had the honest men whom France contained been left a channel by which to lay their sentiments before the public—had a means been secured of instructing the people in the real nature of the delusions which were practised upon them, the enormities of the revolution would have been confined within a narrow compass, and its termination would have been very different. The enlightened and intrepid author of the work before us affords an admirable passage on this subject, which cannot fail to be read with delight and instruction.

 'Oui,

* Thoughts on the Cause of the present Discontents, p. 57.

'Oui, je ne le dissimulerai pas, la France, depuis dix ans, n'a été bouleversée que par la license de la presse, abandonnée exclusivement à quelques groupes de perturbateurs; et la France ne se regenerera que par la liberté generale de la presse, qui comprimera en tout sens la license des perturbateurs.

'Cette liberté de la presse, annoncée avec emphase à la tête de trois Constitutions, n'a presque jamais existé *que pour la faction dominante:* celle-ci donnait son symbole, l'etendait, le modifiait au gré de son caprice; mais tout homme, non affilié à la secte, qui osait penser d'après lui-même, ecrire d'après la raison universelle, *etait traîné à la Guiane, ou périssait sur l'echafaud.*

'Si la loi constitutionelle de la liberté de la presse, avait été respectée en 1792, dans tous les hommes qu'elle devait atteindre, croit-on que la France aurait deshonoré à jamais la cause de l'independance de l'homme, en envoyant son Roi au supplice?

'Si cette loi avait protegé à la Convention la masse entière des êtres pensans, et non simplement quelques hordes de demagogues, qui maîtrisaient l'Assemblée Nationale tour-à-tour, croit-on que la guerre de la Vendée eût pris naissance; que Lyon eût perdu ses arts, ses citoyens, et ses edifices; que par un renversement absolu de logique, on eût reuni légalement ensemble deux mots aussi contradictoires, que celui de *revolutionaire* et celui de *gouvernement?*

'Si cette loi avait couvert de son egide, il y a trente mois, tous les hommes qui s'honoraient du titre de Français, croit-on qu'on aurait impunément abjuré la loyauté nationale en mobilisant la dette publique, que des tables de proscription, signées au théatre de l'Odéon, auraient deporté sur des plages pestilentielles, le patriotisme, le courage, et les lumières?

'Il est donc demontré que sur-tout depuis 1791, la presse a pu être *licencieuse* entre les mains des factions; mais qu'elle n'a presque jamais été *libre* dans celles de la masse des gens de bien.'

Such was the state of the press in France during the excesses of the revolution. The licentiousness which it displayed was not the licentiousness of freedom, but the licentiousness of slavery; and freedom would have been the most effectual cure of all its evils. What our author advances on this latter subject is not less worthy of being heard, than the facts which he brings to view in the former.

'Il n'y a qu'un moyen de tirer le remede du sein même du mal, c'est d'etendre le privilege inhérent à l'homme d'evoncer sa pensée, de manière qu'en cessant d'être exclusif, il cesse d'être nuisible; c'est de rendre la presse si libre, qu'elle cesse d'etre licensieuse.

'Quelques hommes qui veulent penser seuls, sans doute pour n'avoir point de rivaux dans l'art de nuire, diront qu'il est un mode plus simple de prevenir les insurrections écrites contre le pouvoir; c'est, non de circonscrire la liberté de la presse, non de l'etendre indefiniment, mais de l'aneantir.

'Ce

'Ce raisonnement émane du suprême despotisme, et s'il m'est permis de dire toute verité, ne mène qu'à une suprême extravagance, &c.'

If men would only employ a little patient consideration in forming their notions, we should not despair of getting all but a few, to join with us in opinion, that, so far from the freedom of the press being the cause of the French revolution, had a free press existed in France, the French revolution never would have taken place. It is the natural, nay, we may confidently say, the necessary effect of a free press, so to harmonize together the tone of the government and the sentiments of the people, that no jarring opposition between them can ever arise. By the free circulation of opinions, the government is always fully apprised, which, by no other means it ever can be, of the sentiments of the people, and feels a decided interest in conforming to them. As it must thus, in some degree, mould itself upon the sentiments of the people, so it feels an interest in fashioning the sentiments of the people to a conformity with its views. It is at pains to instruct, to persuade, and to conciliate. It acts not with a proud and negligent disdain of the feelings of the people. In a word, the government and the people are under a moral necessity of acting together; a free press compels them to bend to one another; and any contrariety of views and purposes liable to arise, can never come to such a head as to threaten convulsions. We may safely affirm, that more freedom of the press granted to our own country, would have the salutary effect of harmonizing, to a much greater degree, the tone of government and the sentiments of the people, and of rendering all violent opposition between them still more improbable than even at present it is. We may even go further: we may speak of that state of convulsion itself, against which so many of our contemporaries think it necessary to take so many precautions. Were that revolution, which we think so very little probable, really to happen, nothing would prove so strong a bulwark against the abuses, to which a state of revolution is apt to give birth, as the freedom of the press, so clearly established and modified by law, and the utility of its exercise so fully proved by experience, that it would be impossible for the public to be deceived in regard to the shackles which a predominant faction might desire to impose upon that freedom, or in regard to the false glosses which it would endeavour to put upon its own and other men's transactions.

That the press, too, though calculated to produce important effects in the slow progress of ages, is an instrument with which

no violent and sudden changes can ever be effected, we should think abundantly evident, upon a little consideration of its very nature. This is a circumstance which did not escape the sagacity of Mr Hume, and which, though cautious and timid with respect to government, even to a degree, as Mr Fox justly remarks, of womanish imbecility, he hesitated not to express in several of the first editions of his Essays. The point is so well handled by him, and his authority is so high, that we prefer delivering our sentiments upon it, in his words, to our own. 'Since, therefore,' says Mr Hume,* 'the liberty of the press 'is so essential to the support of our mixed government, this 'sufficiently decides the question, whether this liberty be advantageous or prejudicial; there being nothing of greater importance in every state than the preservation of the antient 'government, especially if it be a free one. But I would fain 'go a step further, and assert, that such a liberty is attended 'with so few inconveniences, that it may be claimed as the common right of mankind, and ought to be indulged them almost 'in every government; except the ecclesiastical, to which indeed it would be fatal. We need not dread, from this liberty, any such ill consequences as followed from the harangues 'of the popular demagogues of Athens, and tribunes of Rome. 'A man reads a book or pamphlet alone and coolly. There is 'none present from whom he can catch the passion by contagion. 'He is not hurried away by the force and energy of action. 'And, should he be wrought up to never so seditious a humour, 'there is no violent resolution presented to him, by which he 'can immediately vent his passion. The liberty of the press, 'therefore, however abused, can scarce ever excite popular tumults or rebellion. And as to those murmurs or secret discontents it may occasion, 'tis better they should get vent in 'words, that they may come to the knowledge of the magistrate 'before it be too late, in order to his providing a remedy against 'them. Mankind, 'tis true, have always a greater propension 'to believe what is said to the disadvantage of their governors, 'than the contrary; but this inclination is inseparable from 'them, whether they have liberty or not. A whisper may fly 'as quick, and be as pernicious, as a pamphlet. Nay, it will 'be more pernicious, where men are not accustomed to think 'freely, or distinguish betwixt truth and falsehood.'

Here, for the present, we must suspend our observations. On some of the most important topics connected with the subject,

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* Hume's Essays, 4th edition, p. 11.

ject, we have been altogether unable to touch. We have not been able to mention any of the considerations which prescribe, as well as fix, the limits within which the liberty of the press should be confined. But we promise not to lose sight of the subject. The liberty of the press is a point on which so much depends, and with regard to which there is still in this country so much room for reform, that we shall not be easily induced to remit our efforts, till that sort of legislative provision, which we have here endeavoured to describe, be at last bestowed upon the nation.

ART. V. *Travels in the South of Spain, in Letters written A. D.* 1809 *&* 1810. By William Jacob, Esq. M.P. F.R.S.† 4to. pp. 464. Johnson. London, 1811.

THIS book is another and a useful contribution to literature, from a quarter peculiarly deserving of respect, and towards which our grateful consideration has never failed to be directed, as some trifling encouragement to such exertions. It is the work of a mercantile gentleman, written during an excursion of business; and it is distinguished by much of the plain sense which belongs to the commercial character, with somewhat more of liberality upon general topics than usually falls to its share, and perhaps a little tincture of feelings in a degree foreign to the habits of that sober and solid class of men. It has given us both entertainment and information; and we venture to predict, that it will

† We are not quite satisfied with our author's manner of setting forth his *additions*. We desiderate, in the first place, the civic title of the worthy Alderman, and trust that this hint will be taken by Sir William Curtis, when he publishes *his* travels to Walcheren, performed about the same time. Furthermore, we should have been better pleased if Mr Jacob had put his title as a Member of the Royal Society before his Parliamentary mark. We do not wish to make invidious comparisons, and have some fears of incurring a charge of contempt; but an *author* should be forward to proclaim his connexion with, and to stand up for the precedence of, so illustrious a body as the Society founded by Newton; and one could even pardon, in a commander, the affectation of science (as it might be termed) which made Buonaparte designate himself, during his earlier campaigns, 'Member of the National Institute, and Commander in Chief of the Army of Italy.'

will not disappoint those who may be disposed to judge for themselves, and prefer the book to our account of it. Nevertheless, as all readers are not likely to be of this description, and as there may be some who can bear both, we shall, for their benefit, here set down what the work professes to do, and how it fulfils the promise of the '*contents.*'

As the first of all requisites in a narrator, is accuracy respecting his statement of facts, and as this should be the more jealously looked after, when his own exploits form the subject of the narrative, we began, as is our custom in such cases, with keeping a very sharp look-out for any slips which might qualify our judgment upon this author's correctness and fidelity;—not that we could possibly suspect him of any intention wilfully to deceive, but merely because, when the fancy is heated, or enthusiasm is at work, or the † egotism of solitude is in full play, (a chapter omitted by Zimmerman, probably because it would have furnished an answer to half his book), we are aware, that *the thing which is not* finds its way too frequently into a man's discourse, to the exclusion of much real good, and the manifest promotion of error. The first observations which we made, with the view of forming our estimate of the author's correctness in this particular, were rather unfavourable. The Preface begins with announcing, that the 'following pages contain the 'substance of letters written to my family and friends, during '*six* months which I passed in Spain.' Now, as it turns out in the sequel, that he did not arrive in Cadiz before the 14th or 15th (it does not exactly appear which) of September, and as he left Spain about the middle of February following, (Feb. 14. see p. 396), the time which he passed in that country was *five* months,—which would have been just as easily said as *six* months. One or two other particulars, of a similar kind, struck us as rather indicative of a disposition to speak in round numbers; but, upon attentively examining the work as we went on, this unpleasant appearance, we must say, entirely ceased: We therefore are inclined to think, that it is accidental where it does occur; and, upon the whole, we consider the narrative as entitled to the reader's implicit belief,—a comfortable circumstance, which

† The preposterous Gallicism of modern writers makes it necessary to state, that we here use egotism in the English (or, if you will, the Latin) sense of the word, and not in the French acceptation. We take this opportunity of protesting against the innovation to which we are alluding. *Egoïsme*, in French, means what, in the English tongue, is called *selfishness*, not egotism; which is rendered by '*amour propre*,' rather than by '*egoïsme*.'

which they who read for their real instruction never fail to ascertain as speedily as possible, after opening a work of this description.

Mr Jacob left England, accompanied by a single friend (Mr Ridout), in the same vessel with the Spanish General Virues and Don Ramon and Don Pedro. The General is frequently lauded, and apparently with much justice: the two lesser Dons are not much more commemorated than your brave Gyas and brave Cloanthus. The voyage proved tempestuous; and the surgeon of the vessel had his leg broke by being pitched against one of the guns. No communication with any other ship being practicable, he was obliged to have it set, by giving directions to the attendants; which he did, it seems, with great coolness and presence of mind, and perfect success: insomuch, that our author might as well have mentioned this deserving young man's name, although he was not any Don whatsoever.

Upon arriving off St Lucar, they were alarmed by a false story of the progress of the French, told them by the proper officer, an American captain. In part, this fiction was, it must be confessed, not very ill contrived; for it represented the Spaniards as leaving the whole of the battle to the English.

The first subject of any consequence which our author handles after his landing, is the catastrophe of Solano, the governor of Cadiz, whose fate must be in the recollection of every reader. His crime was, doubting of the fortunes of his country, and underrating the talents and courage of its inhabitants. No man more detested the government, or deplored more sincerely the state of degradation into which Spain had fallen. But, as Mr Jacob observes, he had no confidence in the spirit of his countrymen; he did not know that it contained the men who have since distinguished themselves at Baylen, Saragossa, Gerona, and no other place or places. He was not aware that there would rise up, in the general concussions of revolution and intestine war, one partisan of undoubted talents in that line—two general officers of dubious skill—and no others even of doubtful capacity for command. He could not descry, in the court and the municipalities of the peninsula, the seeds of one vigorous local administration, and a succession of drivelling, jobbing, talkative and treacherous central committees. Perhaps he knew the self-sufficient, unteachable, untractable character of his countrymen;—perhaps he doubted their courage—at least the courage of the upper orders;—perhaps he set down something to the account of a long period of bad government, and ascribed to its effects some influence over the character of all, but especially

cially of the higher classes. But, from whatever cause, he mistook the thing; and, differing widely in opinion with the multitude, he was proceeded against with a fury and a boldness, very usual among mobs when they are contending with a single unarmed individual, and of which, in the present instance, we shall say nothing, (out of respect for the worst species of mob, the venal writers of this country, and those under their control), except that we wish a little of it had been reserved for the battles of Talavera, Medellin and Barrosa. As our readers, from having these more recent events fresher in their recollection, may be inclined to doubt the efficiency of the Spaniards in the hour of action, we shall extract our author's account of their conduct in the *affair of Cadiz*, when they succeeded in carrying by assault a strong place into which the Marquis de Solano had thrown himself, and put the whole garrison to the sword.

'As soon as it was known at Seville that Solano had fled to Cadiz, the revolution immediately broke forth, the inhabitants flew to arms, and the sympathetic feeling which pervaded all Spain was displayed, in that city, with irresistible force. A committee, called in Spain a Junta, composed of the most zealous, intelligent, and virtuous of the citizens, assumed the government, directed the spirit of the inhabitants, and produced, what Spain had not witnessed for many ages, a combination of order and energy. The feelings of Seville were communicated to Xeres, to Santa Maria, and even to Cadiz, though in the latter their effects were stifled by the efforts of Solano. Numbers of people, however, arrived from Seville, inspired with feelings of patriotism and vengeance; many entered the city disguised like peasants; and a sufficient number soon arrived to kindle the suppressed patriotism of the Gaditanos. Solano received intimations from his private friends that the plan of an insurrection was formed, and that he was to be its first victim; he was apprised of the intention to assassinate him, on his return from the theatre, and was entreated by his friends not to attend; but he had too much courage to be awed by the intimation; and either the firmness of his demeanour, or some alteration in the plans of his enemies, preserved him for that night from the threatened attack. A party of his friends, who adjourned from the theatre to his house, aware of the danger that impended, urged him to seek his safety by flight; he rejected their counsel, affected to treat their fears with contempt, and avowed his resolution not to part with his authority, but in obedience to the commands of the power from which he had received it. The supplications of his wife, the endearments of his children, and the anxiety of his friends, were all exerted in vain; and he resolutely determined to maintain his authority, or to perish in the attempt.

'Early on the ensuing morning, the whole city was in a state of tumult;

tumult; the populace, irritated by the patriots from Seville, indignant at the treachery of France, and clamorous for the death of the governor, surrounded his habitation. Some parties attacked it with musquetry, while others dragged cannon from the ramparts and assailed his residence. In the midst of the firing he escaped by the roof of his house, and took refuge in an adjoining one, the lady of which, an intimate friend of the family, hid him in a small closet which had been secretly built some years before.

'When the insurgents gained possession of Solano's house, and discovered his flight, they pursued him to the house where he was concealed, which was searched with diligence, but without success. After committing some atrocities, and even wounding the lady of the house with a musket ball, they were departing discontented with having missed the object of their vengeance; when the party was joined by an artificer, who had constructed the secret closet, and who conducted them to the hiding place, where Solano was discovered, and delivered to the fury of the mob. The general cry of the populace was, "To the gallows! to the gallows!" whither this veteran was conducted: but, such was the indignation of the people, that before he had quitted the house where he was discovered, he was lacerated with knives, and his clothes literally torn from his body. Naked, and streaming with blood from numberless wounds, he preserved the firm step, and the manly dignity, of an officer. To the taunts of the multitude he appeared superior, but not insensible, and at every fresh stab that was inflicted, he fixed his eyes on the perpetrator with an expression of contempt; till a soldier, who had been long under his command, dreading the impending degradation of his old officer, plunged his sword in his heart, and terminated his sufferings.' p. 28, 30.

Now, be it remarked, we are very far from vindicating this unhappy man. Meanly as we may think of the Spaniards, in comparison of some enthusiasts, we hold, that they have done considerable things; and, that whatever may be the ultimate event of the contest, it is glorious for them that it should still be a matter of doubt whether they shall sink or swim. The struggle is at all events one which they were bound to commence and to persevere in; and we must view Solano not merely as having miscalculated, but as guilty of pusillanimous, if not of treacherous conduct. To have driven him from his charge, and cast him forth from the city, therefore, would have been quite allowable; but the cowardly ferocity of the transaction which has been narrated, can meet with no advocate among the genuine friends of liberty, or the true admirers of patriotism.

During his stay at Cadiz, Mr Jacob has an opportunity of giving some interesting remarks upon the state of the government; and he unfolds, in this part of his work, those opinions

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of his, respecting the Spaniards and their cause, which he pursues at various intervals through the rest of the volume, and in which, as they lead to very favourable prognostics of the final result, we should be exceedingly happy if we could entirely agree with him. The character of the Junta, then on its decline after a very mischievous reign, it is not necessary here to extract; as the change which was soon after effected, renders the imbecility and maladministration of that body now a matter of history. The following passage, however, is of a more practical and permanent complexion, we greatly fear.

'I am sorry to observe that there does not appear to be any leader in the government, nor any one man, of talents sufficiently eminent, to give him the necessary preponderance; there is no unity in the operations of government; and, unless some man of powerful mind should arise and be elevated to a commanding station, I see no chance of improvement in the affairs of Spain. Many accuse, and perhaps with justice, the most opulent and elevated members of the Junta, of disaffection to the cause of their country, and a disposition to aid the views of Buonaparte. Men in their situation, with large estates in that part of Spain occupied by the French, may very naturally wish to return to their homes and their ease, even though submission to the enemy should be the necessary consequence.

'Nothing can show in a stronger light the indolence and want of combination among the Spaniards, than the state of the manufactory for musquets in this city. The government can raise as many men for the army as it desires, and very little food is requisite to subsist them; but musquets are absolutely necessary, and the demand for them is considerable; for, like most raw levies, the troops when defeated are too apt to insure their safety by throwing away their arms. This, in spite of the great assistance derived from England, has occasioned their present scarcity; and the establishment of manufactories of this important article has been in consequence most strenuously and frequently urged as indispensable: but it is now more than fourteen months since the commencement of the manufactory, and not a single musquet has yet been produced. They are erecting a handsome building, when plenty of others might have been appropriated to the purpose; and the time lost in the new building would have enabled them to finish and send to their armies thousands of arms for the men enlisted and ready to use them.

'They have in this place a large train of artillery, mostly brass battering twenty-four pounders, and they are the most beautiful I have ever seen. These, in the present state of Spain, are of little use; but of field ordnance, of which they particularly stand in need, there is a great scarcity.' p. 34—36.

Notwithstanding these and various other statements, which we shall presently notice, our author is of opinion, that the hatred

tred of the French is so deep-rooted, and so universally spread among the Spaniards, as to make it impossible for the great enemy of national independence and all that looks like liberty, ever to fix his dominion in security and quiet in the peninsula. Now, this idea is become a great favourite amongst us; and not unnaturally;—it is unpleasant to despond; and some such thing as this seems all we have now left for it, to keep up our hopes of Spain. While there was such a thing as a Spanish army in the field, towards the centre of the country, to have built expectations upon the irregular warfare of the Guerillas, would not have been very popular perhaps, nor quite safe in this country. But as Spain is almost confined to Cadiz,—as the enemy are at least in military possession of nearly the whole country,—as we guess the most sanguine have ceased to expect much from Spanish armies,—and few are now so credulous as to believe any thing which they read in the Castilian tongue; we must be content to pick up the small remains of our once magnificent expectations,—and confess at last, that, but for the exertions of this country, the Spaniards can hope for nothing better, than that their country will be an uneasy, as it has been an expensive conquest;—for, in reality, the expectations entertained of irregular warfare, resolve themselves into this, however we may try to shut our eyes. Suppose there were no British troops either in Cadiz or Portugal,—every thing must depend on the continuance of the spirit which prevails among the peasantry, who occupy the more difficult parts of the country. Can any man count upon this lasting for years? Who knows so little of men, as to believe that such scattered bodies,—insulated,—hemmed in, will continue a separate race, and hold out against the changes which the arts and the force of the conqueror shall have effected among the inhabitants of the plains? The Portugueze, indeed, have a better chance;—they have shown themselves more docile;—they have not disdained to follow English officers;—and those who follow such men, always march to victory. They have possession of their country; and if nothing untoward happen, it is possible that a large army of the best regular troops may have time to discipline a still greater number of Portugueze,—to arrange the government of the country,—and to leave it in quiet possession of its inhabitants, with such moderate assistance as England can afford to give it, upon a permanent establishment. This is a possibility which we most willingly contemplate. At the same time, that no disappointment may arise, it is fit that the chance of new armies being sent into Portugal should be taken into the account,—a

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risk which, it is probable, that nothing but a change in the politics of the North will prevent our enemy from realizing. But suppose the best to happen in that part of the peninsula, and that Portugal is permanently saved,—it is rather expecting too much, to reckon upon the Portuguese commencing offensive operations for the liberation of Spain. Nor can we imagine any difficulty likely to prevent a large army of French from collecting and acting together on the defensive in that country, which would not equally prevent a British and Portuguese force of equal amount from assembling and attacking them. If we had at present forty or fifty thousand men to send towards the Ebro, then, to be sure, the liberation of Spain might be effected. But it is as easy, when we are treating the matter with *ifs*, and amusing ourselves with building castles in Spain, to wish and suppose the destruction of Buonaparte and his power at once;—it is a shorter and surer road to what we would be at. Unless, therefore, some very unforeseen accident befals the enemy in the North of Europe—(and after the immortal valour and discipline which was displayed on the Marchfield, in vain for Europe and for Spain, who shall venture to hope?)—unless Buonaparte should die, and his successors fall out among themselves,—or some great disaster should compel him to withdraw his troops from Spain—and his whole troops—(a bare possibility scarcely deserving to be stated),—it does not appear that the liberation of Portugal, and the possession of Cadiz, have any immediate connexion with the recovery of Spain. The siege of Cadiz may be raised,—the French army may repass the Sierra Morena,—but they are still in force in the heart of the country, and out of it they never can be driven, excepting by sending against them a nearly equal number of disciplined troops,—of soldiers who can fight in the field, as well as behind stone walls,—under officers who can bring them into action,—and will not be satisfied with vapouring, and then making a case for themselves when they are called to account. England can do much;—she has done a great deal already;—but she cannot perform miracles:—And, without such a control over the Spaniards as she possesses in Portugal, it is quite unreasonable to expect that she can raise such a regular force in the peninsula as is necessary to restore it. Why we expect less from the Spaniards than has been made out of the Portuguese, we have already stated. A single word comprises our reason—self-sufficiency. Unless the patriots will put off the old man, and become as little children, we really see no chance of regenerating, and no means of saving them. Perhaps the particulars which will occur in the sequel, may

may damp the hopes which some of our readers entertain, and in which we should be most willing to share, that such a change may yet take place. For we now return to our author, whom we left on the eve of his departure from Cadiz, on an excursion to Xeres.

He arrives there after an agreeable journey, and is hospitably entertained by the old and respectable house of the Gordons, well known as established in Xeres. The following particulars respecting the place and the Spaniards deserve attention.

'Xeres contains about 40,000 inhabitants, including the Pueblo, or township, which is very extensive, though thinly inhabited, and consists chiefly of scattered farms and vineyards, upon which some few of the owners reside, though far the greater part live within the city. The Pueblo extends over a tract of country 45 miles in length and 18 in breadth, and is consequently as large as some of our English counties; yet, exclusively of the city, the whole consists of no more than 101 large farm houses, 77 smaller ones, 555 houses attached to the vineyards, 23 houses situated in olive grounds, and 55 houses in fruit and vegetable gardens. Such is the state of population in one of the best peopled districts of Andalusia, and perhaps in the finest climate and the richest soil in Europe: Every thing has been done by nature; but the institutions of the government, and the indolence of the inhabitants, have effected nothing to improve the advantages she has bestowed.

'The inhabitants boast of their patriotism and zeal in the cause of their country, and express their detestation of the French on all occasions. This detestation has been evinced in the most inhuman manner, by the murders committed upon several of the prisoners; nor would even those who are on their parole, and occupied in the labour of the fields be exempt from apprehension, if they ventured to mix with the inhabitants, or neglected the precaution of working in parties separate from the Spaniards. I was informed that Xeres had furnished 7000 recruits for the armies; a tale which I cannot believe, though asserted confidently by every one who has the means of information. It does not appear probable that 7000 men could be taken from a population computed at 40,000 souls, when all the married men, the only sons, and the numerous ecclesiastics, are exempt from the conscription: besides, had the whole of Spain furnished recruits in the same proportion, their armies would have amounted to at least two millions of men; but it is well known that they never exceeded one tenth of that number.' p. 42, 43.

This *doubt* as to the falsehood of the story told him by these true Spaniards, is rather more civil than was necessary. The following description is short, but lively and correct.

'This evening is delightful; the twilight in this climate tinges the sky with a variety of beautiful colours, much resembling the

warm hues of Claude, but of which no one can form an adequate idea who has not visited the south of Europe. The "moon walking in brightness," the refreshing coolness of the breeze, and the soothing tranquillity of the scene, are truly enchanting; nor are the feelings rendered less agreeable by the occasional tinkling of the bells attached to the numerous strings of mules that pass under our windows.' p. 44.

From Xeres our author continued his tour by Lebrixa, where he visited the convent; and his account of the interior deserves our attention. We may here, once for all, protest against being understood to apply any of the censures which some passages in the history of the Spanish revolution necessarily call forth, to the bulk of the people, even where they happen to be the immediate actors. The higher orders are in general to blame; it is to their apathy and listlessness, their regard for their property and their ease, that the greater part of the enemy's progress may be ascribed. It is their misgovernment of the country that has corrupted and debauched the public mind; —through their neglect and indifference, the multitude have often gone astray, left, as they almost always have been, to themselves;—and, above all, to them alone can be imputed the perpetual blunders, and not unfrequent want of patriotism, which has marked all the revolutionary administrations, except the government of the first Junta of Seville. Among these errors, to give them the softest name, we certainly must place in the very foremost rank, that jealousy of England, flowing partly from interested motives, partly from arrogance and paltry Spanish conceit, which we would fain hope has not yet tainted the bulk of the people, but which has hitherto prevented them from profiting by their alliance with us, and, more than any thing else, has palsied their efforts against the common enemy. With this warning against misconstruction, we shall now introduce our readers into the parlour of the convent of Lebrixa.

'We visited the convent, which is built within the antient castle. The President, when he found we were Englishmen, treated us with civility and attention; he pressed us to take our dinner with him; which, however, we declined; and he piously expressed his gratitude to God, for having inspired the King of England with the resolution to support the cause of the Spaniards; declaring his confidence of success, because the holy Virgin was on our side. I was curious to see the library of the convent, as well as the private collections in the cells of the different monks: From inspecting a man's books, it is as easy to judge of the turn of his mind, as from knowing his associates: To a monk, indeed, his books must be his

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most valuable associates; and a greater impression is likely to be produced by them upon a recluse, than on one, who, by his intercourse with the world, feels their influence frequently counteracted. The library of this institution, however, contains little that can expand the mind or enlarge its views, and consists principally of sermons, homilies, and lives of saints; histories of particular churches, monasteries, and processions; a few classical books, and some French ecclesiastical histories: The Bible, indeed, translated into Spanish from the Vulgate, and very handsomely printed in twelve volumes, is conspicuous, but, I fear, is less read than any in the collection. I examined the list of forbidden books, and certainly was not surprised to see Gibbon's Roman History, Priestley's Lectures on History, and Helen Maria Williams's Letters from France, among the proscribed; but I should not before have supposed that Blair's Sermons, or Pinkerton's Geography, contained any heretical doctrines that could possibly have shocked the feelings of the most orthodox Catholic; they were, however, inserted in the prohibited list.

'The venerable President, notwithstanding his sanctity and his pious reliance on the assistance of the Virgin, related a tale with exultation, which must raise a blush for the depravity of human nature. A number of French under Dupont, taken prisoners at Baylen, were sent to this town for security; but the inhabitants fearing, or pretending to fear, a conspiracy among them, rose, and in cold blood massacred the whole party, amounting to upwards of eighty men. No inquiry was made respecting the conspiracy previously to the massacre, nor has any subsequent investigation of the conduct of those who perpetrated the deed been attempted. That eighty unarmed men should project an insurrection in a town containing five or six thousand inhabitants, in the heart of an enemy's country, whence they could have no hope of escaping, is too improbable to be readily believed; yet on this wretched pretence were these unhappy victims sacrificed, by the indolent wretches whom I at this moment see loitering in the market place, in a state of the most despicable apathy; a set of beings too idle to labour, but who, when their vengeful passions are roused, are capable of the most horrible deeds of cruelty.' p. 47—49

The miscellaneous nature of an article like the present carries us next to a very different subject. Our author has given an interesting account of Alonzo Cano, a Spanish artist, whose merits are rated very high in his own country; and probably overrated there, as indeed they seem to be by Mr Jacob: for he ranks him, even as a painter, with the most eminent of the Spanish masters. Now, we must be understood to speak with much deference, when we call in question the opinion of Mr Jacob upon this subject; for he has both seen the performances of this master, which has certainly happened to nobody who

has never been in the peninsula; and he has shown himself to be very well acquainted with the art, as far at least as this can be done by the publication of his drawings. Moreover, we do not feel warranted in pronouncing that Cano's fame has never reached beyond his own country, merely because the common books on the subject, or the Encyclopædias, or even Du Fresnoy and his commentators, make no mention of his name: For every one knows, that these Encyclopædias—abounding in the painful and accurate biography of all the reverend obscure—filled with elaborate accounts of every small doctor who ever published a sermon *—carefully omit under each head a large proportion of the most eminent men who have flourished in each country—and, strange as it may appear, neither Du Fresnoy, nor Dryden, nor Graham, (to the best of our recollection), have taken any notice even of Velasquez, who was Du Fresnoy's contemporary; nor of the exquisite Murillo, who adorned the same age. However, there is little doubt that Alonzo Cano, now, for the first time, appears before the English reader; and we cannot help regarding the confined sphere in which his reputation has hitherto been moving, as affording a presumption against the solidity of its foundations. The following is our author's account of this artist.

'Alonzo Cano was born at Granada in the year 1601: his father was an architect of some celebrity, and instructed him in the rudiments of his art in that city. From Granada the family removed to Seville, where he studied painting under Francisco Pacheco, and afterwards under Juan de Castillo. He acquired a knowledge of sculpture under Juan Martinez Montanes: but, were we to judge from his works, which are distinguished by their simplicity, excellent taste, and grandeur of form, we should attribute his progress rather to his diligently studying the specimens of Grecian sculpture which the palace of the Duke of Alcalá afforded him, than to any assistance he could derive from cotemporary artists.

'The best of his early works are found in Seville, and consist of three paintings in the College of St. Alberto, and two in the Monastery of St. Paul; the architecture, sculpture and paintings of which institutions were all executed by this artist before he had attained his thirtieth year. He fled from Seville in consequence of a duel, and repaired to Madrid, where he met with his fellow student Velasquez, who recommended him to the protection and patronage of

* It needs scarcely be added here, that we allude to any thing rather than the labours of the venerable and enlightened Dr Rees, for whom all who prize learning, worth and liberty, civil and religious, must feel a true respect.

of the Duke de Olivares, through whose influence he obtained an employment upon the royal establishment, as designer and director of several public works: nor were his talents as a painter unemployed; for at this period he painted many of those pictures which are scattered over different parts of the kingdom; he also erected a triumphal arch at the gate of Guadalaxara, in Madrid, to commemorate the marriage of the King with the Archdutchess Mary of Austria.

'Cano removed to Toledo in 1643; and, upon suspicion of having caused the death of his wife, was confined in the prison of the Inquisition, and suffered torture before that tribunal; but no confession being extorted from him he was liberated, and, resuming his profession, enriched the cathedral of that city with his works. Between this period and 1650 he painted in Valencia, and at the monastery of the Carthusians at Porta-celi, whence he returned to his native city, and was appointed a prebend in the cathedral of that place. This dignity was bestowed upon him more with a view of employing his talents as an artist, than from the expectation of his performing any religious duties; and he was, in consequence, allowed one year before he entered into holy orders: This time, at the expiration of the first period, was extended to a second year, when, feeling no inclination for sacred duties, and refusing to be ordained, the Cabildo applied to the King, and his stall was declared vacant.

'Cano, deprived of his benefice, repaired to court to make known his complaints; but finding he could obtain no redress without undergoing the ceremony of ordination, he was induced by the Bishop of Salamanca, who esteemed his talents more than his piety, to enter privately into deacon's orders: The bishop then exerted his influence, and obtained the restitution of his benefice in Granada, with the profits which had accumulated during his suspension. He continued in that city till his death, in 1667; and enriched the cathedral and other churches with his productions in painting and sculpture. This artist literally appears to have felt "the ruling passion strong in death;" for when the priest who attended him presented the crucifix, he turned his eyes away, and refused to look at it, because the sculpture was so badly executed; but asked for a plain cross, which being brought to him, he devoutly embraced it and expired.

'Alonzo Cano was one of the best painters ever educated in Spain, and was still more celebrated as a sculptor: Though the former appears to have been his favourite art, he more eminently excelled in the latter, which he seemed to regard as a relaxation from the severer study of his principal pursuit. He appears, with all his faults, to have been humane and charitable; for it is related, that when he had no money, he would give his sketches and paintings to the poor to relieve their necessities. I hope you will not be tired with this digression on the biography of so celebrated a man. His name you probably have never before heard; but in Spain he has great celebrity;

and I thought I could not better occupy the solitude of an obscure posada than by compressing into a letter some observations respecting an artist, from the sight of whose labours, in different parts of Spain, I expect to receive considerable gratification.' p. 50—52.

Mr Jacob's arrival at Seville gives him an opportunity of describing, at greater length than before, the extreme imbecility of the government, and its jealousy of England; and at the same time he details some particulars of the cordial reception which Lord Wellesley met with from the people,—a symptom, among many others recorded in this volume, of the healthful state of the public mind in Spain upon this essential point, whatever may be the feelings of the privileged orders. Our author being of that safe class of politicians who build their opinions upon the most solid foundation, is very loud in the praise of Lord Wellesley; and omits, in his account of that noble person's reception, all mention of the triumph—we mean the stepping on shore upon a French flag, as an emblem of his having vanquished Buonaparte. We would fain hope that the story is unfounded; or at least that the pageant may have been got up by some Spaniards unknown to the Englishman. Certain it is, that nothing could be fancied less consistent with the excellent sense, and indeed the various ability manifested in the Marquis's despatch on the state of Spain, so often extolled, and so deservedly; and very appropriately inserted by Mr Jacob in his appendix. But, if all notice of this flag scene is suppressed by our author's prudence; and if he is thus prone to laud existing governments, and ministers for the time being, he is manifestly under the influence of no such feelings with respect to those administrations which have ceased to exist, and those eminent persons who are no longer on the right side of the question. It is evident that the reason here ceases; and there being no *indecorum* (we believe that is the term of art) in vituperating cabinets and ministers who, having lost their official existence, are to all useful purposes, as it were, defunct, a reasonable latitude of abuse may be indulged in at their expense. We have already noticed our author's free way of dealing with the *late* government of Spain. This is his portrait of the President of the Junta.

'The Count Altamira, as president of the Junta, ought, from his rank perhaps, to have been first noticed. I have only seen him in the public streets. He has the physiognomy of a baboon, and is said to possess little more intellect than that mimic of man. He is escorted to the Alcazar by a party of the horse guards, in a chariot of a most despicable appearance, drawn by two mules, while the populace sneeringly call him the King of Seville.' p. 65.

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The following description of the Junta's government, we are much afraid, applies to those who have succeeded it in a very considerable degree; though, as we do not belong to the safe class of politicians, it may perhaps be somewhat dangerous for us to express such a suspicion. In giving this extract, it is scarcely necessary to stop for the purpose of expressing our abhorrence of the apt manner in which he is pleased to deride the fear of unlimited power, as not suited to the age we live in.

'The public mind, never having been turned to political subjects, extreme ignorance upon these topics has been the natural consequence; and their best writers have never ventured to discuss matters relating to the extent or limits of power necessary for the functions of government; but have generally confined themselves to political economy, as adapted to the actual state of Spain, at the period in which they wrote. Those persons, who had paid any attention to political subjects, had borrowed the ideas of Montesquieu, who certainly impressed his readers with jealous fears of the danger of unlimited power; which, however calculated for the tranquil times of Europe in which he lived, are ill-adapted for the present day.

'In all my conversations with the Spaniards who clamour for the convocation of the Cortes, I have felt a persuasion that they are not looking at the proper means of salvation; that an executive, not a legislative power, is what the present state of their country demands; that a dictator, not a senate, is the great desideratum. Whatever the state of this government may be hereafter, nothing can be worse than it is at present; and no change can injure the people, except French subjugation, an evil which, I believe, will never befal them, in spite of all their blunders and consummate indolence. The present system unites the evils of the three forms into which governments are usually divided, without possessing the advantages of either; and, in one desolating view, presents the debility of a worn-out despotism, without its secrecy or its union; the insolence and intrigues of an aristocracy, without its wisdom or refinement; and the faction and indecision of a democracy, without the animated energy of popular feeling. Hence all is doubtful, wavering, and indecisive; the resolutions of one day contradicting those of the preceding, and the labours of one section interfering with those of another, in a manner that produces universal confusion.

'I shall dismiss this subject with observing, that the members are paid an annual salary of 4000 dollars; without which, many of them, whose estates are situated in parts of the country occupied by the French, and from which they can draw no revenues, would be unable to subsist, even with all their parsimonious economy.' p. 69-70.

We are sorry that our limits prevent us from extracting the description of Seville, that eighth wonder of the world, according to all good Spaniards. According to Mr Jacob, it deserves its character only from the magnificence of several of its public

lic buildings. But the following remarks on the Catholic worship and religion, are evidently the production of one accustomed both to reflection and to composition; however much we may be disposed to think that they underrate the evils of auricular confession—and even omit altogether the mention of its worst effect, its getting rid of the restraints of conscience, training the mind to habits of casuistry, and enuring the feelings to base contemplations.

'On Sunday I went to the Cathedral, to see the ceremony of high Mass. There is a pomp and splendour in the Catholic worship, when performed in a country where that religion is established, which, like any other pageant, dazzles for a moment, and confines the attention to the imposing spectacle; but it is so different from any of our feelings of religion, that the impression it makes upon us, differs little from that which the best scenes in a theatre produce. On those, however, who, from early and repeated association, have connected these ceremonies with religious ideas, and with the strong feelings of adoration and gratitude, the effect produced must be very great, though I should suspect very transient.

'I have frequently visited this Church before, and every time with such increased admiration, that I am afraid to attempt a description of it, from a consciousness of the difficulty to do justice to my own impressions. From the climate, it is necessary to exclude the heat, and of course the light; there are consequently but few windows, and those of painted glass, barely sufficient to give light enough to distinguish, on first entering, the various surrounding objects. This produces a solemn effect on the high altar, which is brilliantly illuminated with wax-tapers of an enormous size. The decorations of this altar are splendid and sumptuous beyond description; the quantity of gilding on the borders of the different compartments, filled with images and pictures; the massy silver and gold ornaments, and the rails of bronze, tastefully designed, compose a most impressive whole. The priests kneeling before the altar, and in silence offering up their devotions, the clouds of ascending incense, and the pious on their knees, in the most striking attitudes, altogether form a scene that at once captivates the imagination, and suspends the reasoning faculties; it is a scene to be felt, but not described; the sensations it produces may be indulged, but cannot long delude a reflecting mind.

'My English ideas were not to be seduced by this imposing spectacle; and I could not refrain, after a few minutes, from calculating what portion of all that is valuable in man, of moral rectitude, of benevolent propensity, and of patience in adversity, is produced by all this costly machinery. That some part of this machinery may be useful it would be unjust to doubt; and rash must that man be, who would hastily and inconsiderately level to the ground even these supports, feeble as they are, of the virtue and consolation of a whole people. The great distinction between the English Clergy and those of the

the Catholic Church, as well as some of our English sectaries, is that the former, in all their public services, strive chiefly to enforce practical virtue, while the latter lay the greatest stress on the adherence to their peculiar rites and doctrines.

'Religion in every country is calculated to produce an effect on manners as well as on morals. In England, among those who read but little or not at all, the effect is accomplished by public preaching; but in Spain, where preaching is by no means common, the knowledge of Religion is kept alive by sensible representations of the events of the Gospel history. These are exhibited in the Churches, or the Calvaries, on the days set apart for celebrating the leading facts of the Christian Religion, or on days consecrated to the memory of particular Saints. From these the people collect with tolerable accuracy the true accounts of the life and miracles of our Saviour and his Apostles; but they receive with equal credit legends of Saints, which, from the manner in which they are taught, they cannot distinguish from authentic facts: But virtue, which ought to form the ultimate object of all true religion, which elevates man to the highest rank of which he is susceptible, and assimilates him to a superior order of beings, is left to the confessor to be impressed on the mind of the penitent.

'Auricular confession is but a poor substitute for public preaching; or rather, public teaching, which the Reformation introduced, is an excellent substitute for auricular confession. The dignity of the pulpit makes reproof more severe, denunciations more alarming, advice more powerful, and consolation more soothing; while the intimacy, and sometimes the familiarity of auricular confession, makes the penitent feel but too forcibly that the spiritual guide has all the passions and weakness of those who rely on him.

'I should, however, be sorry to see this practice abolished till some better were introduced in its stead; for though it be obvious that the profligacy of the higher classes is not corrected by their Religion, and whatever dominion they may allow their priests over their faith and their rituals, they allow them very little over their morals; yet, with the middle and lower ranks of society, who form the most virtuous and moral class of the people, they have a beneficial influence. With the higher order, the great struggle of the confessor is to keep the mind free from doubts, to enforce submission to the dogmas and ceremonies of the Church, and prevent the inroads of heresy. With the other classes there is no such task; they never read books written by foreigners, nor ever converse with them; they have no doubts on points of faith, no scruple in matters of ceremony; and the task of the confessor is more directly addressed to the formation of the moral habits of sobriety, honesty, and veracity. On these points they have evidently been successful; for I have never been in any country where the mass of the people has approached the conduct of the Spaniards in these respects. In chastity, as far as I can judge, they have not been so successful. Whether the evil arise from the

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celibacy of the clergy, the voluptuous climate, or the remains of Moorish manners, I cannot determine; but there is, in this respect, a degree of profligacy extending to all ranks in this country, which I trust will ever remain unexampled in our own. A priest, with whom I was conversing on this subject a few days ago, assured me, that, of the numerous females who came to him for absolution, he seldom found any who confessed the violation of any commandment but the seventh.' p. 84—88.

A variety of particulars are added, illustrative of the ceremonies of the Romish Church in Spain, we believe, with sufficient accuracy, excepting one small slip. Mr Jacob derides the Spanish custom of calling *the priest*, who carries the holy elements to perform extreme unction withal, 'His *Majesty*.' If we mistake not, the expression of 'His Majesty,' or 'Their Majesties,' is applied, not to the priest, but to the sacred elements themselves; and means nothing more absurd in Spanish, than our English expression of 'Lord' does, when employed to designate the highest of beings. It may be expected that something should be added touching the Inquisition; and, from what our author states, it is pretty clear, that after all the sneers which have been cast on the enemies of intolerance, tyranny, and political abuses in general, by the pretended friends of the Spaniards, and the true and well paid, and for the present faithful, champions of every bad institution—the interested mortals, whose motto is, that '*Whatever is, is right*'—this same Inquisition, though it may have given over treating the public at stated times with an *Auto dà fe*, is nevertheless in full force and activity—ready to intermeddle on every occasion—prepared to go just as far as the government can be bribed, or the people terrified or lulled to permit it; and always on the alert, by all such means, to extend the sphere of its activity and influence. Notwithstanding the disposition, our author says, which he found in society to treat the Holy Office as insignificant, during the short period of his stay at Seville, two instances occurred within his knowledge, which, as he remarks, evince 'its meddling disposition.' An Englishman having imported some handkerchiefs marked with patriotic emblems, among which the printer had unluckily introduced some religious figures, as crosiers, crosses and mitres; the Inquisition soon had notice of the fact; and, under pretence that those goods might be used to bring religion into contempt (we suppose by the same process which was employed against the 'great statesman now no more,' by Mr Wedgewood in his ingenious pots), the Holy officers seized upon the whole assortment, and had it burnt. A Spanish merchant, however, had

well nigh fared worse. He had prepared a cargo of wool for exportation; and by accident, the bales were marked with a cross. Immediate consultation was holden as to the proceedings fit to be instituted against the person who dared to prophane so sacred a symbol; but the delinquent being a good Catholic, some one gave him notice of his danger; and being also a man of ingenuity and resources, he saved himself by lengthening the upright line of the cross, and clapping two flukes on the short part of it: So that when the Holy officers came to seize the bales, they appeared to be marked only with a harmless anchor. Our author adds, that he had been informed, that, of late years, the victims of the Inquisition have been, not spiritual delinquents, but persons guilty of *pimping*; a singular treatment for such an offence in a country so little noted for chastity. However, when he visited the building, and was shown a light and airy cell, in a small garden planted with orange and fig trees, and was told that the others were similar, he asked, naturally enough, if there were any prisoners in confinement, any subterraneous cells, or instruments of torture? But 'to these questions,' (says he, in *italics*) '*I could obtain no replies*.' The influence of the clergy is so great at Seville, that it seems no theatre nor any place of public amusement is permitted.

The process of tything appears to be better known, and practised in a more masterly style in Spain, than in any other country. Perhaps those who attend to the following extract, may rather wonder at the influence of the clergy there being so great as it still is, than at its diminution; and may feel a greater degree of admiration, when they reflect on the struggles which the Spanish peasants have made for the benefit of such masters as they appear to live under.

'The tithes collected in Andalusia extend to every agricultural production, and are rigidly exacted, not, as with us, on the ground, but after it has gone through all the necessary processes to fit it for the use of man. Thus, wheat and barley must not only be cut, but thrashed and winnowed, before the tithes are taken. Olives, which form a most important article in this vicinity, when they are sold in the state in which they are grown, pay the tithe only on the quantity carried away; but if there be a mill, and oil-presses on the farm, one-tenth of the oil is taken by the collector. In the same manner, the tithe upon grapes, when the grapes are sold, is paid in fruit; but when made into wine within the district, the church receives one-tenth of the liquor.

'The principle upon which this is founded seems to be, that the church may receive one-tenth of the produce in the first stage in which it becomes fit for use; for if wine be made into brandy, or vinegar,

vinegar, the church receives its dues from the wine, and not from those articles into which it is afterwards converted. The more valuable productions of the field, such as liquorice and sumach, as well as the minuter articles of the garden, such as melons, pumpkins, onions, garlic, peas and beans, all contribute an equal proportion to the support of the ecclesiastical establishment. The right to tithes has been lately extended to such wild fruits as can be sold, even for the smallest sums: thus the tunas, or prickly pears,—the figs growing on the opuntia, a wild fruit with which the hedges abound, and consequently of little value,—have lately been subjected to the tithing system. One-tenth also of all the domesticated animals is delivered to the tithe-collector, as well as the wool annually shorn from the sheep.

' Composition for tithes is a practice wholly unknown in Andalusia. The Cabildo annually sells the tithes by a species of auction; and where no person bids sufficiently high, the articles are taken into its own hands, and collected in storehouses within the district. In either case, the collectors of the tithes have no common interest with the farmers, who, from submission to the Church, frequently suffer the grossest impositions without an effort for redress, knowing that, in any appeal they might make, priests would be their judges. Before the revenues are collected, the Cabildo issues its billets of repartimiento to the different claimants on their fund, which entitle the bearer to a certain sum of money, or a specific quantity of produce, and, being easily transferred, are frequently sold by the necessitous clergy. Those who have billets for produce, receive it at the storehouses where it has been deposited by the collectors; but those who have billets for money, receive it from the treasurer of the Cabildo, as the purchasers of the tithes make their payments. There is an uniformity in this system which produces effects diametrically opposite to those which are felt in England. In Spain, it is the clergy who oppress, and the farmer who is defrauded; in England, it is the farmer who imposes, and the clergyman who is the sufferer.' p. 99—101.

Mr Jacob's stay at Seville afforded him abundance of opportunities of indulging his taste for the fine arts, in the study of the various admirable pictures with which that city abounds. He has mingled an account of many of these with his narrative; and we have derived great satisfaction from perusing his observations. Referring to his work for a variety of other information respecting both the masters and the pictures themselves (particularly for notices of the works and life of Campana, an artist whom we suspect he overpraises), we cannot avoid inserting the following very favourable specimen of our author's cognoccenzà. It is the description of one of the great Murillo's finest pieces.

' Moses striking the rock is a most wonderful production; the anxious

anxious countenances of the Israelites, all eagerly crowding to the water, are exact representations of what might be supposed the expressions of people in such a state. The figure of the mother with an infant, eagerly stretching out her hand to catch a few drops for her child, another lamenting the delay in obtaining a supply, and a boy mounted on a horse, stretching forward to the stream, are esteemed the best figures, while the countenances of all discover gratitude to God for this unexpected supply. I never felt so much pleasure from the contemplation of any work of art as from this picture; but, notwithstanding the admirable expressions of the countenances, I could not help admiring the shadow of the rock from which the water gushes out. A passage in the sacred writings mentions as a luxury "the shadow of a great rock in a desert wilderness;" it is here displayed most admirably; the rock is high and large; within its shade the people appear protected from the rays of the sun, which seem to diffuse a burning heat over every other part of the scene.' p. 117.

The letters of Mr Jacob are, indeed, extremely creditable to his general information and activity. There are few subjects on which he does not touch; and in almost every one he seems to be at home. Trusting to this, it is true, he sometimes makes a dash out of his way, and then he is apt to lose his footing. We might point out several such false steps; but it would be invidious. We shall therefore only notice such as a Fellow of the Royal Society ought not to have made, and as a little temperance in the display of his gifts, would have saved our author from falling into. Thus, had he been content, at p. 330, to use the vulgar name of *black lead*, and at p. 332 to employ the still more common name of *lead*, mankind, to the end of time, might have remained as ignorant of his mineralogical endowments, as he is of mineralogy. But, lest his readers should not understand what he meant by 'a vein of black 'lead,' and 'a mine of lead;' or, in case they might have any doubt as to the extent of his scientific acquirements, he must needs translate 'black lead' into '*molybdena;*' and, by a more singular alchemy still, transmute 'lead' into '*plumbago.*' Nor should a Fellow of the Royal Society speak of the degree of *longitude* which was measured in Peru (p. 143.); nay, we will not even permit such a dignitary to tell us that the 'work 'of Almamon, published in 814, describes the mode of measuring a degree of the meridian, *the result of which* very nearly corresponds with the more recent experiments made in 'Peru and Lapland:' First, (to omit all other objections), because the mode could have no result at all; and next, because no result could correspond with the 'experiments (measurements) made in Peru and Lapland,' unless it was wide

of the truth. For the Lapland measurement, to which our author obviously alludes, is that of Maupertuis, now ascertained to be erroneous. In this instance, Mr Jacob is betrayed, as before, by a little stretch of ambition; he must not only be familiar with Arabic authors, but with the history of science in the East; and so he discovers, what we venture to say no other man will ever find in these writers. Thus much it was incumbent on us to set down; but we cheerfully recur to the praise already bestowed on our author for the generality and correctness of his information.

From Seville Mr Jacob returned to Cadiz;—as usual, hearing much about robbers, their force, their cruelty and their boldness;—as usual, seeing nothing of them, nor finding the smallest trace of their existence. We shall not stop to give any part of his account of the agriculture in the south of Spain, because it is rather meagre and unsatisfactory; nor of the manufactures and royal monopolies, which are pretty fully described: Nor shall we extract the lively and shocking description of a bull feast which he inserts; both because the subject is sufficiently known, and because it is too odious to contemplate. After painfully getting through the disgusting details of it, still more painful and disgusting is it to meet with such a remark as closes it. 'However repugnant,' says he, 'this diversion 'may appear to every delicate and feeling mind, it is more 'frequented and admired by the ladies than by the gentlemen; 'they attend these exhibitions in their gayest dresses, applaud 'the address of the inhuman combatants, and feel the greatest 'solicitude at the different critical turns of the fight. Many 'of the young country gentlemen may trace their ruin to these 'spectacles, as decidedly as Englishmen of the same class may 'trace theirs to Newmarket. In fact, it is the great object 'which engages the attention of that description of men distinguished by the term Majos.' p. 175.

On his return to Cadiz, our author has occasion to make some remarks not very favourable to the loyalty of the Spanish navy; and to censure still more unequivocally their nautical discipline. Into this field, for obvious prudential reasons, we must decline to follow him. We do not belong, as we before stated, to the class of *safe* politicians; and there is no saying what effects a representation from some Spanish envoy might have in a certain quarter. Turn we then gladly to a safer theme, and one upon which we can dwell for ever, with the wonder and delight wherewith it will be dwelt upon for ever by all men,—the immortal victory of Trafalgar! We have always brought before our readers every gleaning which the narratives of successive

[illegible] travellers afforded in illustration of this mighty achievement; and we shall here, in consistency with this principle, extract the striking circumstances relating to it which Mr Jacob has so well represented.

'Before the battle of Trafalgar, when the orders arrived for the fleet to sail, every man, at all accustomed to the water, was impressed to man the navy; the carnage of that day consequently fell principally on the population of Cadiz; and numerous widows and orphans have to lament the loss of their husbands and fathers in that memorable action.

'I have frequently heard people relating, with indescribable emotions, the fears, the hopes, the agitations, and the mournings, which occupied those few, but interesting days, when the united fleets of France and Spain sailed from Cadiz, amidst the prayers and benedictions of the people, with the vain expectation of vanquishing the foe who had so long held them imprisoned within their own fortifications. The day they sailed, all was expectation and anxiety. The succeeding day increased the suspense, and wound up the feelings of the people almost to a state of phrenzy. The third day brought intelligence that the hostile fleets were approaching each other, with all the preparations of determined hostility. The ships were not visible from the ramparts, but the crowds of citizens assembled there had their ears assailed by the roaring of the distant cannon: the anxiety of the females bordered on insanity; but more of despair than of hope was visible in every countenance. At this dreadful moment, a sound, louder than any that had preceded it, and attended with a column of dark smoke, announced that a ship had exploded. The madness of the people was turned to rage against England; and exclamations burst forth, denouncing instant death to every man who spoke the language of their enemies. Two Americans, who had mixed with the people, fled, and hid themselves, to avoid this ebullition of popular fury; which, however, subsided into the calmness of despair, when the thunder of the cannon ceased. They had no hope of conquest, no cheering expectations of greeting their victorious countrymen, nor of sharing triumphal laurels with those who had been engaged in the conflict; each only hoped that the objects of his own affection were safe; and in that hope found some resource against the anticipated disgrace of the country.

'The storm that succeeded the battle tended only to keep alive, through the night, the horrors of the day, and to prepare them for the melancholy spectacle of the ensuing morning, when the wrecks of their floating bulwarks were seen on shore, and some, that had escaped the battle and the storm, entering the bay to shelter themselves from the pursuit of their victorious enemy.

'The feelings of strong sensibility, which had so agitated the minds of the people during the conflict, were now directed to the tender offices of humanity towards their wounded countrymen; the softer sex attended on the wharfs to assist them in landing, to con-

vey them to the convents and the hospitals; while the priests were administering the last offices of religion to those whose departing spirits took their flight before they could reach the asylums appointed for their reception. When the first emotions had subsided, the people of Cadiz strongly manifested their contempt of the French, whom they accused of having deserted them in the hour of battle; and the attention of Lord Collingwood to the wounded Spanish prisoners, induced them to contrast the conduct of their generous enemies with that of their treacherous allies.' p. 179—181.

These deeds of arms and of mercy, did, we will hope, redeem our national character from the foul stain which the affair of the Spanish frigates had left upon it, and does still leave upon the memory of its author. But Mr Jacob has found out another method of wiping that blot away. In giving an account of the veteran Don Alviar, one of the best naval officers in the service, he informs us, that he commanded one of the four frigates '*which were intercepted before the war began;*' that he had passed some years in South America, and was on his return to his native country, with his wife, his children, and his wealth. When they met the British squadron, he was in a boat coming from the Commodore's ship: The vessels engaged; and he saw the one blow up in which his whole earthly treasures were stored. He was carried prisoner to England; and, says Mr Jacob, 'on a proper representation of his case to the 'Government, every possible alleviation was afforded him: his 'family were irretrievably gone, but his wealth was generously 'returned.' Some readers may reflect on the cause of the war, and more especially of this dreadful crime which preceded it. They may know, from a lively recollection of the eloquence displayed on that afflicting subject by Lord Grenville, Lord Grey, and Dr Lawrence, that base, sordid lucre—Spanish dollars, were at the bottom of the whole proceeding; and therefore they may be surprised at the act of *kindness* and *liberality* which is here recorded—'Don Alviar's share of the dollars was,' as our author says, '*generously* returned:' but what follows will astonish most readers still more—'and his gratitude knows no bounds!' Furthermore, he is a friend of the English, and rejoices in the alliance between the two countries;—an instance of patriotism, of self-subjugation, of violence done to the strongest natural feelings, which has no example since the days of him who put his children to death for the liberties of his country, and which we should place in the very same rank with that precedent, if the elder Brutus had ever touched the money of the Tarquins.

From Cadiz, our author made an interesting excursion to Granada, by Malaga and Gibraltar. We have not left our-

selves

given room to follow him through this tour; but he continues to describe well, to observe with his usual acuteness, and to communicate such things as may instruct his readers respecting the state of Spain, without nicely weighing whether they make for or against his views of the political questions to which they relate. The reader will probably recognize, in the following anecdote, the style of those *official accounts* which so frequently inform the world of Spanish victories.

'While eating our homely repast under the gateway of the posada, the politicians of the place, attracted by the intelligence that some Englishmen were arrived, assembled around us to inquire for news; though curious, they were not impertinent; and the expressions of hatred to the French, and gratitude to our country, were by no means ungrateful to our feelings. I never was more struck with Spanish bombast, than on this occasion. The spokesman of the party harangued them in lofty terms; and said, that but for the intervention of England, Malaga, and all their country, would have been conquered by the enemy last year; and, that nothing but the arms of England now preserved them from destruction: He continued his harangue by stating, that he had been in England lately, (meaning Gibraltar, which the people here designate by that name), where he saw el General, pointing to me, at the head of ten thousand men, all clothed in scarlet, and who moved as though they were one man; that he saw el Coronel, pointing to Mr Michell, commanding hundreds of cannon, which the men pointed with the facility of a musket; and continued paying us such extravagant compliments, and uttering such pious wishes for our prosperity, that it rendered the whole scene completely ludicrous to us, though it appeared interesting to the rest of his auditors. He execrated the Junta and the Spanish officers, and concluded with significant grimaces, and a characteristic wave of his finger; "los officiales Espanoles no valde nada, no valde nada;" Spanish officers are good for nothing.

'I lay little stress on these and similar occurrences, and do not depend on them as indications of patriotism; and I notice them rather as illustrations of manners, than of politics; as proofs of the polite and flattering habits which the Spaniards possess, rather than as demonstrations of their political regard for us. I have so frequently heard this expression, "no valde nada," applied by the people to their officers and their troops, that I consider it a mere compliment to ours; and it shows only the extent of their politeness, when the proudest people on earth can sacrifice so far to civility, as to degrade their own countrymen, merely to flatter foreigners.

'We left Alora amidst the benedictions of the orator, who had transformed my volunteer coat into a general's uniform, and prematurely raised my friend to a rank which, when he attains, I have no doubt he will fill with honour to himself, and advantage to his country. Our road was tremendous,' &c. p. 319—321.

The description which our author gives of Granada may somewhat disappoint the reader; but it is indeed one of those subjects, which a traveller may be excused for not doing justice to. We shall content ourselves with transcribing his account of the singular town of Ronda; and then close these extracts with his remarks upon the Spanish peasants, and upon the character of the higher classes.

'One of the streets of the city is built almost close to the edge of the precipice, and stairs are hewn out of the solid rock, which lead to nooks in the lower precipices, in which, though there is very little soil, gardens have been formed, where fig and orange trees grow with considerable luxuriance, and greatly contribute to the beauty of the scenery. From the situation of Ronda, on the top of a rock, water is scarce, and stairs are constructed down to the river, by which means the inhabitants are supplied. We descended by one flight of three hundred and fifty steps, and at the bottom found a fine spring, in a large cave, which, after turning a mill at its source, contributes to increase the waters of the Guadiaro. From this spot, our view of the lofty bridge was most striking and impressive; and the houses and churches of the city, impending over our heads on both banks, had a most sublime effect. Beyond the bridge, the river takes a turn to the right, and passes under the Alameyda, from which, the precipice of five hundred feet is very bold and abrupt, though interspersed with jutting prominences, covered with shrubs and trees. The Alameyda of this city is by far the most beautiful public walk I have seen in Spain; the paths are paved with marble; the parterres are filled with ever-greens; and over the paths, vines are trained on trellises, which, in the warmest weather, afford a grateful shade.

'One of the curiosities of Ronda, is a singular repository for water under the Dominican convent: It consists of a large cavern, nearly on a level with the river, which was supplied with water by means of an aqueduct, which formerly passed over the old bridge. When this city was besieged by the Christians, and no access could be had to the river, it is said that the Moors employed their Christian captives in bringing the water in skins from this reservoir, to supply the wants of the inhabitants: It is descended by means of about three hundred and fifty steps; and on the walls are shown marks of the cross, which the pious captives are said to have worn with their fingers in passing up and down during their laborious occupation. The cavern is hollowed into spacious saloons, the roofs of which are formed into domes of prodigious height; and formerly the whole was filled with water: But there having been no necessity, of late years, to have recourse to this method of supplying that necessary article, the caverns are neglected, and are going so fast to decay, that in a few years they will be filled with the rubbish which falls from the roofs.' p. 334—336.

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The following are the most material parts of his observations upon the peasantry.

"The inhabitants of Ronda have peculiarities common to themselves and the other people in the mountainous districts, and obviously differ from the people on the plains. The dress both of the males and females varies as well in the colour and shape of the garments, as in the materials of which they are composed, and is peculiarly calculated for cold weather. Their countenances, as I have before noticed, are very expressive, and, in my judgement, superior to those of any race of people I have seen. The men are remarkably well formed, robust, and active, with a flexbility of well turned limbs, which, doubtless, contributes to that agility for which they are celebrated: but the females in general are of short stature; and the cumbersome dress which they wear so conceals the figure, that it is difficult to determine whether they are well or ill formed; but there is an expression of sensibility in their countenances, and a peculiar grace in all their movements, which is extremely fascinating. In walking the streets the women wear veils, to cover their heads, as a substitute for caps and hats, neither of which are worn. These veils are frequently made of a pink or pale blue flannel; and, with a petticoat of black stuff, form their principal dress. The men wear no hats; but, instead of them, what are called montero caps, made of black velvet or silk, abundantly adorned with tassels and fringe; and a short jacket, with gold or silver buttons, and sometimes ornamented with embroidery, is worn just sufficiently open to display a very highly finished waistcoat; they wear leather or velvet breeches, with gaiters; so that the whole of the figure, which is generally extremely good, is distinctly seen.

"'Having observed much of the manners and character of the Spanish peasantry, more especially within the last fourteen days, I feel I should not be doing them justice were I to abstain from speaking of them according to my impressions. I have [illegible] account of their figures and countenances; and though [illegible] good, I do not think them equal to their dispositions. The[illegible] to strangers, and an easy style of behaviour, familiar to [illegible] of Spanish society, which is very remote from the churlish [illegible]ward manners of the English and German peasantry. Their sobriety and endurance of fatigue are very remarkable; and there is a constant cheerfulness in their demeanour, which strongly prepossesses a stranger in their favour. This cheerfulness is displayed in singing either antient ballads, or songs which they compose as they sing, with all the facility of the Italian improvisatori. One of their songs varying in words, according to the skill of the singer, has a termination to certain verses, which says, "that as Ferdinand has no wife, he shall marry the King of England's daughter." Some of these songs relate to war or chivalry, and many to gallantry and love; the latter not always expressed in the most decorous language, according to our ideas.

'Though the Spanish peasantry treat every man they meet with politeness, they expect an equal return of civility; and to pass them without the usual expression, " Vaja usted con Dios," or saluting them without bestowing on them the title of Caballeros, would be risking an insult from people who, though civil and even polite, are not a little jealous of their claims to reciprocal attentions. I have been informed, that most of the domestic virtues are strongly felt, and practised, by the peasantry; and that a degree of parental, filial, and fraternal affection is observed among them, which is exceeded in no other country. I have already said sufficient of their Religion; it is a subject on which they feel the greatest pride. To suspect them of heresy, or of being descended from a Moor or a Jew, would be the most unpardonable of all offences; but their laxity with respect to matrimonial fidelity, it must be acknowledged, is a stain upon their character; which, though common, appears wholly irreconcileable with the general morality of the Spanish character. They are usually fair and honourable in their dealings; and a foreigner is less subject to imposition in Spain than in any other country I have visited.

'Their generosity is great, as far as their means extend; and many of our countrymen have experienced it in rather a singular way. I have been told that, after the Revolution, when Englishmen first began to travel in the Peninsula, many who had remained a few days at an Inn, on asking for their bill, at their departure, learnt, to their great surprise, that some of the inhabitants, with friendly officiousness, had paid their reckoning, and forbidden the host to communicate to his guests the persons to whose civility they were indebted. I knew one party myself to whom this occurred at Malaga: they were hurt at the circumstance, and strenuously urged the host to take the amount of their bill, and give it to the person who had discharged it; but he resolutely refused, and protested he was ignorant of those who paid this compliment to Englishmen. It was common, if our countrymen went to a coffee-house, or an ice-house, to discover, when they rose to depart, that their refreshment had been paid for by some one who had disappeared, and with whom they had not even exchanged a word. I am aware that these circumstances may be attributed to the warm feelings towards our country, which were then excited by universal enthusiasm; but they are, nevertheless, the offspring of minds naturally generous and noble.' p. 337—341.

What he adds upon the upper classes of the community, will probably be thought sufficient to warrant the distrust we have already expressed in the exertions of the country at large, so long as its resources, comprehending that excellent peasantry of whom our author has just been discoursing, shall be at the disposal of the lawyers, the priests and the grandees. The following passage is indeed concise, and rather gives the results of Mr Jacob's observations, than his remarks themselves. The subject is of rather a delicate nature; and he may perchance recollect the wrath which used to be manifested by the pretended

friends of Spain, at various times, and in divers manners, when any one happened to speak disrespectfully of the privileged orders in that country.

'I should be glad if I could, with justice, give as favourable a picture of the higher orders of society in this country; but, perhaps, when we consider their wretched education, and their early habits of indolence and dissipation, we ought not to wonder at the state of contempt and degradation to which they are now reduced. I am not speaking the language of prejudice, but the result of the observations I have made, in which every accurate observer among our countrymen has concurred with me in saying, that the figures and the countenances of the higher orders are as much inferior to those of the peasants, as their moral qualities are in the view I have given of them.' p. 341.

We cannot close these quotations better, than with the two following short facts, which deserve the attention both of Spanish and English politicians.

'The mountains in this neighbourhood are filled with bands of contrabandists, who convey tobacco and other goods from Gibraltar to the interior of the country. They are an athletic race of men, with all the hardiness and spirit of enterprise which their dangerous occupation requires. They reside in the towns which are situated in the most mountainous part of the country, and are well acquainted with all the passes and hiding-places. They are excellent marksmen; and though the habit of their lives has rendered them disobedient to the revenue laws, yet they are much attached to their native land, and might with a little management be rendered very formidable to its invaders.' p. 341, 342.

'There are no game laws in Spain, nor could any power enforce such laws, were they enacted. Every man in Spain carries his gun when he goes from home. The Spaniards are all excellent marksmen; and the kind of defence best adapted for Spain, depends much on their skill in this respect. The parties of guerrillas formed over the country are very numerous; and, by intercepting despatches, and cutting off supplies, have annoyed the French more than the regular troops. Had game laws been established, and the peasantry prohibited from carrying fowling pieces, the country would not have made the resistance to the French, which has so far exceeded that which they have experienced in other countries.

'Though all are permitted to kill game, there are extensive preserves, called Cortos, belonging to the King, and to some of the nobility, which are protected by privileges similar to our right of free warren.' p. 198.

There is one part of Mr Jacob's common-place book which we should have been glad to bring before our readers, if he had thought fit to print it, or to make any allusions to it;—we mean the facts and anecdotes relating to the French and Spaniards, which, as we find in the Parliamentary Reports for last Session,

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he detailed in his place in the House of Commons, on the very day, if we rightly remember, of his arrival from the Peninsula. He appears to have entered the House while the debate was going briskly on respecting the Portuguese subsidy; and finding, or thinking, that his Majesty's ministers were at a loss for support, and especially for proper facts, he is reported to have supplied them most opportunely from the rich store with which he had that instant returned. This was worthy of the *safe* character which, we have already remarked, belongs to the worthy Alderman in his political capacity. We will not inquire whether his colleague, who had recently visited the Scheldt, adopted a still more prudent course, by only giving his silent vote upon that memorable expedition; but we are quite sure, that, when he comes to favour the impatient public with his Tour, he will follow Alderman Jacob's safe example, and suppress all mention of the *reasons and facts* upon which his opinion was formed.

The Appendix contains some of the papers before Parliament,—the Itinerary of Antoninus in the south of Spain,—and an abstract of the population in 1803, from '*Censo de frutos y Manufacturas de Espana.*' According to this account, Spain, including the islands in the Mediterranean, contained, then, 10,351,075 souls upon 15,001 square leagues; the density of the population varying from 2,009 on a square league, the proportion in Guipuzcoa, to 311, the proportion in Cuenca. These are *not* the facts in the eloquent and opportune speech above referred to.

We have only to add a word or two as to the external qualities of this volume. Of the plates we have already spoken favourably; but the size, type, and, of course, the price of the book, are not of that moderate and useful description which we have had occasion to notice with approbation in the works of other mercantile travellers, and which cannot be too highly praised. With respect to the general character of Mr Jacob's production, enough has been said, to make it quite unnecessary more particularly to recommend it to the attention of our readers.

ART. VI. *Tentamen de Metris ab Æschylo in Choricis Cantibus adhibitis. Cantabrigiæ, Typis ac sumptibus Academicis.* 1809. pp. 619.

WE expressed ourselves somewhat at length, in the preceding Number of this Journal, as to the relative importance of metrical pursuits to students in classical literature. In addition

to the observations which were then offered, we may remark, that another objection to devoting too much time to such subjects is, their difficulty and abstruseness. The labour which is requisite to acquire a tolerably accurate knowledge of the varieties and laws of metre, is very great. Our stock of information is exceedingly small on all subjects relating to the music of the antients, and in particular the music of the drama. The strange intermixture of recitative, singing and dancing, which seems to have been used in the Grecian theatre, renders it very difficult for a modern to determine, what disposition of any given set of words was most agreeable to the ears of an Athenian audience. When we say difficult, we mean that it is nearly impossible. All that we can hope to attain to is, with the exception of a few instances, a high degree of probability. Our own ears will be very insufficient judges, and our own notions of harmony very uncertain rules to guide us in our investigations. The only safe method to be pursued, is a diligent collation and comparison of the metrical remains of the dramatic poets; from which, if it be instituted with accuracy and care, we may hope to draw some general and tolerably certain rules of disposition. This method has been practised by Dr Burney with singular success; and is a far more safe and certain mode of studying the subject, than by the theoretical canons and metrical metaphysics of Hermann.

The great labour which Dr Burney has for many years bestowed upon the science in question, gives such a weight to his authority on points of metre, that it may seem presumption to differ from him at all; and perhaps no one can be a competent judge of the success which has attended his researches, who has not bestowed the same pains upon the subject that he has done. There are, however, some discoveries, which, though they are the result of patient and laborious investigation, are easily perceived to be true when once they are pointed out; while, on the other hand, some theories, however they may be supported by learned disquisitions, and arguments, and quotations, have something in them which our feelings and taste, quite independently of our reason, pronounce to be false. Instances of both these occur in Dr Burney's Tentamen. Many of his arrangements are singularly happy, and carry with them an air of certainty, while others are such as our ears will never assent to, whatever conviction the principles of Dr Burney's system may have previously wrought in our minds. This circumstance arises principally from his close adherence to certain rules and canons which he lays down for himself in the outset, and to which he afterwards adapts, by hook or by crook, all the Choric parts of Æschylus. Now, since these rules are laid down as so many dictating

reason

reason assigned, why this or that metre is excluded from this or that system, we trust that we shall stand excused from all charge of presumption, if we venture to exercise something like *academical hesitation* on some parts of the work before us. Indeed, Dr Burney himself, with great candour, at the same time that he states the difficulty and lubricity of the subject, concedes to his readers the full liberty of dissent. 'Non me fugit, quam 'periculosæ plenum aleæ opus sit Rei Metricæ tractatio. Etenim in via, tam inculta, tam deserta, et non nisi luce quæ dubia vel maligna est, a Græcis Latinisque Scriptoribus perfusa, 'sæpe ad id quod simillumum est veri aditus quærendus est; 'quum illud ipsum verum in occulto lateat.' Præf. p. 7.

We are inclined to regret that the learned author has not explained, somewhat more largely, in his preface, his own *theory*, with respect to the metres of the Tragædians; for in its present form, the Tentamen seems to us to be only a *praxis* of certain rules, the reasons of which are not laid down. Before we proceed to the consideration of the work, we feel disposed to say a few words respecting a method of emendation, which all writers on metres have recourse to without any scruple, and which they seem to consider as perfectly legitimate and allowable; we mean, transposition and repetition. As long as this is confined to single words, we do not much object to it; but when applied to members of sentences, and whole verses, and even sets of verses, it appears to us an extremely hazardous and harsh mode of proceeding. The argument by which they justify it, has always appeared to us to make directly against themselves. 'The Copyists,' say they, 'were quite ignorant of the dramatic metres, and therefore transposed the words and verses as they 'pleased.' Now it seems to us, that if they were really unskilled in such subjects, they would have had no inducement to transpose at the prodigious rate at which modern scholars suppose them to have done it, but would have taken the metres as they found them. Dr Burney has made a free use of this panacea of transposition, and more particularly in the play of the Seven against Thebes; and he anticipates our objections in these words. 'Plures forsan in hac quam in cæteris fabulis transpositiones et mutationes, illasque audaciores paullo, inveniet eruditus Lector.' But more of this, when we come to the consideration of the play in question.

The Preface contains a proper and affectionate tribute to the memory of Porson; but we cannot say much for the taste of prefixing to the names of Richard Bentley, Richard Dawes, Jeremy Markland, John Taylor, John Toup, Thomas Tyrwhitt, and Richard Porson, the title of—*Magnanimous Heroes*.

The

This is bringing back the good old times, when a man could not write a Greek grammar, or compose a dictionary, but he was immediately *illustrious*, or *incomparable*, or *never not to be praised below his merits.* We had hoped that such jargon was abolished, and we believe it is nearly so; we are therefore sorry to see a scholar of Dr Burney's eminence keeping up the absurd phraseology of the 16th and 17th centuries.

The mention of Porson introduces us to a letter of the Rev. Dr Parr's, which Dr Burney subjoins to his preface; an extract from which we are induced to present our readers with, as being curious in more respects than one.

'Nos autem, qui de postumis, ut dicitur, Porsoni operibus tandem aliquando edendis bona, fausta, felicia, fortunata augurabamur, spes omnino omnis fefellit. Nam in Scriniis ejus, ut ab hæredibus et cognatis accepis scripta reperta sunt perpauca: ne unum quidem opus ad umbilicum videtur esse ductum. Res denique huc rediit, ut Porsoni nec præstantis ingenii, nec litterarum, quæ in eo non vulgares sed interiores et reconditæ erant, ulla in κιμηλιοις ejus restent vestigia, *notulis et conjecturis quibusdam exceptis, quas librorum nonnullorum marginibus αυτοσχεδιαστι και παρεργως allcverat.*'

What connexion this piece of information has with the Tentamen; what could have induced Dr Parr to send it, or Dr Burney (than whom no one had better opportunities of knowing the true state of the case) to insert it, we are altogether at a loss to determine. To us there seems to be in it something of insinuation, which we will not undertake to explain; but at all events, Dr Burney should have taken some pains to ascertain the correctness of his learned correspondent's intelligence. Mr Porson's *hæredes et cognati* (who, if we are rightly informed, are persons in very respectable lines of business) were, no doubt, quite competent to give Dr Parr every information as to the treasures of Greek criticism, which that incomparable scholar left behind him at his death. But we suspect that they must have cast but a cursory eye over the κιμηλια in question, and looked at them rather αὐτοσχεδιαστὶ καὶ παρέργως, for in point of fact, the case is quite the reverse of what the Doctor represents it to be. The matter appeared to us, as it did to Dr Parr, of great importance to the literary world; and we augured, as he did, 'every thing good, lucky, happy, fortunate,' about the posthumous labours of Porson. We therefore inquired with some diligence into the true state of the case; not, indeed, of the respectable 'hæredes et cognati,' but of friends who had seen these κιμηλια; and the result of our inquiry is, that these 'notulæ quædam,' of which Dr Parr speaks in such diminutive terms of disrespect, turn out to be a rich treasure of criticism in every branch of classical literature; that Porson has left

left behind him *nothing* done ἀνεπιμελῶς καὶ ῥαθύμως, but every thing carefully and correctly written, and sometimes rewritten, —quite fit to meet the public eye, without any diminution or addition. We gladly embrace the present opportunity of correcting the mistatement in question, and of giving to the literary world a piece of intelligence which cannot be otherwise than highly welcome.

We now revert to Dr Burney's Tentamen; and shall consider separately his arrangement of the Choric metres in each play of Æschylus; having first briefly noticed the prolegomena, which are little more than a statement of the various kinds of verse which are admitted into his arrangement. The first metre discussed is the Antispastic, which, by admitting *sixty-five* varieties of the Antispastus, may be made, with a little management, to comprehend almost every species of verse; and accordingly, we have several legitimate and harmonious Iambic trimeters converted into Antispastics. Dr Burney observes, p. xi. 'Hoc 'tamen de omnium generum Antispasticis apud Tragicos Poetas 'semel sit dictum:—Pedes in Antistrophicis per singulas syllabas, necessario Pedibus in Strophicis minime respondent, 'Metra Metris tantum opponuntur: et, in horum fine, voces 'secandi mos est usitatissimus: quod de cæteris Lyricis Æ'schyli metris plerumque intelligendum.'

From the 65 varieties of the Antispastus, arises the more harmonious Dochmius, admitting an equal number of permutations. We have then ten species of Antispastic verses enumerated, besides the monometer. These, it appears in Dr Burney's system, are the great groundwork of metres, into which the other kinds are only occasionally introduced, and worked in to heighten the effect. Of these other kinds Dr Burney says, 'quibus locus *inter Antispastica* frequens et familiaris attri'buitur.'

II. 'The Cretic foot,' says the learned writer, 'may be 'considered as being formed of three syllables, taken from the 'end of certain Dochmii;' as for instance, the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, 46th, 47th, 48th, 49th of the varieties enumerated by Dr Burney.

Now, from a principle which must be true in metres as well as languages, it appears to us, that the longer feet must have arisen from some combinations of the shorter, and not the shorter from parts of the longer; and we cannot help thinking it more probable, that the Pes Creticus originated from a Ditrochæus, than from a Dochmius; and afterwards it would naturally find a place in Dochmiac metres, from the similarity of its rhythm; for which reason also we frequently find a Cretic foot combined

combined with a Dochmius; though we observe that Dr Burney carefully excludes this hermaphrodite species of verse from his Tentamen. The Scholiast on Hephæstion, p. 160, ed. Gaisford, says, 'ΑΥΤΡΟΧΑΙΟΣ, ἐκ μακρᾶς καὶ βραχείας, καὶ μακρᾶς καὶ βραχείας, ὁ καὶ ΚΡΗΤΙΚΟΣ.' A Cretic monometer is frequently interposed in systems of trochaic verses, being in fact a trochaic monometer catalectic; from all which we conclude, that a Ditrochæus is much more likely to have been the parent of this foot than a Dochmius; as in the former case we only reject one syllable, and that at the end, which is constantly done; whereas in the latter, we cut off two, and sometimes three syllables at the beginning, which is contrary to metrical custom. But after all, the Pes Creticus is most probably one of those which Aristides calls τὰ ἁπλᾶ μέτρα καὶ πρωτότυπα. The different varieties of the Dactylic Dimeter, 'are,' says Dr Burney, 'in fact Antispastic Monometers.' With the single exception of Dochmiacs, we are informed that none of the verses called *Asynartetes* are admitted amongst the Æschylean metres, or at least very rarely. We suppose that Dr Burney means *systems* of Asynartetes; for he admits the Logaœdic verse, which is as much an Asynartete as any of the 64 varieties recorded by the Scholiast on Hephæstion. The conclusion, or corollary, of Dr Burney's investigation is pointed out in the following words. 'Ex Indicibus, qui unicuique subjiciuntur Fabulæ, qualia in Æschyli Choricis Cantibus Metra simul conjuncta Athenienses delectabant, nullo negotio sibi colliget Lector.'

With respect to the text which Dr Burney takes as his groundwork, the following are his words. 'Repetuntur Æschyli Melica, Editionibus cæteris sæpius neglectis, ex illa, quæ forma minori, post Glasguensem forma maxima, in Foulisiano Typographeo An. MDCCXCV, excusam, a Bibliopolis quibusdam Anglicis, laude sua minime fraudandis, Londini et Oxoniæ tandem prodiit, An. MDCCCVI.—Equidem profiteor, me in Æschyli verbis edendis, ducem mihi et quodammodo auspicem, Porsonum præposuisse. Est autem ubi, Metri causa, aliæ atque voces transpositæ sunt, aliæ etiam novatæ. Nec tamen is sum, qui hujuscemodi mutationes superbo Emendationum nomine venditare ausim.' Præf. pp. 4. 5. We shall therefore take the Glasgow text alluded to here, as the basis of our remarks, and specify Dr Burney's principal deviations from it.

PROMETHEUS VINCTUS.

Antispastic System, vv. 114—119. arranged as in the Glasgow; but in v. 116. ἱκόνοντο for ἱκόμεσθ', as in v. 643. ἱκόνοντο χειμῶνα

χειμῶνα καὶ ἀμφιφορῶν Μαρφᾶν. We are inclined to prefer the old reading.

Strophe and Antistr. 128. 144. are elegantly arranged in Choriambic metres, without any change in the text.

Str. & Ant. 159. 178. The three last verses are divided into four, viz. a Dactylic Dimeter Hypercatalectic, a Trochaic Monom. Hyperc.; a Dactyl. Pentam.; and a Logaœdic. In v. 183. for διὸ γάρ, Dr B. has given ἴδια δ', 'ex monitu ipsius R. P.' which Mr Blomfield, who follows Dr Burney, supports, by a similar passage in Sophocl. Oed. c. 1468. The Dactylic Pentameters, however, vv. 176. 185. do not please us. We venture to suggest the following division of these and the two succeeding verses.

STR.	ANTISTR.
γίννω· οὐδὲ λή-	χρη σε τέρμα κελ-
ξει πριν αν η κορυφη κέαρ,	σαντ' ἰσιδεῖν· ἀκιχητα γὰρ
η ταλάμενε τινι των δυσα-	ἤθεα, και κέαρ ἀπαρά-
λωτον ἕλη τις ἀρχάν.	μυθον ἔχει Κρόνου παῖς.

Str. & Antistr. 397. 406. are arranged in Choriambic varieties The concluding verses are these.

	STR.	ANTISTR.	
	νομοις κρατύνων, ὑπερη-	ἴδος νέμονται, μεγαλο-	
* R. P.	φανον θεοῖς * τοῖσι πάρος	στονοισι σοις * πημασι συγ-	* R. P.
θεοισι	δ' ενδεικνυσιν αιχμάν.	κάμνουσι θνητοί.	σοῖσ.

The Selden MS. and Morell have ἐνδείκνυσιν, which Mr Butler prefers; and Mr Blomfield has edited—φανον θεοῖς τοῖς πάρος ἐν—δεικνυσιν αιχμάν, of which we have spoken in our review of Mr B.'s edition of this play, No. XXXIII. p. 232.

Str. & Antistr. 415. 420. The two last verses are differently divided from the Glasgow text, into a pure Antispastic Glyconean, and a Choriambic dimet. catal. We have already said, in the Review just quoted, that v. 421. should be read ὑψίκρημνον οἷ πόλισμα, without the copulative particle.

Vv. 425—435. Dr Burney calls, Antispasticum Systema. Hermann reduces them to Antistrophics, by some outrageous alterations of the text. We agree with him, that some words have fallen out after v. 436.; and propose the following arrangement for the consideration of our readers.

STROPHE 425.	ANTISTROPHE 431.
μόνον δὲ πρόσθεν ἄλλον ἐν	βοᾷ δὲ πόντιος κλύδων,
πόνοισιν δαμέντ' ἐσιδόμαν θεῶν	στ[illegible] βυθὸς ὑποβρέμει
Τιτᾶνα λύμαις Ἄτλανθ', ὃς αἰὲν	γᾶς ἄδος μυχὸς κελαινὸς (ὤμοιν δ'
ὑπέροχον σθένος κραταιὸν	οὐρανὸς δ' ὑπερθε) παγαί θ'
οὐράνιόν τε πόλον	ἁγνορύτων ποταμῶν
νώτοις ὑποστενάζει.	στένουσιν ἄλγος οἰκτρόν.

V. 425. δὲ for δὴ Cod. Venet. 2. 426. [illegible] is rejected with

with Hermann, who conceives it to have been inserted from v. 141. παῖσί θ' ἀδαμαντοδέτοισι λύμαισι. R. P. & Burn. δαμεὶς ἀναμαρτοδέτ... Τιτᾶνα λυμαῖς ... The words between brackets we have inserted, from mere conjecture, in the place of those which are lost.

Str. & Antistr. vv. 526. 536. are elegantly arranged in dactylic and trochaic metres; but we are displeased at the intervention of a solitary dochmiac 534. ἀπείριτον πόρον, to which nothing corresponds in the Antistrophe, where the editors suppose a lacuna. Dr Butler says of these words—' Hunc versum abesse posse arbitror—forte illud ἀπείριτον πόρον ex alio quodam nostri loco, ad marginem adscriptum, mox in textum irrepsit.' Whatever be the merit of this conjecture, it is due to Needham, from whose copy of Æschylus Dr Askew had noted it in his own, which Dr Butler consulted. We think it partly right; but, instead of βουφόνοις, παρ' | Ὠκεανοῖο πατρὸς | ἀπείριτον πόρον, we would read β. π. | Ὠκεανοῖο πόρον. The word πατρὸς is omitted by both Scholiasts, and ἀπείριτον by the older, who certainly would not have omitted to notice so remarkable a word, had it been in the copy which he used. The Strophe and Antistrophe will then agree. πατρὸς was introduced from v. 110. and perhaps ἀπείριτον also; τοῦ περὶ πᾶσαν θ' εἱλισσόμενον χθόν' ἀκοιμήτῳ ῥεύματι παῖδες.

Str. & Antistr. 545–558. are arranged in Anapæstics and Iambics. Dr Burney's note is—' Choricus Cantus ex Anapæstis et Iambis solus inter exstantes, qui ex his metris compositus videtur.'

We have already delivered our opinion as to the antistrophic form of Dr Burney's Antispastic Systems, v. 574. seqq. 593. seqq. in our Review of Mr Blomfield's edition of the Prometheus.

Str. & Antistr. 885. & 892. are arranged in Dactylic and Trochaic metres. In v. 897. Dr Burney has edited Ἰοῦς μέγα δαπτομένας for Ἰοῦς γάμων δ.; but makes no mention of Schutz, to whom the merit of this correction belongs.

Septem contra Thebas.

In this play we shall have occasion to dissent from the Tentamen much more frequently. This we shall do generally, on the principle of departing less from the received text, and sometimes from our notions of harmony.

Vv. 78. 86.=87. 99. Dr B. arranges in two Antispastic Decads, the verses of which correspond to each other. In v. 78. he reads θρέομαι from MSS. Selden. & Par. μεγάλα τ' ἄχη from MS. Par. in v. 80. πεδίοπλος λαός. in v. 81. μοι is omitted v. 83. ἀείρ... v. 91. ἰὼ is added after δάιοι, and transposed from

from the beginning of v. 97. to the end of v. 99. We are not disposed to make these alterations for the sake of producing a correspondence between verses, which, after all, are made exceedingly inharmonious; for instance ἐπὶ πτόλιν δαμεν; ἰὼ and ... βοα, ποτᾶται. Nor are we satisfied about the hiatus in ... ὕπερ v. 89. εὐίεροι ἀκμάζει v. 97. ... in all of which, the last syllables of the first words are considered long by Dr B. We now propose our own arrangement.

V. 78.

θρεῦμαι φοβερὰ μεγάλα τ' ἄχη.	Antispast. Dim.
μεθεῖται στρατὸς στρατόπεδον λιπών	Dochm. Dupl.
ῥεῖ πολὺς ὧδε λαὸς πρόδρομος ἱππότας.	Idem.
αἰθερία κόνις με πείθει φανεῖσ',	Idem.
ἄναυδος σαφὴς ἔτυμος ἄγγελος.	Idem.
ἐλεδεμνας πεδιοπλοκτυπος	Cretic. & Dochm.
βοᾷ χριμπτεται, ποτᾶται, βρέμει δ'	Dochm. Dupl.
ἀμαχέτου δίκαν ὕδατος ὀροτύπου.	Idem.
ἰὼ θεοὶ θεαί τ', ὀρόμενον κακὸν	Idem.
ἀλεύσατε· βοᾷ δ' ὑπὲρ τειχέων	Idem.
ὁ λεύκασπις ὄρνυται λαὸς ὧδ'	Idem.
εὐτρεπὴς, ἐπὶ πτόλιν διώκων.	Idem.
τίς ἄρα ῥύσεται, τίς ἄρ' ἐπαρκέσει	Idem.
θεῶν ἢ θεᾶν,	Dochmiacum.
πότερα δῆτ' ἐγὼ ποτιπέσω βρέτη	Dochm. Dupl.
δαιμόνων, ἰὼ μάκαρες εὔεδροι·	Idem.
ἀκμάζει βρετέων ἔχεσθαι· τί μέλ-	Idem.
λομεν ἀγάστονοι,	Dochmiacum.

V. 78. Burn. 79. 80. 81. 82. R. P. τ' is omitted after πεδιοπλόκτυπος. V. 84. ὧδ om. R. P. Seld. Barocc. Cant 1. Colb. 1 βοᾷ χριμπτεται Hermann. 85. ὀροτύπου from conjecture. ἰὼ ἰὼ ἰὼ ἰὼ R. P. &c. ἰὼ ἰὼ Colb. 1. The MSS. are no rule for the number of these interjections. 87. δ' inserted from conjecture, as is ὧδ' in v. 88. Compare v. 80–89. πτόλιν Burn.

Vv. 100.=102.–103.=105. are disposed in two triads, καὶ being omitted in v. 101., which leaves us at a loss how to construe the passage. We propose this arrangement.

α.

πέπλων καὶ στεφῶν ποτ' εἰ μὴ νῦν ἀμ-	Dochm. Dupl.
φὶ λιτᾶν ἕξομεν,	Dochm.

β.

καὶ κτύπον, πολυάρχων Ἄρες, προδώ-
σεις τὰν γᾶν τεάν,

Vv. 107.=126. are disposed into two Dodecads of Antispastics, by help of the following alterations. V. 108. ὀφιλλίταν στρ'. R.

R. P. ποτ' εὐφ. V. 110. We know not why ἴτ', ἴτε πάντες displeases Dr B., who adopts ἴθιτε, the reading of Turnebus. Eurip. Hecub. 1075. ἴτ' ἴτε, μόλετε πρὸς θεῶν Vv. 121. 5. 6. are repeated from conjecture after v. 117. V. 122. διαδεται | δ' ἱππείων γενύων | κινύρονται φεῦ φόνον χαλινοί R. P. διάδεται δὲ γενύων ἱππείων | κινύρονται φόνον χ. This φεῦ, which Dr Burney has introduced, is, of all the interjections we ever saw, the most awkward and out of place. In v. 118. πόλιν is added after πάντως from conjecture. After v. 121. a dochmiac and two trochees are wanting, according to the arrangement in the Tentamen. Possibly all this may be true; but an editor of Æschylus would not be justified in introducing a new text, so very different from the old one, without further authority. The Epode beginning at v. 139. may be disposed in verses much more harmonious than those of the Tentamen.

καὶ Κύπρις, ἅτε γένους προμάτωρ,
ἄλευσον, σέθεν γὰρ ἐξ αἵματος
γεγόναμεν· λιταῖσί σε θεοκλύτοις
ἀπύου-
σαι πελαζόμεσθα.
καὶ σὺ Λύκει' ἄναξ, Λύκειος γενοῦ
τῷ στρατῷ
δαΐῳ στόνων ἀυ-
τᾶς. σύ τ' ὦ
Λατογένεια κόρα
τόξον εὐ πυκάζου,
Ἄρτεμι φίλα.

V. 140. γὰρ is in MSS. Seld. Colb. 1. 2. Cant. 1. Regg. 1. 2 λιταῖς edd. 14[illegible]. τῷ στρατῷ. Mosq. 2.

Vv. 161. 166. are arranged in two Antispastic Heptads; the sixth verses of which stand thus.

α'.	β'.
ποῖ δ' ἔτι τέλος θεὸς ἐπάγει,	ἑπτάπυλοι ἕδος ἐτήρυον.

R. P. ἐπάγει θεός. MS. Ask. A. ποῖ δέ τοι, whence we would read ποῖ δὲ τὸ τέλος ἐπάγει θεός, Cretic. & Dochmiac.

V. 154. is ejected. We have then two Ogdoads from v. 166. to v. 181. Vv. 168=169. 176=177. seem to be capable of a better division.

α'.	β'.
τάνδε πυργοφύλακες πόλιν	δείξαθ' ὡς φιλοπόλεις, μέλεσθέ θ' ἱερῶν δημίων,
δορίπονον μὴ προδῶθ'	
ἑτεροφώνῳ στρατῷ.	μελόμενοι ῥέξατε.

1. Cretic. & Dochm. 2. 3. Cretic. Dimetr. ἑτεροφώνῳ μοι στρατῷ Hermann. & Burn. contra MSS. φιλοπόλεις edd. & μελόμενοι δ' ἔρξατε.

Str. & Antistr. 203. 211. We propose the following arrangement.

STROPHE 203.	ANTISTR. 211.
ὦ φιλον Οἰδίπου τεκος, ἐπ-ιτ' ἀκου-	ἀλλ' ἐπὶ δαιμόνων πρόδρομος ἦλθον ἀρ-
σασα τὰν ἁρματόκτυπον ὀτοβον, ὅτι γ'	χαια βρέτη θεοῖσι πισυνος, νιφάδος
αἱ σύριγγες ἔκλαγξαν ἑλιτροχοι	νιφομένας ὀλοᾶς βρομος ὅτ' ἐν πύλαις,
ἱππικῶν τ' ἀγρύπνων	δὴ τοτ' ἤρθην φόβῳ
πηδαλίων διὰ στόμια	προς μακάρων λιτὰς, πόλεως
πυριγενετᾶν χαλινῶν.	ἵν' ὑπερέχοιεν ἀλκάν.

V. 204. ὅτι συρ. R. P. Burn. ὅτι τε σ. Seld. ὅτι γε σ. Colb. 1. V. 206. ἀύπνων edd. & MS. 'Trochaicum Hemistium opponitur Cretico Dimetro, quod vetant leges Antistrophicæ' Burn. We have therefore given ἀγρύπνων. Prom. Vinct. 358. Ζηνὸς ἄγρυπνον βέλος. Or we may leave ἀύπνων, and read δὴ φοβῳ τότ' ἤρθην. V. 212. θεοῖς edd. & MS. In v. 213. we follow the Scholiast A.

For ποταίνιον κλύουσα πάταγον ἄμα v. 239. Dochmiac. Dupl., we would read ποτανὸν κλύουσα πάταγον ἀμμιγα. So v. 84. βοὰ ποτᾶται. ποτανοὶ and ποταινοὶ are confounded in Epicharmus ap. Athen. VII. p. 318. E. R. P. † ἄμα. Med. Ask. D. ἀμμιγα. Cf. Sophocl. Trachin. 851. In Strophe and Antistr. vv. 287. 304. we have occasion to differ, in some of the verses, from Dr Burney, and would arrange them as follows.

STROPHE 287.	ANTISTROPHE 304.
μέλει, φόβῳ δ' οὐχ ὑπνώσσει κέαρ·	ποῖον δ' ἀμείψεσθε γαίας πέδον
γείτονες δὲ	τᾶσδ' ἄρειον,
καρδίας μέριμναι	ἐχθροῖς ἀφέντες
ζωπυροῦσι τάρβος,	τὰν βαθύχθον' αἶαν,
τὸν ἀμφιτειχῆ λεών· δράκοντα δ' ὥς	ὕδωρ τε Διρκαῖον εὐτραφέστατον
τις τέκνων ὑπερδέδοι-	πωμάτων ὅσων ἵη-
κε λεχέων δυσευ-	σι Ποσειδὰν ὁ γαι-
νάτορας	άοχος
πάντρομος πελειάς.	Τηθύος τε παῖδες.
τοὶ μὲν γὰρ ποτὶ πύργους	πρὸς ταδ' ὦ πολιοῦχοι
πανδημεὶ, πανομιλεὶ	θεοὶ τοῖσι μὲν ἔξω
στείχουσιν. τί γένωμαι;	πύργων ἀνδρολέτειραν
τοὶ δ' ἐπ' ἀμφιβόλοισιν	καὶ τὰν ῥίψοπλον ἄταν
ἰάπτουσι πολίταις	ἐμβαλόντες, ἄροισθε
χερμάδ' ὀκριόεσσαν	κῦδος, τοῖς δὲ πολίταις
παντὶ τρόπῳ Διογενεῖς	καὶ πόλεως ῥύτορες
θεοὶ πόλιν καὶ στρατὸν	εὔεδροί τε στάθητ'
Καδμογενῆ ῥύεσθε.	ὀξυγόοις λιταῖσι.

V. 289. καρδίας edd. & Burn. κραδίας Hermann. 292. δράκοντας ὥς . . . λεχέων τοὺς δυσευνήτορας Burn. δράκοντα δ' ὥς . . . δυσευνήτορα. R. P. Dr B. quotes, in support of his alteration, Horat. Epod. I. 19. SERPENTIUM. Stat. Achill. I. 214. ANGUES. where the plural

plural is used in the like similes; which, however, are not of themselves sufficient authority for the correction. Æschylus himself, v. 503. of this play, uses the singular. ὑπέξει ποσσὶν ὡς ΔΡΑΚΟΝΤΑ δυσχίμον Homer. Iliad B. 298. ἔνθ' ἐφάνη μέγα σῆμα, ΔΡΑΚΩΝ ἐπὶ νῶτα δαφοινὸς—Ἔνθα δ' ἔσαν στρουθοῖο νεοσσοί. Heliodor Aethiop. II. p. 100. ὥσπερ τις ὄρνις, ΟΦΕΩΣ ... προβοῶντος. But why does Dr Burney give δυσευνητῆρας as his own conjecture, when in fact it is the reading of the edition of H. Stephens and of the Scholiast A.? δυσ ευνητορα MS. Bigot. —νάτορα Schütz. V. 290. 291. τοὺς is inserted by Dr B.; but without MS. authority. V. 299. ... edd. V. 300. φυτῆρες edd. φυτορες MS. Medicaeus. After this word, Dr B. inserts γαιοθεν 'ex Hermanno, viro nullius de causa laude dignissimo;' of which causes the present emendation does not seem to us to be one.

In v. 3... Burn. ... R. P.; which does not violate the metre, and is more Æschylean, and therefore, we conceive, the better reading.

Vv. ... are thus disposed in the Tentamen.

STROPHE.	ANTISTROPHE.
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]

Dr B. ... R. P. παγκλαύτοις. Robortell. παγκλαυτον. ... in secunda sede Spondaeum exhibet ... Hermolaus ... ἄκλαυστον, sic θάνατος ἄκλαυστος ... ut Mimnermo-Solon. Μηδέ μοι ἄκλαυστος θάνατος μόλοι— Plutarch. Comp. Sol. et Poplic. I. ... Stob. ... p. 61?. It appears ... improbable, that the Chorus should think 'an unlamented death' desirable as a ... for grief, which Solon deprecated as a ... though Ennius, it is true, was of a contrary opinion, *Nemo me lacrymis decoret neque funera fletu*. For ἀλγ... one MS. has ἀχ..., and these words are more than once confounded in this play. For παγκλαυτων we would read πολυκλαυτων. ... 65?. ὦ ΠΑΝΔΑΚΡΥΤΟΝ ἁμὸν Οἰδίπου γένος. Scholiast A. has ΠΟΛΥΔΑΚΡΥΤΟΝ. V. 968. ἰὼ ἰὼ πολυδάκρυτε σύ. Med. Colb. 1. 2. Edd. ... B. D. ΠΑΝΔΑΚΡΥΤΕ. Sophocles ap. Stob. Floril. LXXXVII. p. 505. πολλὰν δ' ἐν ΠΟΛΥπληθείᾳ, read ΠΑΜπληθείᾳ, which word he uses in a fragment of his Laocoon, in Dionys. Halic. Antiq. I. p. 38. We would therefore dispose the verses thus, ... μόλων πολυκλαύτων ... ἀχέων ἐπιρρόθων. making ἀχέων a dissyllable.

Strophe v. 117. & Antistr. v. 152. arranged as in the Glasgow edition. In v. 628. Dr Burney omits ... R. P. γᾶ, ... πύργων ... The preposition is absent from the MSS. ... Colb. 2.

Ask. A. C. D. & Schol. B. We suppose it to have crept in from a confusion of two different readings, πολυμάλους and προσμόλους.

Strophe 686. Antistr. 692. as in R. P. In v. 700. R. P. ἐκ χερῶν ὄταν. Burn. ὄταν ἐκ χερῶν: and so the Selden MS. Strophe 720. and Antistr. 727. are beautifully arranged in Choriambic metres. In the Antistrophics v. 750. to 766. we cannot help preferring the verses, as they stand in the Glasgow, to the arrangement of the Tentamen. At v. 766. we dispose as follows.

STROPHE 766.	ANTISTROPHE 772.
τέλειαι γὰρ παλαίφατοι	τίν' ἀνδρῶν γὰρ τοσόνδ' ἐθαύ-
ἀραὶ, βαρεῖαι καταλλαγαὶ,	μασαν θεοὶ καὶ συνέστιοι
τὰ δ' ὀλοὰ πε-	τᾶς πόλεως
λόμεν' οὐ παρέρχεται· πρό-	πολύβοτος τ' αἰὼν βροτῶν, ὅ-
πρυμνα δ' ἐκβολὰν φέρει	σον τότ' Οἰδίπουν τίον
ἀνδρῶν ἀλφηστᾶν,	ἀναρπαξάνδραν
ὄλβος ἄγαν παχυνθείς.	κῆρ' ἀφελόντα χώρας.

V. 768. τελλόμεν' edd. Burn. πελόμεν' Mosq. 1. V. 782. διδυμα κάκ' ἐτέλεσε. V. 774. τᾶς is inserted from conjecture. 775. αἰὼν, with the diphthong short, (which was observed by D'Arnaud Animadv. p. 198.), as in ἱκταίων Suppl. 381. Πειραιεὺς, δείλαιος, λαΐου, &c. Vid. Gaisford. ad Hephæst. p. 120. Dr Burney writes αἰών an amphimacer, which we may be permitted to doubt of, till we have some other instances adduced. We do not believe that αἰὼν was ever made a trisyllable, as it would then have been confounded with αἰὼν *a shore*. V. 777. ἀναρπαξάνδραν Edd. & Burn. which is not Greek: the compounds of ἀνὴρ of this form have but two terminations.

In v. 841. εὐκταία seems to be an amphimacer, not a molossus, as it is marked in the Tentamen.

V. 874. seq. we would arrange thus.

STROPHE 874.	ANTISTROPHE 880.
ἰὼ ἰὼ	ἰὼ ἰὼ
δύσφρονες φίλων ἄπιστοι,	δωμάτων ἐρειψίτοιχοι
καὶ κακῶν ἀτρύμονες,	καὶ πικρὰς μοναρχίας
δόμοι πατρῴους	ἰδόντες ἤδη
ἑλόντες μέλεοι σὺν αἰχμᾷ	διήλλαχθε σὺν σιδάρῳ.

Burn. διηλλάχθητε, but μέλεοι in the Strophe is a disyllable. After v. 884. the editions have οὐκ ἐπὶ φιλίᾳ ἀλλ' ἐπὶ φόνῳ διεκρίθητε, which words are a most palpable and prosaic gloss; 'tam manifestum,' says Hermann, 'produnt interpretis manum, ut mirer, quomodo a quoquam pro Æschyleis haberi potuerint.'

Yet Dr Burney repeats them after v. 878. although we have the authority of the Selden MS. for omitting them. The Scholiast A. shows whence they came. διηλλάχθε σὺν σιδάρῳ] ἡ διαλλαγὴ ὑμῶν οὐκ ἐπὶ φιλίᾳ γέγονεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ἀναιρέσει τοῦ σιδήρου.

V. 888. δι' εὐωνύμων γεγαμένοι. Dr B. omits the preposition, and puzzles us to construe the remaining words. We do not see the reason of the omission. ∪ ∪ – – ∪ – | ∪ – – ∪ – is a legitimate Antispastic dimeter; but if any alteration is requisite, we should prefer inserting μοι in the Antistrophe. V. 891. αἰ αἰ δ' ἀντιφόνων θανάτων ἀραί. R. P. θανάτων. Turneb. & Burn. We suspect, αἰ αι δ' ἀντιφοντᾶν θανάτων ἀραι. In the Epode, v. 904. we observe that ἱμειράνειο has the mark of short quantity over the antepenultima, which we suppose is an oversight.

V. 925. πολυφθόρους ἐν δάδι. 'R. P. δαΐδι. Scribendum videtur δάδι,' says Dr B. But the true reading δ... is preserved by the MSS. Med. Ask. B. D. and was the conjecture of Hermann. V. 918. δαΐφρον, οὐχὶ φιλογαθῆ, to which answers in the Antistrophe, παῖδα τον αὐτᾶς πόσιν αι- Dr Burney remarks, 'R. P. οὐ. Glyconeum Polyschemat. respondet Choriambico Dimetro; nisi legend. δάιος οὐχι φιλ' We are not aware by what process the penultima of φιλογαθὴς can be made short, which is derived from γηθέω, not from ἀγαθὸς, as Stanley imagined, which would be φιλάγαθος, Choeph. 799. All the editions (except that of Turnebus) as well as the Tentamen, have πλουταγαθῆ; which is contrary to analogy, as all the compounds of ἀγαθὸς retain the termination in ος. Turnebus has πλου.ογαθῆ, which Schutz and Hermann, with justice, prefer. Pers. 13. one of the Persian captains is called Μητραγαθας. MS. Reg. A. Μιτραγαθὴς. Colb. 2. Μιτρογαθης, which is better; but the true reading is preserved by one Parisian MS. viz. Μιθρογαθης. *Rejoicing in Mithras.* The passage before us we would read thus.

STROPHE.	ANTISTROPHE.
δ ιι 'φρ.ν, οὐ φιλογα-	παῖδα τὸν αὐτᾶς ποσ.ν αὐ-
θ ς ε.υμων δακρυχ. ..	τᾶ θεμένα, τοίσδ' ἐτεχ' οι δ'.

V. 961. ἴτω [δάκρυα. ἴτω γόος R. P. δάκρυ' Burn. We are surprised that Dr Burney did not follow Brunck, who has restored from the Parisian MSS. ιτω γοος. ιτω δάκρυα. which is confirmed by the Selden and six other MSS. In order to reduce these verses to Antispastic Pentads and Tetrads, for ἔκτανες in v. 962. the Tentamen has ἔκανες: for κατακτας v. 963. κατακτανών: for ἔντος δε καρδια στένει v. 968. ἐν δ. κ. στ. V. 970. πρὸς is omitted. The construction φίλου γ' ἔφθισο appears to us unusual. Would not πρὸς φίλου ἔφθισο do? 973. αδελφαι πῆλας ἀδελφεᾶν. R. P. πέλας αἵδ' ἀδελφαὶ αδ. V. 975. μογερὰ and μοῖρα are transposed. V. 983 τάλαν γένος. τάλαινα καὶ πάθεν. Dr B. omits και, which is confirmed by one MS.; but for πάθεν should evidently be read παθὸν, which is the lection of the Medicean and Selden MSS. and of two others of good note. The conjunction και is transferred to the next verse. δύστηνα καὶ κήδε' ὁμώνυμα R. P. δυστονα κήδε' ὁμώνυμα.

 We

We acquiesce in Dr Burney's correction δύστηνα, provided it be written δύστανα. (infr. 998. ἰὼ ἰὼ † δυστάνων κακῶν. MS. Med. δυστάνων.; but the true reading is δυσποτμων, which is corrupted into δυσπότμων in three MSS. So v. 1000. ἰὼ πάντων † πολυστονώτατοι. Ald. Med. Colb. 1. and four other MSS. πολυπονώτατοι, which Dr B. adopts.) The insertion of καὶ has the authority of some MSS. V. 997. ἰὼ ἰώ, καὶ πρόσω γ' ἐμοί. 'Pro πρόσω legendum monet πρὸ σοῦ Joannes Young Gr. Ling. Professor in *Universitate* Glasguæ.' This is very probable, from the preceding verse ἰώ. πρὸ πάντων δ' ἐμοι: but the common reading is defensible. Eumen. 65. ἐγγὺς παρεστὼς καὶ πρόσω γ' ἐπιστατῶ. Vulg. πρόσω Δ' ἐπιστατῶν.

Persæ.

In the Persæ, the metre of which play we now proceed to consider, we shall have much seldomer occasion to differ from Dr Burney, who, as it appears to us, has been singularly successful in arranging the Choric parts of this fine drama.

V. 63.–114. and a Chorus from the Supplices of Euripides which Dr Burney has given in the notes, are exquisite specimens of his metrical skill. They are arranged in Dimeter Ionic *a minore* verses, catalectic, acatalectic, and ἀνακλώμενα. On v. 65. Dr B. remarks; 'Metrum a primo ad quintum versum decem pedibus puris decurrit. De *Decapodia* Ionica Alcæi quædam notat Hephaestio p. 67. et Hephæstionis locum illustrat Magnus Bentleius in notis ad Ionica Horatii Carm. III. 12.' We cannot refuse our readers the pleasure of reading the first Strophe and Antistrophe as arranged in the Tentamen.

STROPHE ά. 65.

πεπέρακεν μὲν ὁ περσέ-
πτολις ἤδη βασίλειος
στρατὸς εἰς ἀντίπορον γεί-
τονα χώραν, λινοδέσμῳ
σχεδίᾳ πορθμὸν ἀμείψας
Ἀθαμαντίδος Ἕλλας
πολύγομφον ὅδισμα
ζυγὸν ἀμφιβαλὼν αὐ-
χένι πόντου.

ANTISTROPHE ά. 73.

πολυάνδρου δ' Ἀσίας θού-
ριος ἄρχων ἐπὶ πᾶσαν
χθόνα ποιμανόριον θεῖ-
ον ἐλαύνει διχόθεν, πε-
ζονόμοις, ἔκ τε θαλάσσας,
ὀχυροῖσι πεποιθὼς
στυφέλοις ἐφέταις, χρυ-
σονόμου γενεᾶς ἰ-
σόθεος φώς.

We have given the Doric forms Ἕλλας and θαλάσσας, and also χρυσονόμου for χρυσογόνου.

Strophe B. 81. κυάνεον δ' ὄμμασι λεύσσων. Dr B. remarks, 'κυάνεον, vox trisyllaba.' Perhaps we may read κύανον. Eustath. ad Od. H. 78. p. 1570, 28. κύανος, χρῶμά τι μέλαν. Suidas. Κύανοι. μέλανες. and Κυανώτατος. μελανώτατος. Etymol. M. p. 542, 48. Κύανος, μέλας. From v. 81. to 101. the arrangement of the Glasgow edition

edition is followed. It seems that the Ionic Monometer, or Basis, usually precedes the Ionicum ἀνακλώμενον, in the same manner as, in Anapaestic systems, the Basis Anapaestica precedes the Versus Paroemiacus. This is Dr Burney's remark; but it is by no means generally true; for, in the five Ionic systems which follow each other in this play, there are two Versus ἀνακλώμενοι, but both preceded by Ionic Dimeters, and two Ionic Monometers; but one at the end of a system, the other followed by a Dimeter Catalectic.

An excellent emendation of Dr Burney's occurs in v. 122. Καὶ τὸ Κίσσινον πόλι μ' | α -ιδουπον ΑΙΣΕΤΑΙ vulg. ἰωτεται. Cf. Porson ad Eurip. Med 44. These and the following Antistrophics are admirably arranged. At v. 2.5. we should prefer the following division.

STROPHE 263.	ANTISTROPHE 274.
ὀτοτοτοῖ, μοτον τα πολλα	ὀτοτοτοῖ φιλων αλιδονα
βελεα πνι λιγη	σωματα τελυβαφη.

Trochaic Dimeter and Dochmiac.

In Strophe α. v. 518. we have a verse of most alarming dimensions, a very Antispastic Alexandrine.

Ξερξης δε παντ επεσπε δυσφρονως βαριδεσσι ποντιαις.

from which, by no process of scansion, can we extend any thing like harmony. The corresponding verse in the Antistrophe is of equal procerity.

Νᾶες πανωλεθροισιν εμβολαις. Δια δ Ια ι χ α —

We can think of nothing like this but the Chronicles of Robert of Gloucester.

'Adilred was after hym king ymade in the place.

Eight hundred & seven & sixty as in the year of grace.'

We do not know for what reason Dr Burney considers the first syllable of βαρις as short. Epigr. ap. Suid. in v. Antholog. III. xxxiii. 16. Δ ξαι μ', ει και σοι μεγα βριθεται ορεγοισσα Βαρι, τῶν φθιμενων, τον κυνα Διογενην. Propertius III. x. 14. Baridos et contra nostra Liburna sequi. And in the Supplices, v. 8?? Dr Burney himself reads σοῦσθ ἐπι βᾶριν οπως ποδᾶν The first syllable, therefore, of this word is long; and we may divide the verses thus

STROPHE.	ANTISTROPHE.
Ξέρξης δε παντ'	ν... ταυ ...
ἐπεσπε δυσφρονως	...
βαριδεσσι ποντιαις.	...

'Ιαονων R. P. Sic XXVI. Str. ... 'Ιάνων metri causa legitur.' The verse here alluded to, 'Ιαονων λαοῦ φυγαιχμας, if for λαος we substitute λ..., will tally with the verse in the corresponding system ... αιτιν πο τικιον. The few remaining instances of Antispastic Tetrameters, we shall consider in their places.

Epode

Epode 673. τί τάδε δυνάτα δυνάτα περὶ τᾶ | σᾶ διδυμα διάγοιν ἀμάρτια. R. P. & Burn. The metre of these verses may probably be correct; but neither is the meaning of them discoverable, nor the construction grammatical. διάγοιν δ' Ald. Turn. We conjecture τί τάδε δυνάτα δυνάτα περὶ τᾶ σᾶ, διδύμα δὲ ἀνοίαι ἁμαρτία, | πάσᾳ γᾷ τᾷδε; *Why are these events (a double failure through imprudence) permitted to happen to the whole of this your country?* We agree with Brunck in thinking, that there is no such word as ἀμάρτιον. We are surprised that no mention is made in the Tentamen of the Anapæstic Dimeter Brachycatalectic, called by Servius *Aristophaneus*, of which two short systems occur at vv. 693. 699. of this play. The verses themselves are in every respect *Ionic a minore*, but are known to be Anapæsts, by the Paroemiac which accompanies them. We can see no reason why they should not have been inserted in the Tentamen, as well as the Anapæstic systems at vv. 932. 940.; for they are strictly Strophe and Antistrophe, even to that Antistrophic similarity of words and syllables, for which Æschylus is remarkable.

STROPHE 693.	ANTISTROPHE 699.
σέβομαι μὲν προσιδέσθαι,	δέομαι μὲν χαρίσασθαι,
σέβομαι δ' ἀντία λέξαι	δέομαι δ' ἀντία φάσθαι
σέθεν, ἀρχαίῳ περὶ τάρβει.	λέξαι δύσλεκτα φίλοισιν.

V. 864. seqq. Hermann had before pointed out the Antistrophic form of this Chorus, but distributes the verses in a different form.

Vv. 864.–879. are divided into Strophe and Antistrophe of two Dactylic Heptameters and two Trochaics. We are inclined to prefer a division of the former into trimeters and tetrameters thus.

Ὅσσας δ' εἷλε πόλεις πόρον | οὐ διαβὰς Ἅλυος ποταμοῖο.
λίμνας τ' ἀκτοῦ ναὶ κάτα | χέρσον ἐληλαμένας περὶ πύργον.

Diomedes the Grammarian, quoted by Dr Burney, p. lxiii. laughs at the idea of a dactylic heptameter. In v. 877. for ἐχόμεναι, Dr B. gives from Robortellus αὐχόμεναι, which is the reading of five MSS: Two have εὐχόμεναι: but αὐχόμεναι is printed by Schutz. V. 879. καὶ στόμωμα Πόντου. 'Robortell. στόμωμα. Cod. Philelph. στόμαμα.' This Codex Philelphi is no other than the Medicean MS.

Vv. 880.–897. are arranged in Dactylic Antistrophics; and, from 897. to 906. in a dactylic Epode, both ending with Trochaic Hemiolia. V. 897.

Καὶ τὰς εὐκτεάνους κατὰ κλῆρον
Ἰόνιον πολυάνδρους
Ἑλλάνων ἐκράτυνεν ΑΝΑ-
ΡΙΣΤΟΤΡΟΦΟΥΣ σφετέραις φρεσί.

R.

'B. P. [illegible] Cod. Elph. [illegible]: Inter hæc duo verba interponitur [illegible]. Hæc Persis Aeschyli restitutio Athenaeo debetur, qui docet Lib. iii. p. 86. C. ed. Casaub. Vol. I. Lib. iii. p. 337. ed. Schweigh. Αἰσχύλος δ' ἐν Πέρσαις, Τὴν ἀνῆξει τὰς νήσους ἀναριτοτρόφους [illegible]. Locus sic legendus videtur: Αἰσχύλος δ' ἐν Πέρσαις τὰς 'Αιαντίδας νήσους ΑΝΑΡΙΤΟΤΡΟΦΟΥΣ φησιν.' Now, in the first place, the Chorus is here speaking, not of the conquest of the Ionian islands, which have already been enumerated, but of the subjugation of the Ionian cities, related by Herodotus in his Sixth Book: Secondly, it appears to us very improbable, that Æschylus, in the poetical catalogue which he is giving of the territories of Darius, should have designated the Ionian isles by such a ludicrous periphrasis as that of 'the populous Cockle-beaus in the Ionian district;' for that is the literal sense of ἀναριτοτρόφους. Ibycus and Herondas might be allowed to mention cockles in their poetry; but surely not Æschylus. 'Corruptum est autem,' says Schweighæuser, 'vel poetæ nomen, vel fabulæ;' in which remark we entirely coincide, and suspect that for Αἰσχύλος should be read 'Επίχαρμος, whose play, entitled Πέρσαι, is cited in the Etymol. M. p. 1[illegible]. 29. Epicharmus is quoted by Athenæus just before, as mentioning this fish, καὶ τέλλιναι κἀναρίται βᾶσαι ἐν καὶ λέπας ὀισα.* The name of Æschylus has, in more instances than one, ejected from a sentence the rightful tenant. (See Gaisford. ad Hephæst. p. 277.) In the Eclogæ of Stobæus x. p. 137. Grot. a very beautiful fragment is assigned to this poet, to which he has certainly no claim, whoever may have been the author of it. In Florileg. V. p. 35. he has the credit of a verse from the Ajax of Sophocles. In Thomas Magister, he has deprived Æschines of a situation; and in the passage of Marius Victorinus, given by Mr Gaisford, p. 277. Hemsterhuis conjectured, that for *Æschylus* should be read *Epicharmus*. Excepting only the name of the poet, Dr Burney's correction of Athenæus seems to be indubitable.

V. 901. ἀκάματον δὲ παρῆν σθένος ἀνδρῶν. 'Propter metrum forsan ἄγναμπτον. In Prometh. 163. θέμενος ἄγναμπτον νόον.' But in the Prolegomena. p. lxii. Dr Burney, quoting the line as it stands, remarks, 'quæ lectio minime sollicitanda.' In fact, ἀκάματον agrees with the metre better than ἄγναμπτον. Eustathius ad Iliad A. p. 542, 26. and the author of the Etymol. M. p. 44, 49. remark, that the first syllables of ἀθάνατος and ἀκάματος are long. ἀκάματος produces its first, Sophocl. Antig. 339. So ἀπαράμυθος Prometh. 186.

V.

* So it should have been printed in the last Number of this Journal, p. 390.

Vv. 933–949 are divided into an Anapæstic Strophe and Antistrophe. V. 934. μιλεος γέννα, γᾶ τε πατρῴα R. P. καὶ γᾶ πατρῴα Burn.; which is the correction of Brunck and Hermann. But unquestionably the true reading is γᾶ τε πατρῴα. These words πατρῴος and πατρῷος are confounded, Eurip. Hecub. 80. Alcest. 257. V. 938 [illegible] Μαριανδυνοῦ θρηνητῆρος Ιπποφω. Perhaps Μαριανδυνόν. Photius Lex. MS. Μαριανδυνόν, θρηνητικόν. οὕτως Αἰσχύλος. V. 946. λεοσπαθῆ τε σφίζων ἁλίτυπα τε βάρη R. P. σὺ [illegible] Burn. 'Regis calamitates in his doloribus oppositas vult Chorus. Si sana lectio, sanum est Metrum. In Rob. et Turn. vox τε deest Ald λεοσπαθῆ [illegible].' The correction does not appear to us absolutely indispensable, for the word πόλεως in v. 945 is an interpolation, as appears from the Scholiast, and we may therefore arrange the fifth verses of the Strophe and Antistrophe thus.

STROPHE.

κακοφατίδα βοὰν | κακο[illegible]

ANTIST.

λεοσπα[illegible] | [illegible] | ἁλίτυπα

τε βάρη, γυναικῶν πενθουσῶν.

V. 949 [illegible] The conjecture of Pauw, [illegible], is, we think, unquestionable. Eurip. Troad. 90. ΑΚΤΑΙ δὲ Μυκόνου, Δήλιοί τε χοιράδες, Σκῦρός τε, Λῆμνός θ', αἱ Καφήρειοί τ' ΑΚΡΑΙ For [illegible] ΑΚΤΑΣ, in the Hippolytus v. 1211. John [illegible] ΑΚΡΑΣ and we are inclined to suspect, that in the [illegible] v. 675. instead of [illegible] should be read [illegible] Euripides has Σιμουντίδας ἀκτὰς Hel. 114. and [illegible] Hel. 616. For Σαλαμινίσι, Aldus has [illegible] and Dr Burney Σαλαμινίσι. If any of these were agreeable to the laws of [illegible], it would be the first; but not any one of the three is a Greek word. The true reading is Σαλαμινιάσι. From Σαλαμίς, Σαλαμῖνος comes Σαλαμινιάς, as from λιμήν, λιμένος comes λιμενιάς, whence νύμφαι λιμενιάδες Sophocl. Philoct. 1505.

V. 960. [illegible] Robort. [illegible] But we think that a more probable lection is [illegible], which is preserved in one MS. Above, v. 16. [illegible] ΣΑΛΑΜΙΝΙΑΣ [illegible] ΠΡΟΛΙΠΟΝΤΕΣ [illegible] [illegible] Eurip. Hecub. 161. [illegible] Phoen. 24. Δίρκη προλιποῦσα

In v. 982 [illegible] seems preferable to [illegible], though Æschylus does not seem to have had any [illegible] names otherwise than by sound, as [illegible] of them differs from that of Herodotus, [illegible] on the subject was more

more accurate. We have no doubt but that the poet invented many of them, for the purpose of amusing his Athenian audience by the uncouthness of the sound. We believe that Ἀρσάκης, and not Ἀρκάμης, is the true reading in vv. 37. 308. & 995. although Dr Burney prefers the latter form. V. 37. ὅ τε τῆς ἱερᾶς Μέμφιδος ἄρχων Μέγας Ἀρσάκης is quoted by an ancient MS. Grammarian. The concluding verses of this play are arranged in corresponding Decads, Dodecads, &c. of Antispastics, by the help of some slight and probable alterations.

AGAMEMNON.

In the Choric songs of this fine tragedy, which are fifty in number, the metres are arranged by Dr Burney with very few departures from the received text.

In the first Antistrophe, v. 132. Οἷον μήτις † ἄτα | θεόθεν κνεφάσῃ | προτυπὲν στόμιον μέγα Τροίας | στρατευθὲν R. P. ἄσα and Τρωϊκοῖς Burn., who divides them into a Dactylic Heptameter and Trochaic. ἄσα seems to be the true reading, and agrees better with κνεφάσῃ than ἄτα does. The same correction is made in v. 730. μηλοφόνοισιν ἄσαισιν. To the other alteration, we have only this objection, that we do not remember any passage, where the possessive adjective Τρωϊκὸς is put for *a Trojan*, or Τρωϊκοὶ for *the Trojans*, but always Τρὼς and Τρῶες. Τρωϊκὸς means, *of*, or *belonging to a Trojan*. In the same manner, the Grecians would not be called Ἑλληνικοὶ, but Ἕλληνες: nor the Cretans Κρητικοὶ, but Κρῆτες. We are not at liberty, therefore, to adopt Dr Burney's emendation; let us see whether it can be dispensed with. The word ἀργίας in the Strophe v. 114. is perfectly anomalous, and occurs nowhere else. Ἄργιος is in Hesychius, and the Rhodians called a species of eagle ἀργιόποδος. But the true reading here is either ἀργὸς, the more common, or ἀργᾶς (Dor. for ἀργῆς) the less common form. The eagle of which Æschylus speaks, was called by naturalists πύγαργος. Vid. Etymol. M. p. 695. 48. Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 91. (where for Ἀρχίλοχον, read Ἀριστοτέλην.) Æschylus uses the word ἀργὴς Eumen. 45. ἀργῆτι μαλλῷ. Sophocles Oed. Col. 670. τὸν ἀργῆτα Κολωνόν. Trachin. 677. ἀργῆτι πόκῳ. We would therefore read and arrange the verses as follows.

STROPHE.	ANTISTROPHE.
οἰωνῶν βασιλεὺς βασιλεῦσι νε-	οἷον μήτις ἄσα θεόθεν κνεφά-
ῶν, ὁ κελαινὸς, ὅ τ' ἔξοπιν ἀρ-	σῃ προτυπὲν στόμιον μέγα Τροί-
γᾶς φανέντες ἴ-	ας στρατευθέν. οἴ-
κταρ μελάθρων χερὸς ἐκ δοριπάλτου.	κῳ γὰρ ἐπίφθονος Ἄρτεμις ἁγνά.

If, however, our readers be dissatisfied with this, we would propose Ἰλίου or Ἰλίῳ, rather than Τρωϊκοῖς. Cf. vv. 28. 406. but Τροία is strongly confirmed by v. 531. τοιόνδε Τροίᾳ περιβαλὼν ζευκτή-

ςιν. Strophe & Antistr. vv. 176.–184. Dr Burney divides the concluding lines thus.

STROPHE.	ANTISTR.
δαιμόνων δέ που	Χαλκίδος πέραν
χάρις βιαίως	ἔχων παλιῤῥό-
σ·λμα σεμνὸν ἡμένων.	θοις ἐν Αὐλίδος τόποις.

But in his Prolegomena, p. liv. he prefers the following division.

δαιμόνων δέ που χάρις | βιαίως σέλμα σεμνὸν ἡμένων.

We should prefer δαιμόνων δέ που χά|ρις βιαίως, σέλμα σεμνὸν ἡμένων. and in the Antistrophe, Χαλκίδος πέραν ἔ|χων παλιῤῥό|θοις ἐν Αὐλίδος τόποις. 1. Trochaicum Hemiolium. 2. Trochaicum Monometrum. 3. Trochaicum Dimetrum Catalecticum. We have already given the Choric verses from 226. to 258. as we think they should be arranged, No. XXXIII. p. 221. note.

V. 409. ἄτλητα τλᾶσα, † πολὺ δ' ἄστονον R. P. πολλὰ Burn. which restores the metre, and is a very simple correction. V. 417. εὐμόρφων † γὰρ κολοσσῶν R. P. γε for γὰρ Burn. We should prefer δ'. Casaubon conjectured δ'αν.

Strophe & Antistr. vv. 437. 456. we have some more Antispastic Tetrameters; less inharmonious, indeed, than those which we noticed in a former Chorus; but yet we would fain get rid of them, by dividing the first verses of the Str. & Antistr. thus.

STROPHE 437.	ANTISTR. 456.
ὁ χρυσαμοιβὸς δ' Ἄρης σωμάτων	Βαρεῖα δ' ἀστῶν φάτις σὺν κότῳ
Καὶ ταλαν-	δημοκράν-
τοῦχος ἐν μά-	του δ' ἀρᾶς τί-
χῃ δορὸς, πυρωθὲν ἐξ	νει χρέος. μένει δ' ἀκοῦ-
Ἰλίου φίλοισι πέμ-	σαι τι μου μέριμνα νυκτ-
πει βαρὺ	ηρεφές.
ψῆγμα δυσδάκρυτον ἀν-	τῶν πολυκτόνων γὰρ οὐκ
τήνορος σποδοῦ γεμίζων	ἄσκοποι θεοί· κελαιναὶ δ'
τοὺς λέβητας εὐθέτους. στέ-	οὖν Ἐρινύες χρόνῳ τυ-
νουσι δ' εὖ λέγοντες ἄνδρα	χηρὸν ὄντ' ἄνευ δίκας πα-
τὸν μὲν, ὡς μάχης ἴδρις, τὸν δ'	λιντυχεῖ τριβᾷ βίου τι-
ἐν φοναῖς καλῶς πεσόντ'	θεῖσ' ἀμαυρὸν, ἐν δ' ἀΐ-
&c.	στοις, &c.

Cretic and Trochaic verses being, as we have shown, akin to each other, are perpetually used in the same system by Æschylus. V. 1014. πολλά τοι δόσις ἐκ Διὸς, to which answers in the Antistrophe θυμαλγής τε καὶ οὐδὲν ἐκ— Dr Burney remarks; 'In Glyconei initio respondet Trochæus Spondeo.' But, unless we mistake, πολλὰ is a Spondee, being Doric for πολλή.

The concluding verses of Heptads α' & β' vv. 1119. 1130. we would divide thus.

συναντυ βίου · πολυετεῖς τύχαι
δύντος αὐγαῖς· ταχῦ- · θεσπιωδὸν φόβον
α δ' ἄτα πέλει · φέρουσιν μαθεῖν.

1. 3. Dochmiaca. 2. Creticum Dimetrum. Dr Burney divides them as follows. ξυναντυ | βίου δύντος | αὐγαῖς ταχῦα δ' ἄτα πέλει. and πολυετεῖς | τύχαι θεσπι|ωδὸν φόβον φέρουσιν μαθεῖν. which division we think much less harmonious and natural than that which we have proposed.

Strophe & Antistr. vv. 1136.–1146. which do not correspond either in the editions or the Tentamen, we arrange, by the help of conjecture, in the following manner.

STROPHE 1136.	ANTISTROPHE 1146.
ἰὼ ταλαίνας κακόποτμοι τύχαι.	ἰὼ λιγείας μόρον ἀηδόνος·
τὸ γὰρ ἐμὸν θροῶ πάθος ἐπεγχέασα.	περιβαλόντες γάρ οἱ πτεροφόρον δέμας
ὅτι με δεῦρο τὴν τάλαιναν ἄγεις,	θεοὶ γλυκύν τ' αἰῶν' ἄτερ κλαυμάτων.
οὐ δή ποτ' εἰ μὴ	ἐμοὶ δὲ μίμνει
συνθανουμένην. τί γάρ,	σχισμὸς ἀμφήκει δορί.

1. 2. 3. Dochmiac. Dupl. 1. Dochmiacum. 5. Trochaic. Dim. Catal. 2. ἐπεγχέασα R. P. Burn. ἐπαγχέασα Steph. Hermann. 3. ποῖ με δ... ἤγαγες edd. οὐδέν ποτ' R. P. Burn. οὐδέν ποτ' Steph. οὐ δή ποτ' Heath. ἰὼ twice in Str. & Antistr. edd. περιβάλοντο edd.; but the middle voice has no business here. περιβαλόν Hermann. θεοὶ monosyll. αἰῶν' with the first short. κλαυμάτων ἄτερ edd.

θανατηφόραν, which Dr Burney replaces in v. 1178. for θανατοφόρα, is not Greek; but θανατηφόρον will do as well for the metre. For θρεομένας in v. 1167. we should read θρεομένας, rather than θρεομένας with Dr Burney.

V. 1410. ἀπέδικες, ἀπέταμες· ἄπολις δ' ἔσει. The corresponding verse in the Antistrophe is corrupt. 'Quicunque verba restituit, Metrum verum exhibebit,' says the learned editor of the Tentamen. We conjecture as follows.

STROPHE.	ANTISTROPHE.
τόδ' ἐπέθου θυος δημοθρόους τ' ἀρὰς,	λίπος ἐπ' ὀμμάτων αἵματος ἐμπρέπει.
ἀπέδικες, ἀπέταμες.	ἀνίερον. ἔτι σε χρὴ
ἄπολις δ' ἔσει,	στερομέναν φίλων
μῖσος ὄβριμον ἀστοῖς.	τύμμα τύμματι τῖσαι.

CHOEPHORI.

V. 52. σέβας δ' ἄμαχον ἀδάμαντον. Dr Burney gives ἀδάματον, and refers to the various readings of the Adoniazusæ of Theocritus, v. 5. where for ἀδιμάτω, Casaubon has restored ἀδαμάτω. As the word occurs no where else, it may be as well to confirm it by the similar instances of ἀγατὸν for ἀγαστὸν Homerid. H. in Apoll. 515. θαυματὰ ἔργα for θαυμαστὰ H. in Mercur. 80. in Bacch.

84. Pindar. ap. Eustath. in Iliad. Γ. p. 400. 30. ἀκόρετος for ἀκόρεστος, Agam. 1145. & 1118. as corrected by Hermann, whose correction Dr B. tacitly adopts. Conf. Casaub. in Athen. I. 19. p. 56. Lect. Theocrit. XVI. p. 271. Ruhnken Epist. Crit. I. p. 26. ἀδάμαντον cannot be a Greek word, although it occurs Supplic. 152. where ἀδάμαστον should be read. We are, on the whole, dissatisfied with the arrangement of the Antispastic system, v. 130. into what appear to us very scabrous verses. We venture to suggest the following distribution.

ANTISPASTICUM SYSTEMA, v. 150.

ἴτε δάκρυον καναχὲς ὀλόμενον
ὀλομένῳ δεσπότᾳ
ἔρυμα πρὸς τόδε κακῶν
ἀπότροπον, κεδνῶν τ' ἄγος ἀπεύχετον,
κεχυμένον χοᾶν. κλύε δέ μοι, κλύε,
σέβας, δέσποτ' ἐξ ἀμαυρᾶς φρενός.
ὀτοτοτοῖ, ἰώ. τίς δορυσθενὴς
ἐν ἀναλυτὴρ δόμων Σκύθης, τά τ'
ἐν χερὶν παλίν-
τον' ἔργῳ βέλη 'πιπάλλων "Αρης,
σχέδιά τ' αὐτόκωπα νωμῶν ξίφη.

Or, — ὀτοτοτοῖ ἰώ
τίς δορυσθε-
νὴς ἀνὴρ ἀναλυτὴρ
δόμων Σκύθης, τά τ' ἐν χερσὶ
(παλιν—

1. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 10. 11. Dochm. Dupl. 9. Dochmiacum. 2. 3. Cretic. Dim. Dr Burney makes the second syllable of καναχὲς long; on what authority we know not. Sophocl. Antig. 130. χρυσοῦ καναχῇ ὑπεροπλίαις. Trachin. 643., ἰάχων καναχὰν ἐπανεισιν, which answers to Οἴτας περιναιετάοντες. The penultima is short in Pindar, Pyth. X. 60. κανάχηδα Nem. VIII. 25. Callim. H. in Del. 45. Hesiod. Theog. 367. We have little doubt but that the true reading in this passage is καναχᾶς.

'Quæ sequuntur Lyrica (315.-476.) formam Antistrophicam adsumere videntur: ea tamen lege, ut inter quamque Strophen, suamque Antistrophen, alia Strophe vel alia Antistrophe vel etiam Anapæsti, plerumque locum deposcant.' This part of the Tentamen appears to us to be executed in a very unexceptionable manner.

V. 392. πυρίμβρεμον τε βέλτερον Burn. πυρίβρεμον, comparing Iliad Ω. 785. Pindar Ol. VII. 71. To which we add a verse in Plutarch. Lysand. p. 815. HSt. Φιλισίβρεμον τ' ἐπὶ κῦμα κυλινδόμενον πολέμοιο.

V. 3[illegible] τοῦτο διαμπερὲς ὡς | ἵκετ' ἅτε περ βέλος. 'Hic expectandi sunt meliores Libri.' Robortellus has ἅπερ τι, whence, by a very easy correction, we get ἵκετ' ἅπερ τι βέλος, which answers to the Antistrophe Ζεὺς ἐπὶ χεῖρα βάλοι.

V. 421. Dr Burney gives ἔκοψ' "Αρειον κομμὸν, εἴτε Κισσίας: and remarks, 'R. P. ἔκοψε κομμὸν "Αρειον.' But why not add, 'R. P. etiam ἔκοψ' "Αρειον κομμόν'? It appears to us, however, that the

the first verses of these Antistrophes should be divided thus.

STR.	ANTISTR.
ἵκοιμ᾽ Ἄρειον	λέγεις πατρῷον
κομμὸν, εἴτε Κισσίας	μόρον, ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἀπιττάτουν

ἐμασχαλίσθη δὲ, θ᾽ ὡς τόδ᾽ ἴδῃς. Dr Burney, after Canter and Schütz, gives ὡς τόδ᾽ εἰδῇς from Robortellus. We do not believe that in the Tragoedians the particles δὲ and τε ever immediately follow each other, thus. In v. 488. of this play, ὦ Περσέφασσα, ἣ δὸς δέ τ᾽ εὔμορφον κράτος, we read with Hermann δὸς δ᾽ ἔτ᾽ εὔμορφον κράτος. In Eurip. Helen. 517. κακῶν δὲ θ᾽ ἡμῖν ἔσχατον, we should evidently read κ. δ᾽ ἔθ᾽ ἡμῖν. In Ion. 1378. Schæfer has restored τλήμων δὲ χἡ τεκοῦσα. The same correction, we think, is necessary in Æschylus Theb. 26. ἔστι θεοῦ δέ τ᾽ ἰσχὺς καθυπερτέρα, read δ᾽ ἔτ᾽. In the next place, we should certainly restore τόδ᾽ εἰδῇς with Canter.

In v. 444 The penultima of πολυτίνευς is marked as long, we suppose, by an error of the press. V. 467. ἰὼ δύστον᾽ ἄφερτα κήδη: to which answers in the Antistrophe αἰᾶν᾽ ἀναιρεῖν αἱματηρᾶν. Dr B. remarks, 'Pedes pedibus non stricte respondent. Quid mutandum, vel in hoc metro, vel in Strophico, suspicari licet.' We should probably read δυστηνα for δύστονα in the Strophe; of the permutation of which words we have treated before. This will make every thing square.

Strophe v. 583. and its corresponding Antistrophe, are beautifully arranged, by the help of omitting καὶ in v. 584. We prefer the following arrangement of Chorus XVII. to Dr Burney's, as being more pleasing to the ear, and as producing a greater correspondence of rhythm between the Strophe and Antistrophe.

STROPHE 621.	ANTISTROPHE 629.
ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἐπ-	κακῶν δὲ πρεσ-
μνησάμεσθ᾽ ἀμειλίχων	βεύεται τὸ Λήμνιον
πόνων, ἀκαί-	λόγῳ· γοᾶ-
ρως δὲ, δυσφιλὲς γαμή-	ται δὲ δήποθεν κατά-
λευμ᾽ ἀπεύχετον δόμοις,	πτυστον· ᾔκασεν δέ τις
γυναικοβού-	τὸ δεινὸν αὖ
λους δὲ μήτιδας φρενῶν ἐπ᾽	Λημνίοισι πήμασιν. θε-
ἀνδρὶ τευχεσφόρῳ,	οστυγήτῳ δ᾽ ἄχει
ἐπ᾽ ἀνδρὶ δά-	βροτῶν ἀτι-
οισιν ἐπικότῳ σέβας.	μωθὲν οἴχεται γένος·
τίων δ᾽ ἀθέρ-	σέβει γὰρ οὔ-
μαντον ἑστίαν δό-	τις τὸ δυσφιλὲς θε-
μων γυναικεί-	οῖς· τί τῶν δ᾽ οὐκ
αν ἄτολμον αἰχμάν.	ἐνδίκως ἀγείρω;

V. 632. δήποθεν edd. δήποθῶ MS. Med. Dr Burney remarks just before, 'Multa etiam ex his ad formam Tragicam dis-

tribuere licet;' and why not dispose them in the fluent and familiar Trochaic, rather than in the rough and intricate Antispastics, συναπτικοι αντισπαστοι, * as Pherecrates called them? Why not rather keep as long as we can to those metres 'we have, than fly to others, which we know not of,' particularly as it is more probable, in the first instance, that Trochaics should prevail in Æschylus, whose Choruses may reasonably be supposed to be less remote from the simplicity of the ancient tragoedic song?

V. 783. δὸς τύχας, τυχεῖν δὲ μοι κυρίως does not correspond with v. 794. in the Antistrophe, which is a Cretic Trimeter. We would propose δος τυχας μοι τυχειν κυριας, Eurip. Hel. 705. τύχης εὐδαίμονος τυχοιτε

V. 786. Ζεῦ σὺ δ' νιν φυλάσσοις R. P. Ζεῦ Ζεῦ, δ' νιν φυλάσσοις, Burn. We doubt whether this be Greek: we do not at present recollect any instance of δε immediately following the vocative case of the person, but will not speak positively. we may however read Ζεὺς δὲ νιν φυλασσοι. With regard to Dr Burney's disposition of the following Hectads and Antistrophes, we are extremely Academic in our creed; as it is only by some considerable alterations, and the supposition of three lacunæ, that any thing like correspondence is produced, and that of a very imperfect kind after all. We do not believe that the most ardent Philantistrophist will believe, that Dr Burney's Hectads at vv. 787 804. have any relation whatever to each other. There are but two of the verses which have the least similarity of rhythm.

V. 946. ἔθιγε δὴ μάχᾳ χερὸς ἐτήτυμος | Διὸς κόρα. We should evidently read, ἔθιγε δ' ἡ μάχᾳ χ. ἐ. The concluding verses of this Antistrophe, which, as Dr Burney remarks, are corrupt, we correct, with some degree of confidence, in the following manner.

τάνπερ ὁ Λοξίας ὁ Παρνάσιος,
μεγαν ἔχων μυχὸν χθονὸς ἐπ' ὄχθοισιν
ἄξει ἀδόλως δολιαν,
βλαπτομέναν ἐν χρόνοις
οισιν ἐποίχεται.

A verse, remarkable for its length and roughness, occurs in the Tentamen, p. 66.

Κρατεῖταί πως τὸ θεῖον παρὰ τὸ μὴ ὑπουργεῖν κακοῖσιν.

The commentators make but a bad hand of the sense. We would

* We omitted to remark, in our Review of Mr Gaisford's Hephæstion, that Hermann's correction of Pherecrates, συναπτικοῖς ἀναπαίστοις [illegible], does not necessarily violate the metre, but constitutes a Paroemiac verse.

would read, Κρατεῖ πως τὸ θεῖον παρὰ τὸ μὴ | ὑπουργεῖν κακοῖς. 1. Dochmiacum et Antispasticum. 2. Dochmiacum; and we construe it thus. 'The Deity somehow or other rules, by not being subservient to wicked men.' i. e. 'the power of God is founded on his justice.'

Eumenides.

'We entirely coincide with Dr Burney's arrangements, as far as v. 321.; but venture to suggest the following division of Strophe and Antistrophe, vv. 321. 334.

STROPHE.	ANTISTROPHE.
μᾶτερ ἅ μ' ἔτικτες, ὦ	τοῦτο γὰρ λάχος διαν-
μᾶτερ νὺξ ἀλαοῖσιν	ταῖα μοῖρ' ἐπέκλωσεν
καὶ δεδορκόσιν	ἐμπέδως ἔχειν,
κλῦθι ποινᾶν.	οἷσι θνατῶν
ὁ Λατοῦς γὰρ ἶνις μ' ἄτιμον τίθησιν	ἂν αὐτουργίαι συμπέσωσιν μάταιοι,
τόνδ' ἀφαιρούμενος	τοῖσδ' ὁμαρτεῖν ὄφρ' ἂν
πτῶκα, ματρῷον ἅ-	γᾶν ὑπέλθῃ· θανὼν δ'
γνισμα κύριον φόνου.	οὐκ ἄγαν ἐλεύθερος.

1. 8. Trochaic. Dim. Catalect. 2. Pherecrateum. 3. Trochaic. Hemiol. 4. Trochaic. Monometr. 5. Metrum Bacchiacum. 6. 7. Cretic. Dimetr.

Dr Burney, who divides vv. 4. 5. 6. very differently, remarks, 'In his Bacchiaci Metri videntur esse vestigia. Conf. Prom. I. 114. 2.' The editions have ποινᾶν κλῦθ'. and in the Antistrophe θνατῶν τοῖσιν. We have added ἂν, which was requisite; and have given τοῖσδ' ὁμαρτεῖν for τοῖς ὁμ. if any one prefer τοῖσι θνατῶν, the Doric form, we shall not object. The metres in this play are obvious and familiar; but some of them cannot be restored, by reason of the frequent lacunæ which occur. There are only three MSS. of it which are known to be extant; and one of those is very modern. The dispositions to v. 536, which differ but in few respects from those of the Glasgow edition, give us entire satisfaction. V. 548. τὸν ἀντιτολ|μον δε φαμὶ παραιβάδαν | to which answers in the Antistrophe τον οὔποτ' αὐ|χοῦντ' ἰδὼν ἀμαχάνοις. 'Trochaicum Dimetrum Catalecticum; quod Strophico non respondet.' An obvious emendation is ταρβάδαν. Theb. 742. παλαιγενῆ γὰρ λέγω παρβασίαν ὠκύποινον. Suppl. 1043. as corrected by Dr Burney, Διὸς οὐ παρβατος ἐστιν μεγάλα φρήν. The true reading, however, is παρβάταν, were there any such word as παραιβάδης, which there is not, the accusative would be παραιβάδη. παραιβάτης is the only analogical form. V. 553. λαῖφος ὅταν λάβῃ πόνος | θραυομένας κεραίας. We suspect, that for πόνος should be read πνόος. V. 782. seqq. are disposed in a much more harmonious form than they assume in the editions of Æschylus;

but in v. 782. χθονιαφόρον cannot be the true reading, as its form is quite contrary to analogy: But we should observe once for all, that Dr Burney does not enter into the province of emendation, any further than is necessary to produce a correspondence of metres. As the Tentamen does not seem intended to exhibit an immaculate text of the Choric parts of Æschylus, but only to give a probable arrangement of them, with as few deviations as possible from their present form; as we are not confined, in our office of critics, within the same limits, we have ventured to suggest a few corrections of the text, as well as of the metres; most of which, or some more probable, have without doubt occurred to the very learned editor of the Tentamen.

In Antistrophe, v. 91, two syllables are wanting. We are inclined to think, that the word ζίον, in the Strophe, v. 922. is insititious. This conjecture was proposed by Mr Theobald, Misc. Obs. II. p. 168. V. 994. χαίρετ' ὦ αἰσιμίαις πλούτου, R. P. Dr Burney omits πλούτου, and writes αἰσιμίαισιν. We hazard a conjecture, χαίρετ' ἐναισιμόπλουτοι, which word we have coined for the occasion; but it is of a very legitimate form, and sufficiently in the style of Æschylus, who uses βαθύπλουτος in the Supplices, and ὀργαιοπλουτος in the Agamemnon. On the concluding verse, Dr Burney makes the following observation. 'Hiatus, συγκατ βα. Ὀλολύξατε—: qui Lyricis & Tragicis in Chorico Cantu minime negandus. Post punctum etiam plenum vix durus videtur. Hinc in Pers. XIV. Stroph. β'. 647. 2. Κέκευθεν ἤδη Αἰδωνεὺς—'

SUPPLICES.

'Metri corruptis scatet hæc Fabula. In Choricis Cantibus, Strophica identidem Antistrophicis minime respondent; mutationibus tamen parcendum, sine Codicum auctoritate, visum est.' This is Dr Burney's prefatory remark. Indeed, as to many parts of the Supplices, there seems to be a general conclamation of the commentators; and other parts are altered and twisted by them in the greatest possible number of ways, usually with the least possible success. It is therefore next to impracticable, to reduce into order the 'disjecti membra poetæ,' and to form them into any thing like a uniform whole. In this desperate state of the case, there is of course great latitude for conjecture; μάντις δ' ἄριστος ὅστις εἰκάζει καλῶς, 'Bene qui conjiciet, vatem perhibebo optimum,' as Cicero translates it. But we have great confidence in Dr Burney as a metrical guide; and hope, by his assistance, to get tolerably well through the Choruses of this last, and most corrupt, and least interesting, of the seven remaining plays of Æschylus.

V. 46. Ζηνὸς ἔφαψιν· ἐπωνυμίᾳ δ' ἐπεκραίνετο μόρσιμος | αἰών. to which should correspond in the Antistrophe, πιστὰ τεκμήρια τά τ' ανομοια, αἶδ', ἄελπτά περ ὄντα φα|νεῖται. ' Sic. R. P. Forsan legendum, quod partim ex emendatione Ricardi Porsoni, πιστα τεκμήρια· τἄλλ' ἄθομ', οἶδας, ἄελπτά περ ὄντα φα— Οἶδας, Euripid. Alcest. Τὰ θνητὰ πράγματ' οιδας ἣν ἔχει φύσιν; Vel scribendum, πιστὰ τεκμήρια,— τἄλλ' ἀνόμοι',— ἅτ' ἄελπτά περ ὄντα φα— ' Of these two conjectures, Dr Burney's pleases us most.

Strophe & Antistr. v. 57. 63. in which the verses do not correspond, and the words are corrupt, we propose to arrange thus.

STROPHE 57.	ANTISTROPHE 63.
εἰ δὲ κυρεῖ τις πέλας οἰωνοπόλων	ἅτ' ἀπὸ χλώρων πετάλων τ' εἰργομένα,
ἔγγαιος, οἶκτον ἀΐων,	πένθιμον οἶκτον ἠθέων,
δοξάσ-	ξυντίθησι
ει ὄπα τᾶς Τηρείας	τὸν μόρον, ὡς αὐτοφόνως
μήτιδος οἰκτρᾶς ἀλόχου,	ὤλετο πρὸς χειρὸς ἕθεν
κιρκηλάτου τ' ἀηδόνος·	δυσμάτορος κότου τυχών.

1. Choriambic. Trimetr. 2. Choriamb. Dim. Impur. αι in ἔγγαιος being made short, as in ἵκταιος, ἔμπαιος, εὔκταιος, of which we have spoken above. 3. Pherecrateum cum Trochæo in prima sede. 4. Choriambic. Dim. pure in the Antistrophe, impure in the Strophe; so in Agam. 737. —νεν δὲ γάμου πικρὰς τελευ— answers to εἰμὶ τὸ γὰρ δυσσεβὲς ἔρ—. 5. Choriamb. Dimetr. 6. Antispastic Dimetrum. V. 60. τὰν ὄπα Τηρείας edd. V. 64. πενθίνεον οἶκτον edd. The construction is, σύντιθησι πένθιμον οἶκτον ἠθέων, τόν τε παιδὸς μόρον. We have inserted τον.

We have already proposed our conjecture on v. 80. which wants a syllable, in our remarks on Mr Butler's edition of the Supplices, vol. xv. 317.; which is, that οὐ should be inserted after στυγοῦντες, which addition completes the metre, and improves the sense. Perhaps the Chorus, v. 95, may be thus disposed.

STROPHE 95.	ANTISTROPHE 103.
ἰάπτει δ' ἐλπίδων ἀφ' ὑψιπύργων	ἰδέσθω δ' ἐς ὕβριν βρότειον, οἷα
πανώλεις βροτούς, βίαν δ' οὔτις	νεάζει πυθμὴν δι' ἁμὸν γά-
ἐξοπλί-	μον θάλος
ζοιτ' ἂν ἄποινον δαιμόνων,	δυσπαραβούλοισιν φρεσὶν
ἥμενον ἄνω φρόνημά πως	καὶ διάνοιαν μαινόλιν.
αὐτόθεν ἐξέπραξεν ἔμ-	κέντρον ἔχων ἄφυκτον, ἄ-
πας ἑδράνων ἀφ' ἁγνῶν.	την δ' ἀπάτᾳ μεταγνούς.

We request our readers to compare the Strophe, as we have given it, with the common text, and to see whether we have not improved the sense as much as the metre, and that by some very slight alterations.

V. 103. Κατὰ δ' ἄταν | γνωμέταις οὐρανόνικον. We know not on what

what authority Turnebus changed the reading of the MSS. γαμετουρανόνικον, which is preserved in Aldus and Robortellus, and appears to us to be much more Æschylean. After v. 174. Dr Burney repeats vv. 161.–166.; and observes, 'Hæc *ex conjectura* post Antistrophen iterantur.' But why not say *ex conjectura Canteri.?* V. 168. ἀνίξεται. L. ἀνίξεται. V. 347. λευκόστικτον ὡς δάμαλιν ἀμπέτραις | ἠλιβάτοισιν. ἀλ|κᾳ πίσυνος μέμυκε. We think that Mr Butler is unquestionably right, in reading ἂν πέτραις, and taking away the period after ἠλιβάτοισιν.

The Antistrophics v. 425. of which Dr Burney says, 'In his quædam correctionem cupiunt,' we would correct and arrange as follows.

STROPHE 425.	ANTISTROPHE 430.
μήτι τλῆς τὰν ἱκέτιν	ἴσθι γὰρ παισὶ τάδε
εἰσιδεῖν	καὶ δόμοις,
ἀπὸ βρετέων βίᾳ δίκας	ὁποτέρ' ἂν κτίσῃς, μένειν
ἱππηδὸν ἀγομέναν	ἀραῖς τίνειν ὁμοί-
ἀμπύκων	αν θέμιν.
πολυμίτων, πέπλων τ' ἐπιλαβὰς ἐμῶν.	τάδε φράσαι δίκαια Διόθεν κράτη.

433. ἀντιτίνειν R. P. Burn. ΑΡΕΙΚΤΙΝΕΙΝ Ald. ΑΡΕΙΚΤΙΝΕΙΝ MS. Med. whence ΑΡΑΙΣΤΙΝΕΙΝ is an obvious correction. Horace Carm. I. xxix. 30. *Negligis immeritis nocituram Postmodo te natis fraudem committere? Forsan* DEBITA JURA *viresque, superbe, Te maneant ipsum*, PRECIBUS NON LINQUAR INULTIS. We should not object to ἀραίαν τίνειν. Eurip. Iph. T. 778. ἢ σοῖς ΑΡΑΙΑ ΔΩΜΑΣΙΝ γενήσομαι. Med. 608. Καὶ σοῖς ΑΡΑΙΑ γ' οὖσα τυγχάνω ΔΟΜΟΙΣ. Sophocl. Trachin. 1219. μενῶ σ' ἐγὼ Καὶ νέρθεν ὢν ΑΡΑΙΟΣ εἰς ἀεὶ βαρύς. In the preceding line, we have given μένειν for μενει. One MS, has μένων: but perhaps μενεῖ would be better.

V. 553. ἱκνεῖται δ' † εἰσικνουμ|ενη βέλει | βουκόλου πτερόεντος. This seems to be corrupt, though possibly it might be defended by such expressions ὃς φευγὼν προφύγῃ κακὸν, Iliad Ξ. 81. ἦν μή με φεύγων ἐκφύγῃς πρὸς αἰθέρα (Cf. Herodot. IV. 23. V. 95.) ἄχθη ἀγόμενος Herodot. VI. 30. ἱκέτας ... οἴχεσθαι οἰχομένους VII. 220. We propose in the mean time, καὶ ταὶ σ... βέλει. Schol. ἱκνεῖται δὲ— τοῦ οἴστρου τῷ κέντρῳ αὐτὴν διατρυπῶντος. Prometh. 541. μυρίοις μόχθοις διακναιόμενον. 94. αἰκίαισιν διακναιόμενος. Agam. 65. διακναιομένης ἐν προτελείοις Κάμακος. In the following Choruses, we think Dr Burney has been very successful. The fourth and fifth verses of the Antistrophics, v. 651, should, in our opinion, be written thus.

STROPHE.	ANTISTROPHE.
τάνδε πόλιν κενῶσαι,	Ζῆνα μέγαν σεβόντων
μηδ' ἐπιχωρίοισιν	τὸν ξένιον δ' ὑπέρτατ'
&c.	ὅς, &c.

ξένιον

ξίνων δ' ὑπέρατον Ald. Rob. Turn. δ' Pauw. ὑπέρατα Schol. for ὑπερτάτων. The metres thus coincide. The succeeding Antistrophies to v. 803. are very harmoniously arranged. After v. 753. a whole verse is wanted, to answer to the Strophic -μῶν ἀλέγοντες οὐδέν. The Medicean MS. supplies the defect thus, οὐδὲν ἐπαΐοντες. V. 787. Dr Burney omits χερῶν, which word is absent from one MS. Ask. D. We offered an Antistrophic disposition of the metres v. 803. &c. in our notice of Mr Butler's Æschylus, vol. xv. p. 319.; and, on reconsidering it, we are inclined to prefer it to Dr Burney's. We refer our readers to the Review in question.

The learned editor of the Tentamen has made some considerable alterations in the text, for the purpose of reducing the systems vv. 831. 846. to two corresponding Hendecads of Antispastics; but, in our opinion, his labours have not been attended with their usual success; for the verses which he has produced, are rather remarkable for a singular discrepancy of rhythm, than for any thing like correspondence; and, even if the verses be legitimately Antistrophic, the words are very faulty and corrupt. Poetry of this sort is to be classed with 'the Song by a Person of Quality;' very harmonious, but great nonsense.

V. 851. μήποτε πάλιν εἴδει | ἀλφεσίβοιον ὕδωρ R. P. μήποτ' εἴδοιμι πάλιν Burn. This oversight induces us to make one or two remarks for the benefit of our younger reader. The Attic poets *never* use the *simple* verb εἴδω in the present tense, in any of the moods, which are all formed as if from εἴδημι. Eurip. Orest. 128. Porson has restored ἴδετε, the imperative for εἴδετε, as also in the Medea 1218. The optative present is εἰδείην, which occurs frequently; the optative aorist is ἴδοιμι. 2dly, They very seldom, or, as we are inclined to believe, *never* used the active imperative singular ἴδε, but the middle ἰδοῦ. The only instances which occur to us, are Eurip. Orest. 1556. ἴδε πρὸ δωμάτων, ἴδε προκηρύσσει. where we confidently replace ἰδοῦ: for ἰδὲ is at least never used as an interjection without an accusative case. It occurs in the Rhesus 382. Sophocl. Trachin. 222. ἴδ', ἴδ', ὦ φίλα. where we conjecture ἰδοῦ δ', ὦ φίλα. supr. v. 218. ἰδοῦ μ' ἀναταράσσει. Oed. C. 1462. ἴδε μάλα μέγας ἐρείπεται κτύπος. The middle form ἰδοῦ is much more common. Thomas Mag. 'Ιδοῦ 'Αττικοὶ λέγουσιν, οὐκ ἴδε. Εὐριπίδης ἐν 'Εκάβῃ. (802.) 'Ιδοῦ με, κἀνάθρησον οἷ' ἔχω κακά. which authority is overlooked by the illustrious editor of the Hecuba. In the same manner, they never used the active future εἴδω, but the middle εἴσομαι. Lastly, they never used ἴδον or ἰδόμην for εἶδον and εἰδόμην, except in the Choric metres. In addition to the reason before stated, we may remark, that the

 particle

particle μὴ or μήποτε requires an aorist of the optative. We would therefore read μήποτ' ἴδοιμι πάλιν.

No one, we think, will be persuaded by Dr Burney, that v. 879 is an Antispastic trimeter, or he must indeed be hugely enamoured of this multiform metre. It is a regular harmonious Iambic senarius, preceded by two other senarii, forming part of the same sentence, and connected with them by the particle γάρ. This Iambic, however, Dr Burney denominates an Antispastic, and makes it correspond with another verse, which had been previously brought into that form, by the omission of two words, and the transposition of three others. This mode of procedure is ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐσκαμμένα πηδᾶν, something in the manner of Hermann; a species of critical boldness, which, to say the least of it, is 'un peu déreglé.'

In the distribution of Ionic metres, Dr Burney is singularly successful. His arrangement of vv. 1013—1059, into Pentads and Hendecads of Ionics a minore, has before received the humble tribute of our applause. The Pentads consist of three Dimeters, the Basis Ionica, or Monometer, and the Dimeter Anaclomenon; the Hendecads of ten pure Dimeters and an Anaclomenon; the last verse of the third Hendecad is wanting. The concluding Antistrophics are arranged as in the Glasgow edition, except that the last verse but one is divided into a Cretic and a Trochaic. We are dubious, however, whether the affinity between these metres be not such, that a Cretic Monometer and a Trochaic syzygy may be supposed to form one verse.

Having now performed the task of examination, we must bear our testimony to the great labour and pains which Dr Burney appears to have bestowed on the Tentamen, in order that it might come forth in as perfect a form as possible. The greater part of the Choric songs contained in it, were noted down in his Adversaria eighteen years before its publication; and we may reasonably expect, that a work which has been submitted to the labour and delay of the file for twice the period prescribed by Horace, should exhibit all those marks of laborious accuracy, which the present does, even in points of typography; and that the attention and research of such a scholar as Dr Burney, directed to one object for so long a time, would accomplish all that was to be accomplished in this branch of learning. The learned world then naturally hoped, that the metres of Æschylus would be settled with a degree of accuracy and precision, amounting nearly to certainty. In very many instances we think that this is effected in the Tentamen; and if not in all, the failure is to be attributed to an original defect in the materials, rather than to any want of abilities in the workman. We are

compelled

compelled to acknowledge, that after a very attentive consideration of the Tentamen, we still find ourselves very much in the dark, as to several of the Choruses of Æschylus. Not that we have been disappointed; for we took occasion, in a former Number, to express our conviction, that the metres of this poet could never be certainly defined and established. By asserting that this conviction is not shaken even by Dr Burney's Tentamen, we may perhaps be censured for our boldness or our ignorance; but we again repeat, that, with the exception of a few metres, all that can now be attained to, is a considerable degree of probability. A principal reason of this is, that in all likelihood Æschylus invented for himself many of the measures which he introduces into his tragedies; and that the same daring genius which led him to disregard the received terms of language, and the common figures of speech, caused him to deviate from the usual lyric measures, and gave to many of his Choruses something of the character of the Dithyramb, which is 'borne along in numbers free from law.'

A great degree of obscurity pervades the history of the Greek theatre; but it seems certain, that the Chorus both danced and sang; and therefore, that the rhythm of their songs must have been accommodated to the motions of their feet. Hence the names of the various metrical feet, are in many instances derived from the species of dance which they usually accompanied, as the τροχαῖος, the ἀνάπαιστος, the former of which is the first step taught by our dancingmasters; the κρητικὸς and πυῤῥίχιος from the Cretan and Pyrrhic dances, and several others. Whoever, therefore, invented a new dance, had also to contrive some new combination of syllables and feet to suit it; and we are somewhat inclined to suspect that the *Arsis* and *Thesis*, terms so much in the mouth of Metricians, refer rather to the elevation and depression of the foot in dancing, than to the pulsation of the Tibicen. The early Tragœdians had more of this to do than their successors. Phrynichus was a professed dancingmaster; and Æschylus is said to have invented πολλὰ σχήματα ὀρχηστικὰ for the use of the Chorus; Athenæus I. p. 21. E. Vol. I. p. 80. Schweigh. The whole of the following passage is so strong in favour of our ideas on the subject, that we translate it at length. 'Chamæleon (a grammarian who wrote a book about Æschylus) says, that Æschylus was the first person who taught his Choruses figure-dances; not having recourse to the instruction of professed masters, but inventing himself the figures to be used by them.' Athenæus then adduces the authority of Aristophanes in support of the assertion of Chamæleon; and further informs us, that one Telestes was famous for dancing the Seven against Thebes. The conclusion,

than, which we draw from all this, is, that Æschylus adapted many of his Choric verses to those particular motions, which the *figurantes* of the Chorus were to practise at that part of the play; and that in several instances he paid less attention to the legitimate measure of the verse, than to its adaptation to a *pousser* or a *balancer*, or a *chasser* or a *pas grave*. These observations are more particularly applicable to Æschylus. After him the scenic dancing had much less of the σχηματισμὸς in it; except in comedy. A ludicrous instance of it may be seen in Aristophanes, Pac. 320, &c.

The nature of the 'Auxilium,' of which Dr Burney speaks, by which the antient Mucisians extended the second syllable of a Glyconean or Pherecratean verse, when short, so as to make it equivalent in rhythm to a long syllable, is not specified by any ancient writer on the subject of metres; nor indeed was it likely to be; for, to a person acquainted with the first principles of musical composition, the difficulty vanishes. These verses were probably sung in slow triple time; and it signified little, whether the third note in the first bar was occupied by a long or a short syllable. But we forbear from entering on an uninteresting discussion.

With regard to Dr Burney's Latinity, we are not willing to say much; for in a work of this nature the language is a very inferior object. We must, however, caution the juvenile part of our readers against imitating what appears to us to be a forced and affected style. Above all, we object to the ambitious and ostentatious eulogiums, the cumbrous meed of praise which is bestowed upon almost every person whose name is introduced in the Tentamen. Why should we pay compliments in Latin which it would be absurd to make in the common language of society? Surely Richard Bentley, Doctor in Divinity, and the Reverend John Toup, Rector of St Martin's, would have started, if addressed by the title of 'Magnanimous Heroes.' Βαρύς τι καὶ τόδ' ἐστὶν, αἰνεῖσθαι λίαν. In this respect Dr Burney's style of writing is a singular contrast to that of his late illustrious friend Porson. We must, however, in justice observe, that of the two extremes of style into which most scholars have fallen, the panegyrical is much more to be commended than the vituperative, to which the late Greek Professor was, it must be confessed, too much inclined. 'Hoc tibi putidum videtur, et nequam. An probius et modestius illud tuum est, quum vecordes, hebetes, stupidos omni sermone indigites viros immortali laude dignissimos, quos in uno semel, eoque pauxillulo peccato deprehenderis?' *

We

* Francisci Franci (*i. e.* Claudii Salmasii) Confutatio Animadversorum Antonii Cercoetii (*i. e.* Dionysii Petavii), p. 4.

We will now bring to a conclusion an article, the unusual prolixity of which will be excused by the interesting nature of its subject to classical scholars. Obliged as we have been to differ in many points from so eminent a scholar as Dr Burney, we have considered it necessary to state our reasons fully, lest we should incur the charge of presumption. This we have done with freedom; but not, we trust, without the respect due to so great a name. If any thing petulant or censorious has escaped us, we wish it unsaid; but our readers will not, we trust, confound the freedom of literary discussion with groundless and presumptuous dissent. We can allow of no authority without appeal in the commonwealth of letters: a freedom of opinion, and the liberty of expressing it, are essential to its wellbeing. Its magistrates may issue edicts, but must expect that the individuals of the republic will scrutinize the grounds of them. We have been induced to make these reflections, because we foresee that we shall be accused of temerity for venturing to dispute any position laid down by a scholar of such well-earned and long-established fame as Dr Burney. But, members of the literary Athens, we assert our claim to a literary *παῤῥησία.* —

τὴν γὰρ ἐντεθραμμένην
ἀστοῖς Ἀθηνᾶς, τῇ τε Θησέως πόλει,
καλὸν φυλάξαι γνησίας παῤῥησίαν.

Art. VII. *De l'Arithmétique des Grecs; Par M. Delambre.* From the Œuvres d'Archimède, traduites litteralement, avec un Commentaire, par F. Peyrard. 2de Edition. 2 Tomes 8vo. pp. 1058. Paris 1808.

It is notorious, that in France, where so much activity of intellect is displayed, the study of Grecian literature and science has been long and miserably neglected. Anxious as we are for the diffusion of useful knowledge, we therefore view, with no small degree of satisfaction, the work now before us, which comes forth under the sanction of the National Institute, and the patronage of the Imperial Government. M. Peyrard promises to continue his labours, and to give to the public a complete translation of the works of all the Greek mathematicians. The version of Euclid is already finished; and we are assured by him, that great progress has been made on the Conics of Apollonius. The circulation of these sublime productions of ancient genius, in a convenient form, and over the wide theatre of the French language, will have, we trust, a most beneficial

effect

effect in forming the minds of youth; and may serve to counteract that unfortunate tendency which prevails on the Continent, with the exception, perhaps of Italy, to substitute, on almost every occasion, a clumsy and often obscure sort of calculation, for the luminous evidence and unfading beauties of the Greek Geometry. This abuse of an instrument, which, when skilfully employed, affords such powerful aid in exploring the heights of science, but which is so ill adapted for educing the elementary properties of figure, seems at last to have been perceived and tacitly admitted by several distinguished analysts abroad. The rapid sale of the translation now before us, of which, the first edition in quarto was disposed of in less than a twelvemonth, must be regarded as no unfavourable symptom of the return of correct taste on the Continent.

Since the time of Descartes, who opened such a vast field for the application of the *calculus*, Mathematicians have been divided into two distinct classes—the Geometers and the Algebraists; the former adhering to the cautious method of reasoning used by the Greeks, and the latter preferring the loose and artificial operation of the modern analysis. The spirit of party has likewise here, as in other instances, exercised its exclusive sway; and the number of those who are willing to admit the respective merits of both modes of proceeding, and ready, as the circumstances may require, to adopt the advantages of either, is comparatively few. The followers of the modern system, it must be confessed, have been more active and enterprising;—they have not only achieved splendid conquests, and enriched science, by annexing new provinces of wonderful extent, but are making continual inroads upon the older departments; and, having acquired the dominion of the Continent, they now threaten to drive the Greek Geometry from her favoured retreat in the British Isles.

The study of Mathematics, when rightly conducted, ought, we presume, to aim at two capital objects. It should not only lead to an intimate acquaintance with those relations of figure and quantity, which are so highly instructive, and confer such immediate and important advantages in the business of life, and the prosecution of the physical sciences; but it should also train the mind to the invaluable habits of patient attention, accurate arrangement, nice discrimination, and close reasoning. This latter advantage, in the view to general education, is perhaps the most essential. The number of those who have leisure, taste or capacity, to devote themselves to the prosecution of abstract researches, however splendid and imposing, must necessarily be very limited; but all who, in every condition of society,

society, aspire to the liberal and cultivated exercise of their faculties, will derive inestimable benefit from that previous discipline of the understanding which the study of the mathematics appears so admirably fitted to bestow. On this account, we are persuaded that a young man will reap more essential and lasting advantage from an acquaintance with geometrical reasoning, than from a knowledge of the elements of algebra. The latter may help to improve his dexterity in ciphering, and better prepare him for entering on the details of business; but the former, besides the practical skill which it cannot fail to impart, has a direct tendency to invigorate the whole of the intellectual powers, and to lay a sure and solid foundation on which to erect future superstructures. After such habits of cautious procedure and accurate discrimination are once formed, the student may safely venture into the region of modern analysis, and range with profit through that boundless domain, where so much is admirable, and so much is yet clouded with obscurity, or disfigured by hasty and careless combination.

Archimedes may justly be regarded, on the whole, as the most inventive philosopher that has ever appeared. Born in the island of Sicily, where Grecian colonies had carried the liberal arts to a very high pitch of improvement, he discovered an early passion for knowledge and elegant science; and, following the impulse of his inclination, he repaired to Egypt, and completed his education at the Royal establishment of Alexandria, the great seat of mathematical learning, which, in every branch, had for ages flourished under the munificent patronage of the Ptolemies. On his return to Syracuse, he devoted himself entirely to abstract research; and having, by his creative genius, improved the method of geometrical analysis, he now carried that refined instrument beyond its ordinary limits, and investigated, with the happiest success, the relations of curved lines, surfaces, and solids. He measured the parabola; approximated to the quadrature of the circle; investigated the properties of spirals and conoids; assigned the superficial extent of the spherical zones; and determined those fine proportions which connect the sphere with the cone and cylinder. In his *Arenarius*, he has pushed to vast extent the ideas of arithmetical notation; and seems almost to have there anticipated, in some degree, the sublime invention of logarithms. Such abstruse discoveries required, at that early period, the most intense application of thought. Archimedes did not, however, confine his views to mere speculation; but, embracing the widest range, he particularly cultivated those objects which are of most importance to a maritime and commercial state. He established the

the true principles of Mechanics, laid the foundation of Hydrostatics, and, by assigning the position of the centre of gravity in a variety of figures, and fixing the circumstances which determine the stability of floating bodies, he traced out the first rudiments of naval architecture. His talents and inexhaustible resources as a practical engineer, suspended the fall of Syracuse, and enabled that petty State to resist successfully, for the space of three whole years, the most strenuous efforts of Roman power. The philosopher was not doomed to survive the independence of his native country; but perished amidst that scene of horror and indiscriminate carnage which closed on the fatal assault.

The work now before us exhibits those beautiful investigations in all their fulness; conducted, as they were, with caution, address, and persevering ingenuity. The version appears to be executed with sufficient correctness; but it scarcely can aspire to any higher merit; and the translator, a man of letters rather than a mathematician, contents himself with following closely and laboriously the original text. This inartificial method of proceeding has led to much superfluous diffusion, and has occasioned the exclusion of some accessary matter of the most interesting kind. Without injuring, in the slightest degree, the purity of geometrical deduction, the modern symbols might have been employed with evident advantage, both in respect of brevity and clearness. Algebraical characters, from their extreme simplicity and precision, form the most perfect species of written language; and nothing can so much facilitate the comprehending of a demonstration, as to have the successive steps collected and presented to the mind at one view. The notions peculiar to Algebra are not necessarily involved in its symbols; and a correct geometrical taste will avoid the excessive contraction of Barrow with not less care, than the clumsy and repulsive complication of Emerson.

This edition of Archimedes, unfortunately, is rendered defective, by the omission of the commentaries of Eutocius and others. No historical notices are given respecting some of the most celebrated problems of antiquity. We desiderate, for instance, the various analyses left us of the *trisection of an angle*, and the *duplication of the cube*, which are undoubtedly some of the finest specimens of the ancient geometry, and contributed most essentially, in the result, to the extension of the science. The few notes subjoined to the translation are in general very short, and of a nature entirely algebraical, which does not assimilate at all with the text. We can only except from this remark two memoirs; one by the translator himself, on the construction

struction of the mirrors with which Archimedes is supposed to have set fire to the Roman galleys; and the other by M. Delambre, on the Arithmetic of the Greeks, as deduced chiefly from an examination of the *Arenarius*, in connexion with the commentaries of early writers, and the traces of calculations which have been preserved. This last dissertation, which we have selected for the subject of the present article, was composed, we are informed, at the express desire of the French Emperor, then First Consul, who, having, from his military education, acquired some taste for mathematical learning, occasionally attends the meetings of the Board of Longitude, and seeks, from policy and perhaps inclination, to appear on all occasions a patron of the sciences and liberal arts.

The Greeks, it is well known, were ignorant of our system of decimal notation, the simplest and most perfect of all inventions. They marked numbers laboriously by help of the letters of their alphabet; and, though this method received successive improvements, it was still unavoidably complicated, and altogether irregular in the form of its constitution. The Greek mathematicians, however, must have had frequent occasion to perform calculations of very considerable extent and intricacy; and it is extremely curious to discover, by what ingenuity they surmounted the difficulties of the operation, and contrived to wield with effect such a cumbrous machine as their apparatus for arithmetical notation. Unfortunately, the information which can be collected, amidst the wrecks of time, concerning that interesting subject, is scanty and unsatisfactory. Archimedes has left us some valuable hints, in his *Arenarius*, and his book on the Quadrature of the Circle. Ptolemy, in his *Almagest*, has given astronomical tables, with several examples of reduction. Some information may be gleaned from Theon's Commentary on the Almagest; and particularly from a mutilated fragment of Pappus, which Dr Wallis has published. In the decline of the Lower Empire, Eutocius of Ascalon has preserved some incidental calculations in his Commentary on Archimedes; Psellus composed an arithmetical treatise; and Maximus Planudes, a monk who lived in the fourteenth century of the Christian æra, explained to his countrymen of Constantinople the Indian method of notation. From all these sources, the sagacity of Delambre has extracted a very concise yet intelligible account of the mode of performing arithmetical operations among the Greeks. But, in a subject so curious and instructive, we shall be tempted to take a wider scope.

The idea of number is one of the latest and most difficult to

form.

form. Before the mind can grasp such an abstract conception, it must be familiar with that process of classification by which we successively remount from Individuals to Species, from Species to Genera, and from Genera to Orders. The savage is soon lost in his attempts at numeration; and significantly expresses his inability to proceed, by holding up his expanded fingers, or pointing to the hairs of his head.

The classification by *pairs*, which nature points out, would suggest the simplest mode of reckoning. The *Dual* accordingly, though retained by the Greeks, occurs in the languages of all barbarous tribes. Counting these pairs again by two's, and repeating the same procedure, we arrive, by progressive steps, at the radical terms 4, 8, 16, &c. to which the other numbers are easily reducible. Thus, 13 being composed of 8, 4 and 1, would, according to such a system of numeration, be called "quadruple pair, double pair and one," or denominated more concisely by words of corresponding import. This plan of arrangement, termed the *binary scale*, seems, at a certain period of society, to have prevailed in most countries. Vestiges of it are still found among the Chinese; and Leibnitz has extolled the system with abundant extravagance. It would, no doubt, from its naked simplicity, supersede the application of thought, and reduce all the operations which occur in arithmetic to the mere labour of writing; but nothing would thus be gained in practice, since, advancing with excessive slowness, it would soon require a multiplicity of words, and a fatiguing complication of characters. The binary scale appears best adapted to the descending progression; for the fractions produced by a continued bisection, are, from the equal competition of buyer and seller, naturally introduced into commercial transactions, and employed almost exclusively among the Eastern nations. This subdivision is likewise used with convenience in Europe, for ascertaining the smaller weights.

The next step in the progress to numeration, was probably to assume the double pair, or *four*, as the root of the scale. In counting over small articles, it is customary, for the sake of expedition, to take a couple in each hand; and therefore, the *throw*, or, in older language, the *warp*, becomes, in this way, the measure of tale. The ancient Mexicans appear to have reckoned by fours, and to have afterwards advanced, in their numeration, by combining the products of four with those of ten. Nor is it altogether improbable that Pythagoras might have alluded to such a system of computation, in celebrating the mystical properties of his famous *tetractys*, or *quaternion*.

But Nature has furnished the great and universal standard of computation.

computation, in the fingers* of the hand,—those instruments with which the savage lays hold of his prey. All nations, accordingly, have reckoned by *fives*; and some barbarous tribes have scarcely advanced farther. Aristotle, who was aware of the principle, has noticed the existence of such a people in Africa. After the fingers of the one hand had been counted over, it was a second, and perhaps a distant step, to proceed to those of the other. The primitive words expressing numbers probably exceeded not five. To denote six, seven, eight and nine, the North-American Indians repeat the five, with the successive addition of one, two, three and four. The same composition is apparent in the various dialects spoken by the inhabitants of the islands which are so widely scattered over the Southern Ocean. Could we safely trace the descent and affinity of the abbreviated terms denoting the numbers from five to ten, it seems highly probable that we should discover a similar process to have taken place in the formation of the most refined languages.

The ten fingers, or *digits*, of both hands being reckoned up, it then became necessary to repeat the operation. Such is the foundation of our decimal scale of arithmetic. Language still betrays, by its structure, the original mode of proceeding. To express the numbers beyond ten, the Laplanders, as we learn from Leems, combine an ordinal with a cardinal, digit. Thus, eleven, twelve, &c. they denominate *second* ten and one, *second* ten and two, &c.; and in like manner, they call twenty-one, twenty-two, &c. *third* ten and one, and *third* ten and two, &c. According to the learned Adelung, our term *eleven*, or, in German, *eilf*, merely signifies, *leave one*, being derived from *ein* or *one*, and the old verb *liben*, *to remain*. In the Salic law, it is written *anilaf*; in Kero, it is *einlif*; in Tatian, *einlivin*; and in Ottofried, *einlif*. The true signification of *eleven* is, therefore, *one*, *leave or set aside ten*. *Twelve* is of the like derivation, and means *two*, *laying aside the ten*. The same idea is suggested by our termination *ty*, corresponding to the German *zig*, in the words *twenty*, *thirty*, &c. This syllable, altogether distinct from *ten*, is derived from *zichen*, *to draw*; from which comes the substantive *zug*, *a draught*. In the old German authors, it was written *zoch*, *zug*, *zuc*, or *zeg*; in Anglo-Saxon, it is *tig*; in the Salic Laws, *toc*; in Swedish, *tio*; and in Icelandic, *tiga*. *Twenty* must thus mean strictly *two drawings*; or it signifies,

* It is curious to remark, that the word *finger* is of the same original import with *fang*, both of them being derived from the verb *fangen*, to seize or *grasp*.

signifies, that the hands have been twice closed, and the fingers counted over.

After *ten* was firmly established as the standard of numeration, it seemed the most easy and consistent to proceed by the same repeated composition. Both hands being closed ten times, would carry the reckoning up to a *hundred*. This word, originally *hund*, is of uncertain derivation; but the term of *thousand*, which occurs in the next stage of the progress, or the hundred added ten times, is clearly traced out, being only a contraction of *duis-hund* or *twice-hundred*, that is, the *repetition* or *collection of hundreds*.

The successive formation of *numbers* is quite analogous to the repeated multiplication of *measures*; and the one process appears often to have directed and modified the other. Both number and measure alike derive their standards from the human body; but the system of extension, being affected by the influence of collateral proportions, has not unfrequently deviated from the uniform progression. Thus, the first joint of the thumb, called the *uncia* or *inch*, might be assumed as the primary measure. This unit, repeated four times, equalled the breadth of the *hand*, which, being tripled, gave the measure of the *foot*. But the foot was still too small for estimating conveniently great distances; and the *passus*, or *pace*, being the interval between two steps and equivalent to six feet, was therefore assumed. A *mile*, as the word imports, consisted of a thousand paces. The simplest way of measuring this, was to take a hundred paces, and repeat the length ten times. But, in accommodation to the Roman mile, the intermediate extent was found to correspond more nearly to the *furlong*, or the eighth part, and which arises from continued bisection. As the number of furlongs in the mile was thus reduced to eight, so, the length of each was augmented by a tenth part, or made to contain 110 paces.

The several parts of the body furnished other secondary measures. The expansion of the hand gave, the *palm*;—the distance of the elbow from the tips of the fingers, the *cubit*;—the entire length of the arm, the *yard*;—and the extreme breadth across the shoulders, the *fathom*, which was considered as equal to the pace.

Such anomalies in the progressive composition of measures, weights and coins, have, to a certain degree, infected the system of numeration used in mercantile transactions. The *dozen* and its compounds, however, were perhaps introduced at a more advanced period of society, and appear to have been transferred immediately from astronomy, as the solar year is

distinguished into twelve months, which correspond nearly to the revolutions of the moon. In commerce, the numerical terms are formed by the same sort of analogy as the thousand or thous-hundred was brought from the hundred. Thus, the double dozen, or gross, is equivalent to 144, and the double gross to 1728. When the object was to proceed in the numeration more quickly than by tens, the double of ten, that is, twenty, was adopted for the root of the scale; and this, being marked at each repetition, came to have the name of *score*.

The alphabet must in general have been framed before any regular system for notation of numerals was invented. In forming such a system, the obvious method was to imitate as nearly as possible the progress by which the mind ascends the scale of numeration; but the simplicity and uniformity of this procedure were in the sequel frequently disturbed, by adopting such alphabetic characters as happened to resemble the compound symbols, or by employing, for the sake of abbreviation, the initial letters of words significant of the numbers themselves. The Roman numerals, having undergone little subsequent change, may be considered as the most ancient specimens of notation. To denote *one*, a simple verticle stroke was assumed | ; and the repetition of this expressed *two*, *three*, &c. Two decussating strokes X marked the next step in the scale of numeration, or *ten*; and that symbol was repeated to signify *twenty*, *thirty*, &c. Three strokes, or an open square ⊏, were employed to denote a *hundred*, or the third stage of numeration; and four interwoven strokes M, sometimes incurved ⋂, or even divided CIↃ, expressed a *thousand*.

Such are all the characters absolutely required in a very limited system of numeration. The necessary repetition of them however, as often occasionally as nine times, was soon found to be tedious and perplexing. Halved or curtailed marks were, therefore, employed to express the intermediate multiples of five; and this improvement must have taken place at a very early period. Thus, *five* itself was denoted by the upper half V, and sometimes the under half Λ, of the character X for ten; L, or the half of ⊏, the mark for a hundred, came to represent *fifty*; and the incurved symbol ⋂, or CIↃ, for a thousand, was split into IↃ, to express *five hundred*.

These important contractions having been adopted, another convenient abbreviation was introduced. To avoid the frequent repetition of a mark, it was prefixed to the principal character, and denoted the defect by counting backwards. Thus, instead of four succeeding strokes IIII, it seemed preferable to write IV.

IV; for *eight* and *nine*, the symbols were IIX and IX; and *ninety* was expressed by XC. This mode of reckoning by the defect was peculiar to the Romans, and has evidently affected the composition of their numerical terms. Instead of *octodecem* and *novendecem*, it is held more elegant, in the Latin language, to use *undeviginti* and *duodeviginti*.

But the alphabetic characters now lent their aid to numeration. The uniform broad strokes were dismissed, and those letters which most resembled the several combinations were adopted in their place. The simple stroke I for *one*, and the marks V, X and L, for *five*, *ten* and *fifty*, were respectively supplied by the letters I, V, X and L. The symbol C for a *hundred*, was aptly denoted by C, which had originally a square shape, and happened, besides, to be the initial letter of the very word *centum*. The letter D was very generally assumed as a near approximation to the symbol IƆ for *five hundred*; and M not only represented the angular character for a *thousand*, but was likewise, though perhaps accidentally, the first letter of the word *mille*.

The last improvement attempted in the Roman system of numerals, was devised for the purpose of expressing the numbers beyond a thousand. This innovation belongs evidently to an advanced period of society, and appears never to have been very generally embraced. The method of proceeding, however, was perfectly analogical. Taking the complex symbol CIƆ for a *thousand*, the intermediate stroke was retained, while the C on each side of it was successively repeated, to mark the ascending progression by tens. Thus, CCIƆƆ and CCCIƆƆƆ were made to signify, respectively, 10,000 and 100,000. The halves, again, of these compounded characters, or IƆƆ and IƆƆƆ, were employed to denote 5,000 and 50,000.

Such, as far as we can gather, is the true account of the formation of the Roman numerals. Philologists and grammarians have given other and discordant views of the procedure; but, in adventuring to write on subjects of that kind, they have, as usual, satisfied themselves with fanciful and shallow conjectures, which scarcely deserve a moment's attention. Priscian, for instance, very sagely observes, that the Latins borrowed the stroke I from the Athenians, who employed *iôta* to denote *one*, because it was the *principal* letter of the word ἓν; that they adopted the mark V from its being the *fifth* vowel, and X the *tenth* consonant, of their own alphabet; that they contracted N, the original character for 50, into L; that they took the letters C and D, which stand together in the natural order of the alphabet,

phabet to express 100, [illegible] and finally, that they framed the symbol for 1000 from the Athenian X, written at first X, and afterwards melted down into [illegible] and M.

The Mexicans, according to Clavigero, proceeded nearly in the same way; only they seem to have conjoined the decimal with the binary system of notation. Every number below *twenty* or the *score*, they expressed by means of repeated dots. Twenty was represented by a club, or upright double-headed bar; the square of this, or *four hundred*, was signified by two such bars inverted and fashioned into the shape of a spear-head; and the cube of the score, or *eight thousand*, again, was denoted by a new combination, forming a sort of ornamented shield.

The founders of Rome appear to have drawn their descent from a colony of the Pelasgi, who transported to the Italian shores the language of Greece, in its earliest and rudest form. Among a people occupied incessantly with war and conquest, that dialect continued almost unchanged, while the parent stock was receiving successive improvements from the fertile ingenuity of the Greeks. The structure of the Latin tongue, therefore, carries us much farther back than any distinct vestige of the Greek. The Romans had transferred their numerals from Greece long before the period of authentic history, when those natural and primitive marks were already modified or exchanged for certain alphabetic characters. According to Herodian, numbers were, in the laws of Solon and the more ancient monuments, represented by the letters of the alphabet, which originally were all capitals. *One* was still denoted by I; but *five* and *ten* were expressed by Π and Δ, the initials of πέντε and δέκα. The aspirated H, quite different from η, being the first letter of ἑκατὸν, which in earlier times was written HEKATON, and the same as the Roman character, signified *a hundred*, and X and M, the initials of χίλια and μυρία, marked severally *a thousand* and *ten thousand*. To avoid the confusion of repeating a letter too often, the *pi* |‾‾| was placed over or around it, and rendered it, in effect, five times greater. Thus |Δ| denoted 50, |H| 500, |X| 5,000, and |M| 50,000.

After the Greek alphabet had been enlarged, and the small characters introduced, they were sometimes employed, in the order of their arrangement, to express the succession of numbers. In this way, the books of Homer's Iliad and Odyssey are commonly marked. The practice of such a notation however, it is well known, remounts not beyond the time of Aristotle, who collected and properly disposed those immortal poems, in his famous edition of the *Casket*.

In the mean while, a mighty improvement had taken place in the Greek system of numeration. The twenty-four letters of the alphabet were distinguished into three classes, corresponding to units, tens, and hundreds; and, to complete the characters for the nine digits, three additional marks were introduced. The ϛ, called *episemon*, was inserted immediately after ε, the character for 5; and the *koppa* and *sampi*, represented by Ϟ, Ϡ, or ϡ, terminated respectively the series of tens and hundreds, or expressed 90 and 900. This concise notation reaches only to 999; but each character was afterwards made to signify as many thousands, by merely placing a point or a subscribed *iôta* under it.

A still further advance was made. Besides employing the point, it was not unusual sometimes to write the letter M, or the initial of the word μυρια or *myriad*, under the numerals, and thus augment their power ten thousand fold. By these artifices combined, it was therefore easy to mark any number below a million, and not very difficult even to approach the extreme limit of the double myriad, or a hundred millions.

Such was the very ingenious method of numeration which prevailed among the Greeks. It was, on the whole, remarkably compact, and might be deemed sufficient for every practical purpose: but something more was wanted, to embrace the objects of science. With that view, Archimedes composed the curious tract already mentioned, entitled ψαμμιτης, or *Arenarius*, in which he endeavoured to show that, following the estimations of the astronomers of his time, it was possible to express the number of particles of sand which would be required to fill the sphere of the universe. He assumed the limit of the received arithmetical system, or the square of a myriad, as the root of a new scale of progression, which therefore advanced eight times faster than the common decimal arrangement. Successive periods, which he termed *octads*, were thus formed, rising above each other, by the continued multiplication of a hundred millions. Archimedes proposed to carry this comprehensive system as far as eight periods, which would therefore correspond to a number expressed on our scale by sixty-four digits. From the nature of a geometrical progression, he demonstrated, that proportional numbers must range at equal distances in the system; and consequently, that the product of two numbers will have its place determined by the sum of their separate ranks—a principle with which the theory of logarithms has since rendered us familiar.

The fine speculation of the Sicilian philosopher does not appear, however, to have been carried into effect; and Archimedes,

medes, without actually performing his calculations, contents himself with merely pointing out the process, and with stating the approximate results. But Apollonius, who certainly holds among the ancients the next rank as a geometer, resumed that scheme of numeration, simplified the construction of the scale, and reduced it to commodious practice. For the sake of convenience, he preferred the simple myriad as the root of the system, which therefore proceeded by successive *tetrads* or periods that correspond to four of our digits. As an example of this improved notation, the number expressing the circumference of a circle which has unit for its diameter, would be thus represented:

3. 1415 9265 3589 7932 3846 2643 3832 7950 2824.

γ. αυιε θσξε γφπθ ζϡλβ γωμϛ βχμγ γωλβ ζϡν βωκδ.

From a fragment of Pappus, we also learn that Apollonius framed a collection of rules for expediting arithmetical operations. A simple instance will serve to show the nature of those abbreviations. Thus, suppose it were required to multiply κ into τ, or 20 into 300; instead of them, take the lower characters β and γ, which were called πυθμένες, or radicals, the one diminished ten and the other a hundred times, and ϛ, the product of these, or 6, being again multiplied successively by the ten and hundred, or increased a thousand times, gives ϛ, or 6,000 for the result. This procedure is evidently reducible to the theorem formerly stated by Archimedes; but, in the cautious spirit of the ancient geometry, it was spread out into twelve cases.

As that very important office which, in our system of notation, the cipher performs, by marking the rank of the digits, was unknown to the Greeks, they were obliged, when the lower periods failed, to repeat the letters Μυ, or the contraction of μυρια. Thus, to signify 37.0000.0000.0000, they wrote λζ.Μυ.Μυ.Μυ. When units or monads were to be separately expressed, Diophantus and Eutocius prefixed the contraction M^o.

In their arithmetical operations, the Greeks never, like us, employed the stroke or line of separation. To note fractions, they hence had recourse to two distinct methods. When the numerator was unit, they marked the denominator by an accent; but, in other cases, they wrote the denominator, as we do an exponent, in smaller characters, a little above and to the right hand of the numerator. Thus, γ' signified $\frac{1}{3}$, ξδ' $\frac{1}{64}$, and ρκα' $\frac{1}{121}$. *One half*, being of frequent occurrence, was denoted by a peculiar character, somewhat varied in its form, C, <, C' or Ϛ. To mark such a fraction as $\frac{32}{11}$, it was written $λβ^{ια}$.

We shall now, from the Commentaries of Eutocius and Theon, give a few examples, which may elucidate the arithmetical operations of the Greeks, and convey some idea of the labour and address by which that ingenious people, with a system of notation so decidedly inferior to our own, were yet enabled to perform calculations of very considerable intricacy. Multiplication, as it includes likewise addition, and is only the converse of division or continued subtraction, will at once furnish the best general specimens of the mode of operating. In this process, the Greeks appear to have followed the same method as that which was formerly practised with the cross multiplication of duodecimals, and nearly corresponding to the ordinary treatment of compound quantities in algebra. They proceeded, as in their writing, from left to right. The product of each numeral of the multiplier into every numeral of the multiplicand, was set down separately; and these distinct elements were afterwards collected together into one total amount. For the sake of compactness, the partial products were often grouped or interspersed, though sometimes apparently set down at random. But still they were always noted; nor was any contrivance employed similar to that mental process of carrying successively tens to the higher places, which abridges and simplifies so much the operations of modern arithmetic. These remarks will be confirmed by the following instance, where the Greek numerals are likewise expressed in our figures.

σ ξ ε	265
σ ξ ε	265
	4 . . . .
$\overset{\delta}{M}$ $\overset{\alpha}{M}$,β ,α	1 2 . . .
	1 . . .
	1 2 . . .
$\overset{\alpha}{M}$,β ,γ χ τ	3 6 . .
	3 . .
	1 . . .
,α τ κ ε	3 . .
	2 5
$\overset{\zeta}{M}$ σ κ ε	7 0 2 2 5

This operation will be easily understood. In the first line, σ multiplied into σ, gives $\overset{\delta}{M}$, or 200 × 200 = 40,000; σ into ξ gives $\overset{\alpha}{M}$,β, or 200 × 60 = 12,000; and σ into ε gives ,α, or

200

200 × 5 = 1000. In the second line, ξ into σ, again, makes ᴍ ιβ, or 60 × 200 = 12,000; ξ into ξ makes γ χ, or 60 × 60 = 3600; and ξ into ε makes τ, or 60 × 5 = 300. Lastly, in the third line, ε into σ, again, gives the product α, or 5 × 200 = 1000; ε into ξ likewise gives τ, or 5 × 60 = 300; and ε into ε gives κε, or 5 × 5 = 25.

We shall next extract a more intricate example of multiplication, and one in which fractions are concerned.

αωλη θⁱᵃ	1838 $\frac{9}{11}$
αωλη θⁱᵃ	1838 $\frac{9}{11}$.
ξ π γ η ω ε η βⁱᵃ (M M M ')	1 . . . . . .
	8 . . . . .
	3 . . . .
	8 . . .
π ξδ β δ ς υ χ ν δ ςⁱᵃ (M M ' ')	8 1 8 $\frac{7}{11}$
	8 . . . . .
	6 4 . . . .
	2 4 . . .
	6 4 . .
γ β δ ϡ σ μ κ δ ςⁱᵃ (M M ')	6 5 4 $\frac{6}{11}$
	3 . . . .
	2 4 . . .
	9 . .
	2 4 .
α ς υ σ μ ξ δ σ ςⁱᵃ	2 4 $\frac{6}{11}$
	8 . . .
	6 4 . .
ω ι η βⁱᵃ	2 4 .
χ ν δ ςⁱᵃ	6 4
κ δ ςⁱᵃ	6 $\frac{6}{11}$
ς ςⁱᵃ	8 1 8 $\frac{2}{11}$
	6 5 4 $\frac{6}{11}$
	2 4 $\frac{6}{11}$
πα ριααⁱᵃ	6 $\frac{6}{11}$ $\frac{81}{121}$
τ λ η α σ ν α ζⁱᵃ πα ριαⁱᵃ (M ')	3381251 $\frac{7}{11}$ $\frac{81}{121}$
or, τ λ η α σ ν β λζ ρκαⁱᵃ (M ')	or, 3,381,252 $\frac{37}{121}$

 It

It may suffice to remark the fractional products merely. Thus, ͵α multiplied into $\theta^{\iota\alpha}$ gives $\omega\iota\eta\ \beta^{\iota\alpha}$, or $1000 \times \frac{9}{11} = 818\frac{2}{11}$; ω into $\theta^{\iota\alpha}$ gives $\chi\nu\delta\ \varsigma^{\iota\alpha}$, or $800 \times \frac{9}{11} = 654\frac{6}{11}$; λ into $\theta^{\iota\alpha}$ gives $\kappa\delta\ \varsigma^{\iota\alpha}$, or $30 \times \frac{9}{11} = 24\frac{6}{11}$; η into $\theta^{\iota\alpha}$ gives $\varsigma\ \varsigma^{\iota\alpha}$, or $8 \times \frac{9}{11} = 6\frac{6}{11}$; and $\theta^{\iota\alpha}$ into $\theta^{\iota\alpha}$ gives $\pi\alpha^{\rho\kappa\alpha}$, or $\frac{9}{11} \times \frac{9}{11} = \frac{81}{121}$.

As the management of such complex fractions proved most laborious, they were gradually laid aside, for the use of sexagesimals, which the astronomers had introduced. The division of the circumference of the circle into 360 equal parts or degrees, was no doubt originally founded on the supposed length of the year, which, expressed in round numbers, consists of twelve months, each composed of thirty days. The radius, approaching to the sixth part of the circumference, would contain nearly 60 of those degrees; and after its ratio to the circumference was more accurately determined, the radius still continued to be distinguished into the same number of divisions, and which likewise bore the same name. As calculation now aimed at greater accuracy, each of these 60 divisions of the radius was, following the uniform progression, again subdivided into 60 equal portions, called minutes; and, repeating the process of sexagesimal subdivision, seconds and thirds were successively formed. The same plan of division, and the same names, were transferred to the circumference of the circle, though the degrees and minutes employed to measure arcs were sensibly different from those contained in the radius. It is curious, however, to remark, that the Hindus, who, so far as we are enabled to judge correctly, must have drawn their astronomy from the same source, express the radius in parts of the circumference, making it equal to 57° 18′, or 3438 minutes, and not to 3600′, which would result from its own subdivision. The operations with sexagesimal fractions were performed in the descending scale, on a principle quite similar to that which Archimedes had before laid down. Each period of the multiplier, still proceeding from the left hand, was multiplied into a period of the multiplicand; and this product was then thrown to a rank depressed as much as the conjoined descents of both its factors. Thus, minutes multiplied into seconds produced thirds, and seconds multiplied into thirds produced fifths. Theon proposes, as an example of the process, to find the square of the side of a regular decagon inscribed in a circle, and which, according to the calculation of Ptolemy, measures, in sexagesimal parts of the radius, 37° 4′ 55″. The multiplication was thus effected:

λζ	δ	νε			37°	4′	55″		
λζ	δ	νε			37	4	55		
͵ατξθ	ρμη	͵βλε			1369°	148′	2035″		
	ρμη	ιϛ	σκ			148	16	220‴	
		͵βλε	σκ				2035	220	
			͵γκε						3025⁗
͵ατοε	δ	ιδ	ι	κε	1375°	4′	14″	10‴	25⁗

In the first line, λζ multiplied into λζ gives ͵ατξθ, or 37° × 37° = 1369°; λζ multiplied into δ gives ρμη, or 37° × 4′ = 148′; and λζ multiplied into νε gives ͵βλε, or 37° × 55″ = 2035″. In the second line, δ into λζ, again, gives ρμη, or 4′ × 37° = 148′; δ into δ gives ιϛ, or 4′ × 4′ = 16″; and δ into νε gives σκ, or 4′ × 55″ = 220‴. And lastly, in the third line, νε into λζ gives, as before, ͵βλε, or 55″ × 37° = 2035″; νε into δ gives likewise σκ, or 55″ × 4′ = 220‴; and νε into νε gives ͵γκε, or 55″ × 55″ = 3025⁗. These several products being now collected and reduced, formed the total result ͵ατοε δ ιδ ι κε, or 1375° 4′ 14″ 10‴ 25⁗; but all the terms beyond the seconds were in practice omitted as insignificant.

It is one of the most beautiful theorems in geometry, that the side of an inscribed decagon is the greater segment of the radius divided into extreme and mean ratio. The square now found ought, therefore, to equal the product of the radius into its smaller segment, or 22° 55′ 5″. But 60° (22° 55′ 5″) = 1375° 5′, differing only by 14 seconds from the last result; a remarkable instance of the accuracy which the sexagesimal system of computation was capable of attaining within a very moderate compass.

The same numbers will likewise supply an example of the method by which the mathematicians of the Alexandrian school performed the extraction of the square root. This complex process very nearly resembled our own, and was founded entirely on the same principle. Since the square of the binomial $a + b$ is $a^2 + 2ab + b^2$, it follows, that each additional term b in the root will be found, by dividing the remainder $2ab + b^2$ of the square by $2a + b$, or by dividing that redundant quantity first by $2a$, and then taking away from it the b^2. By the application of this rule, the side of the inscribed decagon will be easily determined; for the greater segment of the radius r divided into extreme and mean ratio, is, by a well-known proposition in elementary

elementary geometry, $\sqrt{(r^2 + \frac{1}{4} r^2)} - \frac{1}{2} r$, or, in the sexagesimal notation, $\sqrt{((60°)^2 + (30°)^2)} - 30° = \sqrt{(3600° + 900°)} - 30° = \sqrt{4500°} - 30°$. The root is thus extracted by successive steps.

δφ	(ξζ	4500°	(67°
δυπθ		4489	
———		———	
ια		11	

The nearest square to δφ, or 4500°, is δυπθ, or 4489°, of which the root is ξζ, or 67°. The remainder ια, or 11°, reduced to seconds, gives χξ, or 660′, which is next to be decomposed.

ρλδ) χξ	(δ	134°)660′	(4′
φλϛ	ιϛ	536	16″
ρκγ	μδ	123′	44″

The part of the root already found is next doubled, to form the divisor ρλδ, or 134°; the quotient of this is δ, or 4′, which, by multiplication, produces φλϛ, and to it ιϛ, the square of δ, or $4' \times 4' = 16''$, is annexed. The remainder ρκγ μδ, or 123′ 44″, is now reduced to seconds, amounting to ψυκδ or 7424″, for another operation.

ρλδ η) ψυκδ	(νε	134° 8′)7424″	(55″
ψτο		7370	
ζ κ		7 20‴	
ν κε		50	25⁗
με μθ λε		45″ 49‴	35⁗

The compounded portion of the root so found is again doubled for the new divisor ρλδ η, or 134° 8′, which gives the quotient νε, or 55″. The product of these is ψτοζ κ, or 7377″ 20‴, to which the square of νε, or 55″, amounting to ν κε or 50‴ 25⁗, is added. The whole collected root is, therefore, ξζ δ νε, or 67° 4′ 55″; but, had the double of this been employed to divide the final remainder, με μθ λε, or 45″ 49‴ 35⁗, it would evidently have given a further minute addition of very nearly one third of a second. The side of the inscribed decagon is hence equal, in sexagesimal parts of the radius, to 37° 4′ 55⅓″, which, being converted into decimal fractions, makes .6180339, true to the last place. The round numbers adopted by Ptolemy would, by conversion into decimals, give .6180324; an approximation fully sufficient for all the purposes of science at that early period.

The introduction of the sexagesimal system of notation may therefore

therefore be regarded as the most important improvement of the Greek arithmetic. Its procedure resembled closely the method which we now practise in the management of duodecimal fractions. There was only wanting, to facilitate its operations, a multiplication table more extensive than ours, and comprehending the mutual products of all the numbers inclusively from 1 to 59. Such a table was actually constructed, long afterwards, by Philip Lansberg, an ingenious and learned Dutch clergyman. Purbach, one of the first and most ardent restorers of mathematical science, had, about the middle of the fifteenth century, combined the sexagesimal with the decimal system, which was lately spread over Europe, having been introduced by the Moors into Spain. Instead of 3600′, or 216,000″, into which the ancient astronomers divided the radius of the circle, Purbach made it to contain 600,000 equal parts. His disciple and companion, Muller of Koningsberg, commonly styled *Regiomontanus*, to whom trigonometry owes its present form, completed the progress, by rejecting entirely that sexagesimal admixture, and adopting for the radius a division purely decimal. But this innovation had an influence still more extensive, since it gave occasion, in the sequel, to the introduction of decimal fractions, the practice of which has so materially abridged and simplified all our calculations. By such gradual steps have the most useful improvements been achieved! The astronomical division of the circle first suggested the sexagesimal scale; the sexagesimals were next blended with the decimal arrangement; and the decimal subdivision, in its independent form, was finally reduced to vulgar practice.

The Greek arithmetic, then, as successively moulded by the ingenuity of Archimedes, of Apollonius, and Ptolemy, had attained, on the whole, to a singular degree of perfection, and was capable, notwithstanding its cumbrous structure, of performing operations of very considerable difficulty and magnitude. The great and radical defect of the system consisted in the want of a general mark analogous to our cipher, and which, without having any value itself, should serve to ascertain the rank or power of the other characters, by filling up the vacant places in the scale of numeration. Yet were the Greeks not altogether unacquainted with the use of such a sign; for Ptolemy, in his Almagest, employs the small ο, to occupy the accidental blanks which occurred in the notation of sexagesimals. This letter was perhaps chosen by him, because, immediately succeeding to ξ, which denotes 60, it could not, in the sexagesimal arrangement, occasion any sort of ambiguity. But the advantage thence resulting was entirely confined to that particular

cular case. The letters, being already significant, were generally disqualified for the purpose of a mere supplementary notation; and the selection of an alphabetic character to supply the place of the cipher may be considered as an unfortunate circumstance, which appears to have arrested the progress towards a better and more complete system. Had Apollonius classed the numerals by triads, instead of tetrads, he would have greatly simplified the arrangement, and avoided the confusion arising from the admixture of the punctuated letters expressive of thousands. It is by this method of proceeding with periods of three figures, or advancing at once by thousands instead of tens, that we are enabled most expeditiously to read off the largest numbers. The extent of the alphabet was favourable to the first attempts at numeration; since, with the help of three intercalations, it furnished characters for the whole range below a thousand; but that very circumstance, in the end, proved a bar to future improvements. It would have been a most important stride, to have next exchanged those triads into monads, by discarding the letters expressive of tens and hundreds, and retaining only the first class, which, with its inserted *episêmon*, should denote the nine digits. The *iôta*, which signified ten, now losing its force, might have been employed as a convenient substitute for the cipher. By such progressive changes, the arithmetical notation of the Greeks would at last have reached its utmost perfection, and have exactly resembled our own. A wide interval, no doubt, did still remain; yet the genius of that acute people, had it continued unfettered, would, in time, we may presume, have triumphantly passed the intervening boundaries. But the death of Ptolemy was succeeded by ages of languor and decline; and the spirit of discovery insensibly evaporated in miserable polemical disputes, till the fair establishment of Alexandria was finally overwhelmed under the irresistible arms of the Arabs, lately roused to victory and conquest by the enthusiasm of a new religion.

The oldest form of notation among the Greeks, and the system of numerals retained by the Romans, were utterly incapable of any material improvement. They might serve laboriously to register a number that was not very large; but they could not afford the slightest aid in performing an arithmetical computation. By what ingenuity, for instance, could even such small numbers as 48 and 34 be multiplied together, if expressed by the complicated symbols XLVIII and XXXIV, where both the units and the tens are equally involved? But the Romans were late in acquiring any taste for refinement, and remained, during the whole course of their history, profoundly ignorant

of

[illegible]. The inferiority of that austere people to the Greeks, in [illegible]gant arts of life, is acknowledged by their great poet [illegible] memorable lines:

> *[illegible] alii spirantia mollius æra,*
> *[illegible] equidem; vivos ducent de marmore vultus;*
> *Orabunt causas melius, cœlique meatus*
> *Describent radio, et surgentia sidera dicent:*
> Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento;
> Hæ tibi erunt artes; pacisque imponere morem,
> Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos. *Æn.* VI. 848.

In the few simple calculations which they had occasion to make, the Romans were obliged to have recourse to a sort of mechanical process, employing pebbles or counters. Boys were taught that humble art at school, and carried with them, as implements of computation, a *loculus*, or box filled with pebbles, and a board on which these were placed in rows:

> ——— *magni*
> *Quo pueri magnis e centurionibus orti*
> *Lævo suspensi* loculos *tabulamque lacerto.* Hor. Sat. I. 73.

Every opulent Roman kept certain domestic slaves, whose sole office it was to act as secretaries or accountants.

> *Computat, atque cevet. Ponatur* calculus, *adsint*
> *Cum tabulâ pueri.*— Juv. Sat. IX. 40.

It is curious to observe, that the term *calculation* itself claims no higher descent than from *calculus, a pebble.* A table strewed with fine sand, the *pulvis eruditus* of the poets, served both for tracing geometrical diagrams, and teaching the elements of writing; a very primitive contrivance, but universally used throughout the East, from which it has lately been imported into [illegible] country, with a view to lower the price of learning, when that of every thing else is extravagant. The board on which arithmetical operations were performed, at first by means of pebbles, was named *abacus*, from the Greek αβαξ; probably because originally it was only a writing table of a compendious form, and designed for instructing children in their alphabet, or Α, Β, Γ.

> *Nec qui* abaco *numeros, et secto in pulvere metas*
> *Scit risisse vafer.*— Pers. Sat. I. 131.

The abacus was divided, from the right to the left hand, by vertical columns, on which the pebbles were placed, to denote units, tens, hundreds, thousands, &c. The labour of counting and arranging the pebbles was afterwards sensibly abridged, by drawing [illegible] a horizontal line, above which, each single [illegible] power of five. In the progress of luxury, [illegible] made of ivory, were used instead of pebbles, and small silver coins came to supply the place of counters. But the operations with the abacus were rendered still more commodious,

tedious, by substituting, for such *tali* or counters, small beads strung on parallel threads, and sometimes pegs stuck along grooves. With such an instrument, it is not difficult to perceive how the simpler additions and subtractions could be performed with tolerable expedition; but to accomplish a process of multiplication or division, even on the smallest scale, must have been a work of tedious and most irksome labour. Accountants by profession, among the Romans, were styled *calculatores*, or *rationarii*. Various expedients seem to have been employed for shortening the arithmetical operations. The different positions of the fingers were, for that purpose, used to a certain extent. Boethius treated largely of the subject; and even the venerable Bede has given very diffuse rules for what was called *digital arithmetic*.

But the application of the *abacus* itself was not entirely forgotten at a much later period. We have seen a small volume of arithmetic, quaintly composed in the form of dialogue by Robert Recorde, teacher of mathematics and practitioner in physic * at Cambridge, during the reign of Edward VI.; in which round dots, placed on perpendicular lines, and employed to express the succession of units, tens, hundreds, &c. are made to perform some of the simpler numerical operations. To the same ingenious man we are indebted for the first treatise of algebra, then named the *cossic art*, which has appeared in the English language; but his meritorious labours, like those of the greatest benefactors of our species, seem to have been ill requited, since, having removed to the capital, he died under confinement for debt in the Fleet Prison.

A small instrument, entirely resembling the *abacus*, has likewise at different times been recommended, for teaching the elements of ciphering, under the name of *palpable arithmetic*. Managed with proper discretion, such a contrivance would no doubt be useful in conveying just notions of our system of numeration to very young beginners, who are commonly hurried injudiciously into the midst of complex operations, and which they learn to perform by mere routine. But we should not desire to see it carried any farther. The modern fancy of beguiling children into an acquisition of premature knowledge in the very

* As the Moors were not less famed in Europe for their skill in medicine, than their dexterity in calculation, the terms *Physician* and *Algebraist* appear at first to have been regarded as almost synonymous. Thus, in the romance of Don Quixote, published about that time, the Bachelor Sanson Carrasco, who, in his rencounter with the Knight, was thrown from his horse and had his ribs broke, sent in quest of an *algebrista* to heal his bruises.

very handling of toys, we are little disposed to admire; and we cannot help suspecting, indeed, the ultimate utility of all those plans of education which are directed by a mechanical principle, and have an evident tendency to reduce the pupil to a sort of machine.

When calculations with counters became more involved, the table on which they were performed, being necessarily of a very considerable size, was called the bench or *bank*; and hence our term for an office where money transactions are negotiated. The Court of Exchequer, introduced into England by the Norman Conquest, and intended for auditing the revenue of the Crown, had its name from *scaccarium*, which, in modern Latin, signifies a *chess-board*. The accounts were cast up by the tellers, or *computatores*, on a large table covered with black cloth, *chequered* with white lines, on which were placed counters, or small foreign coins, to denote successively pence, shillings and pounds; proceeding afterwards, on the several distinctures of the cloth, by units, tens, hundreds, &c. Sums of money were also rudely marked on *tallies*, so called because they consisted of white sticks of hazel or willow, split up and cut square at both ends; a very fine notch on them denoting a penny, one rather larger a shilling, and one still larger a pound; the notch next in size represented twenty pounds, a larger one expressed a hundred, and the largest of all a thousand. This very strange practice has been handed down to our own times; another striking instance of the blind obstinacy with which ancient usages, however absurd and ridiculous they may through time have become, are yet retained in public offices, and especially in our courts of law.

The introduction of the Arabic digits, which produced a total revolution in the system of modern arithmetic, is commonly ascribed to Gerbert, a Benedictine monk of Fleury, who, at the commencement of the eleventh century, wes elevated to the Papal chair, by the name of Sylvester II. That ardent ecclesiastic, in an age of darkness and rooted prejudice, had yet the resolution to pass into Spain, and study for several years the sciences there cultivated by the Moors. On his return to France from this new pilgrimage, fraught with various and useful information, he was esteemed a prodigy of learning by the Christians of the West; nor did the malice of his rivals fail to represent him as a magician leagued with the infernal powers. To the decimal system of notation with which he had become acquainted, Gerbert applied indifferently the old name *abacus*, or the Arabic term *algorismus*, compounded of the definite article *al* and the Greek word ἀριθμος, and signifying therefore, *the art*

of

of numbering. The knowledge of that art was farther extended, from the intercourse then opened with the East, by the Crusaders and the Italian merchants who frequented the coasts of the Levant. Yet it must for some time have made a very slow and obscure progress. The characters themselves appear to have been long considered in Europe as dark and mysterious. Deriving their whole force from the use made of the zero or cipher, so called from the Arabic word *tsaphara*, denoting *empty* or *void*, this term came afterwards to express, in general, any secret mark. While the verb *to cipher* means to compute with figures, the phrase *to write in cipher* still signifies the concealing a communication under private and concerted symbols. The Arabic characters occur in some arithmetical tracts composed in England during the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, particularly in a work by John of Halifax, or Sacro-Bosco; but another century elapsed before they were generally adopted. At first, they were used only partially, and intermixed with the Saxon, or corrupted Roman, numerals. Their form also was gradually improved, and seems not to have been fully settled till about the middle of the fifteenth century, the memorable epoch of the invention of printing.

But though our present numerals were certainly derived from the Arabians, through the medium of the Saracen conquerors of Spain, that imitative people laid no claim to the merit of the original discovery. The various tribes which wandered with their herds over the wide plains of Arabia, had continued for ages in a state of rude independence, till the enjoyment of ease and plenty, under the prosperous reigns of the Caliphs, tempted them to cultivate letters and the physical sciences. Having once tasted the delight which knowledge imparts, they applied, with ardour and unremitting diligence, to procure information from every quarter. They seldom, however, aspired to original efforts, but contented themselves with commenting on the writings of their admired instructors, or with slowly augmenting the stock of facts by their own laborious observations. They adopted with eagerness the geometry and astronomy of the Greeks, and joined to these refined sciences the decimal system of arithmetic, borrowed most probably from the Persians, who had long been the undisputed masters of India. According to Alsephadi, a learned Arabian doctor, the people of India boasted of three discoveries,—the composition of the *Golaila Wadamna*, or Pilpay's Fables—the game of chess—and the numeral characters. Maximus Planudes, who has been already mentioned as a Greek author of the fourteenth century, bears the same testimony in his arithmetic, expressly styling it Λογισμος Ιν-

ψηφ δικη,

Ψηφοφορία κατ' Ἰνδοὺς, that is, *Indian computation*, or *Calculation after the Indians*; and he moreover subjoins, that the figures themselves were Indian. The characters given by Planudes scarcely differ at all from the Arabic, which, again, very nearly resemble the Persian, now universally used through the lower provinces of India. Planudes, by an *omicron*, represents the cipher, which is merely a full dot in the Persian, and a very small *o* in the Arabic; and his mark for five, which the Arabians denoted by a large O, resembles most nearly the Sanscrit.* But the Arabians likewise employed occasionally, as we do, letters to signify numbers. In the astronomical tables of Ulugh Beigh, the numbers are set down in letters; and this after the Arabian mode of writing, or in the order from right to left. In imitation of the Greeks also, the *o* which occupied the blanks in the sexagesimal system, is there supplied by a corresponding letter. Yet the Arabians, as well as the Persians, in copying the numeral characters, inverted their usual order of writing, and proceeded from left to right, as it is universally practised wherever such a notation has prevailed. These circumstances, taken in combination, sufficiently prove that the decimal arrangement had been invented by a very different people.

Our modern system of arithmetic has thus its origin distinctly referred to the genial climes of the East, where the human species was early ripened into some degree of refinement. The present inhabitants of India are a mixed breed, speaking a variety of dialects, all derived from the Sanscrit, which was probably the language of the parent stock. This ancient race, if we credit the assertions of its sanguine admirers, had already made the most wonderful advances in arts and science, while the nations of Europe were still in their cradle. But the illusion is now rapidly passing away. The exaggerated pretensions of the Brahmins are only supported by vanity and fraud working on the credulity of their obsequious pupils. After making all the necessary deductions, the progress of the Hindus will appear nothing marvellous; nay, we have the strongest grounds to suspect, that, in many cases, their knowledge was only borrowed at second hand from the communication of their Persian or Arabian conquerors, who themselves had been instructed by the creative genius of the Greeks. When the hidden stores of Asiatic learning were first opened to us by the zeal and industry of our countrymen, we were promised a flood of most curious information. Unfortunately, our expectations have as yet been grievously disappointed. We are sick of the dull morality of the Hindus, and weary of their toilsome and abor-

tive attempts at poetry; nor can we relish the monotonous detail of their civil broils or court revolutions. The labours of the Asiatic Society are no doubt highly meritorious; but its views, we suspect, have not always been rightly directed. The ingenious researches into the composition of the Hindu mythology, which has neither the elegance of the Greek, nor the wild grandeur of the Gothic machinery, seem fit only to nourish a disposition towards mysticism. A single authentic page of the geometry or astronomy of the Brahmins, would enable us to judge far better respecting their actual advances in science, than whole volumes of dissertations on traditional tales, and doubtful or apocryphal writings. The pretensions of the Hindus to philosophical discovery have come to be regarded with such violent mistrust, that the public mind, passing from admiration to the opposite extreme, will now scarcely allow that unlucky race the very moderate share of reputation to which they are justly entitled. We hoped at least to have been able to establish, on a firm basis, their claims to the invention of the decimal numerals, and to trace their progress in arithmetical operations. But our inquiries, we are sorry to confess, have all proved singularly unproductive. We have examined, without acquiring any distinct information whatever, the various memoirs which promised to throw light on the subject. We have even consulted some individuals of great ingenuity, and profoundly skilled in the Sanscrit, but who, not having turned their thoughts to calculation, had hastily concluded that the Brahmins used figures precisely as we do, and were of course more expert in the operations. In the ponderous grammars which have been lately published of that ancient language, we find the declension of numerals treated at great length, though not the slightest hint is betrayed respecting their mode of notation. The learned Dr Wilkins, indeed, in a copperplate exhibiting the elements of the Sanscrit after the Devanagari character, likewise gives the numerical figures; but he has neglected to acquaint us with the authority on which they rest. We have been informed, from the highest and most respectable quarter, that a complete Hindu treatise of arithmetic was several years since translated by a gentleman of eminent abilities. It is impossible to refrain from expressing both surprise and regret, that, while the press was teeming with the multifarious compositions of the East, a manuscript of such peculiar interest should so long have been suffered to remain unprinted. We trust that the Asiatic Society will hasten to retrieve its character, by encouraging the publication of that tract. If the original were ascertained to be really Sanscrit, remounting to a high

high antiquity, and not, as we know to have happened in some other cases, a disguised version from the Persic, it would completely decide an important question in the history of the progress of the human mind.

In the mean time, we are obliged to proceed by conjecture and concurring probabilities. The Sanscrit, unlike the other Eastern languages, is written from left to right, in the very mode which has been universally practised with the figurate numerals. This circumstance alone affords, we think, a strong presumption, that the ancient inhabitants of India had invented the decimal system of notation. In the Sanscrit, *one* is marked by a single stroke, ending with a twirl; *two*, by a double twirled stroke; *three*, by a triple incurved stroke; *four*, by four involved strokes; *five*, by the same number of strokes, combined and projected; the character for *six* seems to be only that of three doubled; those of *seven*, *eight*, and *nine*, are apparently the contracted combination of five with two, the double four, and five with four. The cipher itself is a very small *o*. The Telinga and Birman characters, as represented in Hyde's Dissertations and in Symes's Embassy to the kingdom of Ava, are evidently of the same origin; only they have a thin, wirey form, being generally written on the palmyra leaf, with the point of a style. The Persian numerals, which are now current over India, appear to be only those of the Sanscrit a little abridged. The mark for *five*, in Sanscrit, exactly resembling our 5 inverted, is melted into a large *O* in the Persian, where the broad dot is assumed for the small *o*, or cipher, of the Sanscrit. The Persians, who are esteemed the best computists in the East, have introduced into the lower provinces of India, as we learn from Gladwin, a peculiar mode of keeping the revenue accounts, marking large numbers, partly by symbols formed of contracted words, and partly by numeral characters.

But though a variety of concurring facts lead us to attribute the invention of the decimal system of notation to the aboriginal inhabitants of India, it does not thence follow that the discovery was completed at a period of very remote antiquity. The ancient Egyptians, who, perhaps from their early communication with the people of Hindustan, entertained the same veneration for certain mystical properties of numbers, were yet unacquainted with the use of the numeral characters. If such an improvement in arithmetic had actually taken place when Pythagoras visited India, we can hardly suppose that the philosopher would have neglected to transport it into Greece, or imagine that an art so very simple could ever afterwards be entirely forgotten. The Brahmins themselves were not aware of the

the principle which they had struck out. They stopped short in their progress, and did not, like the Greeks, attempt the descending scale of numeration. The use of decimal fractions, we are assured, is even at present unknown to the natives of India; and accordingly, wherever fractional parts are concerned, they perform their operations with far less expedition than the Europeans.

The people of Upper Asia have reached the precise stage of numeration which the Romans had attained. The Chinese employ two kinds of numerals;—the one very complex, and formed by uniting their hieroglyphical characters; the other simpler, and, allowing for their mode of writing from top to bottom, very nearly resembling the Roman, both in shape and composition. They express *one*, by a slender horizontal line, which was repeated downwards, and variously contracted, to signify the other digits; *ten*, they denote by a thick vertical stroke, crossed by a horizontal line; *twenty*, *thirty*, &c. are marked by repeating and condensing these strokes, always crossed by a slender line; a *hundred* is represented by two vertical strokes, with the addition of a third oblique one, and connected by three horizontal lines. To signify a *thousand*, the symbol for *ten* is used, with the addition of a broad oblique stroke; and to represent 2000, 3000, &c. the same compound character is employed; only the marks for *two*, *three*, &c. are annexed.

Such involved symbols are evidently altogether unfit for aiding the purposes of calculation. The Chinese have, therefore, recourse to palpable arithmetic; and their *swanpan* is almost exactly the same as the Roman *abacus*. That instrument, universally used by all ranks throughout China, consists of a frame of wood, divided by a perpendicular bar into two compartments, which are intersected by a series of parallel wires having small balls strung on them, five balls being allotted on the left hand to each wire of the larger, and two, equal in power to ten, on the right and in the smaller compartment. The *swanpan* is rather more extensive than the *abacus*, being composed generally of more than nine wires, and which mark so many places in the decimal system of arrangement. The Chinese appear also to have advanced a step beyond the Romans; for, commencing the units from any intermediate wire, they proceed either by the ascending or descending scale of numeration. Following the same principle, the subdivisions of weights and measures used in China are almost entirely decimal; a circumstance which greatly facilitates their ordinary computations.

We

We must now close this tedious article, which has occupied so much of our space as scarcely to leave us room for making any general reflections. The subject has been hitherto but slightly noticed, though it must appear, on a minute examination, to be not less interesting than instructive to the philosophical inquirer. With all the pains bestowed in gleaning information from various authors, our researches, we confess, have yet proved little satisfactory. If the imperfect view just given of the progress of the mind in the art of numbering, should have the fortune to excite some attention, and lead eventually to the acquisition of more accurate and explicit information, our wishes will be fully gratified. The natural mode, we conceive, of arriving at the decimal notation, was through the medium of palpable or tangible arithmetic. Nothing seemed wanted for completing the discovery, but to express, in written characters, the simple arrangement of the *swanpan* or *abacus*. The Greeks too soon abandoned those helps, and proceeded, by a devious path, which their ingenuity gradually traced out. The Romans, again, and even the Chinese, who were better acquainted with calculation, never soared above mediocrity, but continued satisfied with their humble mechanical substitutes. If men had not been drawn instinctively to count by tens, the reckoning by dozens would have had some obvious advantages. This progression not only mounts faster, but twelve, being more divisible than ten, would, with greater facility, express fractions in the descending scale. Accordingly, it has been frequently proposed to adopt the duodecimal, instead of the decimal, system of numeration. It would be requisite, in that case, to frame two simple characters for ten and eleven, and to give a wider extension to the successive terms of dozen, gross, double gross, &c. corresponding then to tens, hundreds, thousands, &c. The famous Charles XII. of Sweden, whose conduct was always marked by an irregular grandeur of sentiment, is reported to have occupied his leisure moments, during the depth of winter, in the trenches before Frederickshall on the Norwegian frontier, with devising the means of introducing the duodecimal scale of arithmetic into his hereditary states. Had he lived to attempt the execution of that scheme, he would probably have encountered no less difficulty, though attended by fewer disasters, than he met with in his chimerical project of effecting the liberation of Europe.

Art. VIII.

Memoire sur les Eléphans Vivans et Fossiles.

——— *sur le grand Mastodonte, dont on trouve les Os en divers Endroits des Deux Continens, & surtout sur les Bords de l'Ohio dans l'Amerique Septentrionale.*

Resumé general de l'Histoire des Ossemens Fossiles des Pachydermes, &c. Par C. Cuvier, Annales du Museum d'Histoire Naturelle. Tom. VIII. 1806.

The *Jardin des Plantes* at Paris was established by Lewis the Thirteenth in 1626. The patronage of the sovereigns who succeeded, directed by the zeal and exertion of some enlightened individuals, added a Museum to the Botanic Garden; and, in spite of the opposition of the established schools of Medicine, laid the foundation of a system of public instruction, which has contributed materially to the advancement of physical knowledge. Men distinguished in every branch of natural history, have filled the Chairs, or exercised the superintendance of this useful institution. It was from the *Jardin des Plantes* that Tournefort, after visiting all the west of Europe, set out on the survey of the East, and returned with a rich harvest of the vegetable productions of Greece, Asia, and Egypt. It was from the same place that Buffon sent out the immortal work, which will for ever form an era in the history of human knowledge. The French revolution converted a Royal into a National establishment; and, if the events which followed have put an end to this short-lived honour, they have rendered the Museum of Paris the richest in the world.

Among the illustrious men who fill the Chairs in this Institution at the present moment, the names of Hauy, Vauquelin and Cuvier, are particularly distinguished. The last, who is Professor of the Anatomy of Animals, and Secretary for the Class of Physical Sciences in the National Institute, adds the enlarged views and comprehensive mind of Buffon to the turn for accurate and minute observation which distinguished his coadjutor Daubenton. He is also a fine writer; and though, in this respect, hardly any one can rival Buffon, he has a manifest superiority in a matter of still greater importance; for, as Buffon, from a few facts, would often advance to theory with most unphilosophical preciptation, Cuvier has always proceeded with the caution of the most rigorous induction; and satisfied with deducing a few general, from a multitude of particular truths, he seems willing to defer the last step of generalization till all the phenomena have been examined.

The

The Annals of the Museum began to be published in 1802, and, since that time, in a series of valuable Memoirs, have annually contributed to enlarge the boundaries of science.

The attention of CUVIER has been much fixed on the subject of fossil bones; and he has extracted from thence, by his profound skill in comparative anatomy, much curious and precise information concerning the antient inhabitants of the globe. The three *Memoires* mentioned in the title of this article (to which we have occasionally added observations from the rest), contain some of his most valuable discoveries.

It is curious to observe how different an impression the same natural appearances have made on the human mind in different states of its improvement. A phenomenon which, in one age, has excited the greatest terror, has, in another, been an object of calm and deliberate observation; and the things which have at one time led to the most extravagant fiction, have, at another, only served to define the boundaries of knowledge. The same comet which, from the age of JULIUS CÆSAR, had *three* times spread terror and dismay through the nations of the earth, appeared a *fourth* time, in the age of NEWTON, to instruct mankind, and to exemplify the universality of the laws which that great interpreter of nature had discovered. The same fossil remains, which, to ST AUGUSTINE or KIRCHER, seemed to prove the former existence of giants of the human species, were found, by PALLAS and CUVIER, to ascertain the nature and character of certain genera and species of quadrupeds which have now entirely disappeared.

From a very early period, indeed, such bones have afforded a measure of the credulity, not of the vulgar only, but of the philosophers. THEOPHRASTUS, one of the ancients who had most devoted himself to the study of nature, believed, as PLINY tells us, that bones were a sort of mineral production that originated and grew in the earth. St Augustine says, that he found, on the sea-shore near Utica, a fossil human tooth, which was a hundred times the size of the tooth of any person living. Pliny says, that, by an earthquake in Crete, a part of a mountain was opened, which discovered a skeleton sixteen cubits, or twenty-four feet long, supposed to be that of ORION. At a much later period, Kircher tells us of a skeleton dug up near Rome, which, by an inscription attached to it, was known to be that of *Pallas*, (slain by *Turnus*), and was higher than the walls of the city. The same author tells us, that another skeleton was found near Palermo, that must have belonged to a man four hundred feet high, and who therefore could be no other than one of the *Cyclops*, most probably Polyphemus

phemus himself. The same author has given the measures of several other colossal men, and exhibits them in an engraving adapted to a scale, and placed in order, from the common size up to that of the giant last mentioned.

The belief in men of such enormous stature, no doubt arose from the appearance of bones of elephants, and other large animals found in the earth. When we consider, that the credulity and misinterpretation that are here so striking, are not the errors of the weak and illiterate, but of men of talents and learning,—the best instructed by reading, conversation, and foreign travel, of any in the ages in which they lived,—we cannot help being struck with the difference between the criterion of truth as received in those ages and in the present time.

We are persuaded that the reason of this diversity, which is perhaps as remarkable as any circumstance whatever in the history of human knowledge, is to be found in the progress of natural and experimental philosophy, which, by generalizing particular facts, has given a force and extent to the conclusions from experience, which they did not possess at any former period.

It is a well-known fact, that, on the Continent of Europe, there are few countries where bones of large animals, having an obvious affinity to those of the elephant, have not been found, buried in the earth; a circumstance no doubt the more wonderful, that no such animals exist now in these countries.

Germany has afforded a great number of such instances. An entire skeleton of an elephant, found very deep under the surface, near Tonna, in Thuringia, and described in the *Philosophical Transactions*,* was the subject of much speculation. Remains of the same kind, found by Marsigli in Transylvania, are described in his History of the Danube, and supposed to be remains of elephants, which the Emperor TRAJAN had carried with him in his expedition against the Dacians.

In the beginning of the last century, the Duke of Wurtemberg, by following some indications which had accidentally presented themselves, found no less than sixty tusks of elephants, some of them ten feet long, together with many teeth of other animals quite unknown in our climates.

Italy has furnished a great many instances of the same kind. In the upper vale of the Arno, the humerus of an elephant was found, with oyster-shells adhering to it; from which it is evident, that it must at one time have been at the bottom of the sea. The country about Verona may be considered as a great natural

* Vol. xxiv. p. 234.

ral cabinet, in which is preserved a vast number of extraneous bodies, both from the sea and from the land. * ALBERTO FORTIS has described some bones found near that place, of a very remarkable size. There was one tusk about thirty inches in circumference at the root, and from twelve or thirteen feet in length.

He says, that the only tusks of living elephants that he has heard of, that approach near to the above dimensions, are two which belonged to the Emperor AURELIAN, each of them ten feet in length. It is at present reckoned a large tusk that measures from seven to eight feet in length, and ten or twelve inches in circumference.

Such facts as the union of sea-shells with bones of this kind, were no doubt what suggested to LEIBNITZ the idea which he has thrown out in his *Protogæa*, that they must have belonged to a marine animal that had something of the elephant form. The osteology, however, of these animals, and particularly of their feet, does not admit of the supposition that they were inhabitants of the sea.

Though it be true, that some of the fossil bones found in Italy and in other countries, have the appearance of having been under water, yet there are others in a situation so perfectly undisturbed, that there is no room to suspect their submersion in the sea. An entire skeleton, for example, was dug up near Arezzo, in 1663, just in the state wherein the animal might be supposed to have died; and must, probably, be that of an elephant which had sunk, and been swallowed up in the marshes of that plain. The remains found, in the instances here enumerated, have either belonged entirely, or chiefly, to the elephant. In others, the bones have belonged to a variety of animals; to the rhinoceros, for example; to the hyæna; to an animal like the horse; to deer, oxen, hares, and also to some of the small carnivorous quadrupeds.

A general fact with regard to them is, that they are found in the alluvial and unconsolidated earth, generally in the valleys of rivers, and not far from their banks. There is accordingly hardly any of the great rivers on the Continent, where fossil bones have not been discovered. The basins of the Danube, the Rhine, the Elbe, the Oder, and the Vistula, are all quoted in the Memoir of CUVIER. It is not, however, only on the Continent, nor in the valleys of the greatest rivers, that such bones are found;—they are found also in islands.

Sir Hans Sloane had a tusk of an elephant, dug up in London,

* Mem de Fortis, vol. II. p. 294

don, from a gravel pit twelve feet deep, at the end of Gray's-Inn-lane. He possessed also another found in a stratum of blue clay, in Northamptonshire. Cuvier mentions, that he has himself part of the bones of the fore foot of an elephant found at Kew, eighteen feet under the ground.

Bones of the same kind have been found in the Isle of Sheppy, at the mouth of the Thames, in Salisbury-Plain, and in Wales. We have to add to those instances, that grinders of the elephant, and vertebræ of the hippopotamus, have been found, together with the bones of several smaller animals, in some fields where they were digging clay for bricks, on the banks of the Thames, not far from Brentford. There seems, indeed, to be at that place a very considerable repository of fossil bones.

Even Iceland has contributed its share to these wonders; and the jaw of an elephant, sent from thence, is mentioned by Thomas Bartholinus as having been placed in the collection of the University of Copenhagen. A cranium and a tooth are said by Torfæus to have been brought from the same island. When we meet with such bones in an island near the polar circle, we need not be surprised to find them in the islands of the Mediterranean. What is remarkable, however, is, that they are found, not only in the greater islands, such as Sicily and Cyprus, but in the smaller, such as Santorini, and even Cerigo; in which last, as Fortis observes, an elephant would hardly find food for a single week. These places, therefore, when they were inhabited by such large animals as the elephant or the rhinoceros, must have made part of a great wooded Continent, in which Iceland and Cerigo were alike included.

It is, however, in Siberia that the greatest quantity of the remains we are now considering have been found. The quantity of fossil ivory discoverd on the banks of the great rivers of that country, had been long an object of traffic, and had excited the wonder of the Ostiaks and Tonguses before they drew the attention of the philosophers of Europe.

They were known by the name of Mammoth's bones, and have been carefully examined and described both by Pallas and others. There is, indeed, no river in the north of Asia, from the Tanais to the extremity of the old Continent, in the bed and on the banks of which are not to be found the bones of elephants and of other large animals, unknown in these countries. While the river has its course among the mountains, the bones are not found; but they never fail to be met with, when it leaves the high ground, and makes its way through the plains. They are often found in confused masses; in other instances, they

they are quite regular; and, in the high banks of the rivers, appear in the strata of earth, at different heights above the surface of the water.

One of the most singular facts of this kind, is that of the rhinoceros, found in the frozen earth on the banks of one of the branches of the Lena, the skin and part of the flesh being preserved. Pallas had this most extraordinary specimen dried in an oven, and deposited in the museum of the Academy of St Petersburg. One of the feet was very entire, and was covered with hair from one to three lines in length. Pallas observes, that he had never heard of so much hair being found on the whole body of a living rhinoceros, as had been found on the foot of this; and from thence, he suggests the probability that the animal was a native, not of the Torrid Zone, but of the middle of Asia; as it is known that the rhinoceros, in the northern parts of India, has more hair scattered over his body than in the south of Africa.

This last fact has farther light thrown on it, by a very recent discovery made in the most northern part of Siberia, of which Cuvier and La Cepede have given a joint report in the 10th volume of the *Annales*. It was mentioned, they observe, in the English Journals, that, in 1799, a Tonguse discovered, from a distance, a singular mass, in a heap of ice, on the sea shore, but was unable to approach it. In the next summer, he saw it again, and observed that it was somewhat detached from the ice. He saw it, however, only from a distance.

In 1801, one of the horns was completely disengaged; but, in 1802, the summer was so bad, that the ice again covered this unknown body. In 1803, the ice melted, and the mass fell, by its own weight, on a bank of mud. In 1804, they cut off its horns, and a kind of drawing was made, from which it appears that this animal differed little from the Mammoth.

Granting, therefore, say the reporters, that the animal thus singularly preserved, is the Mammoth,—which, however, they do not absolutely affirm,—the fact becomes particularly valuable, from what is said concerning the hair.

Mr Adam, who visited the spot, said that the animal was covered with two kinds of hair; the one finer and shorter, the other coarser and longer. There was even a kind of mane on the neck; and Mr Adam found thirty-six pounds weight of hair left by the beasts of prey that had devoured the flesh.

This species of elephant differed, therefore, from that of India, and was probably adapted to a cold climate, by the covering

vering which nature had provided for it. This agrees with the circumstance just remarked concerning the rhinoceros of the Lena.

The preservation of the flesh and muscles leads, in the opinion of the French naturalists, to a third conclusion, that the species was destroyed by some sudden catastrophe; those individuals that were near to the Frozen Ocean having had their flesh preserved by the ice. Whatever opinion we form as to the mode of their destruction, we can hardly doubt that species of the elephant and rhinoceros have existed, in some former age of the world, accommodated to all climates, and capable of living in the frozen regions of the north. Some of them also may have perished in consequence of a sudden revolution: but this cannot have been the general fact; because, as we have already remarked, on the authority of Patrin, the remains which appear in the banks of the rivers are in strata of earth at very different heights; so that they must have been laid in their present situation at different periods of time.

The animals, therefore, seem to have been bred, and to have lived for a long succession of generations, in the countries where their bones are deposited. They are species of the elephant and the rhinoceros that are now entirely extinct, and that were accommodated to the cold climates of the North.

A very remarkable fact relating to these bones, is mentioned in the account of Billings's Voyage. In the Icy Sea between the mouths of the Lena and Indigerka, are three islands, of which a Russian engineer was employed to make a chart in 1775. Of the largest and nearest to the coast, which was about thirty-six leagues long, with a breadth from five to twenty; he reported, that the whole, except three or four hills which were of rock, was a mixture of sand and ice; so that, when it thawed, large masses on the shore tumbled down, and never failed to discover the bones and teeth of the Mammoth in great abundance. The island seemed as it had been formed of the bones of that animal, together with the heads and horns of buffaloes, and a few horns of the rhinoceros. The second island, about five leagues farther from the coast, contained also bones of the same nature; but the third, which was the farthest off, contained none at all.

The great Siberian rivers seem, therefore, to have carried down, for ages, the bones of elephants and rhinoceroses, in the same way almost as other rivers carry down trees; and to have

have formed them into islands with the assistance of sand and ice. This is a mode of forming land, which, without the experience of it, we do not think that it could have entered into the thoughts of any geologist to imagine.

All this gives an astonishing measure of the quantity of fossil bones that the Siberian rivers carry down. The accurate observation and diligent research of Cuvier, supported by his extraordinary skill in comparative anatomy, have led him to some general conclusions concerning these animal remains, that are of importance in the natural history of the earth.

The bones of the Mammoth have a considerable resemblance to those of the present elephants of India; not so close, however, but that they differ more than those of the horse and the ass; so that they cannot be supposed to belong to animals of the same species. This is true also of the elephants' bones found in Europe; so that the fossil elephant is of a species different from any that is now known.

This conclusion might perhaps have less probability, if there were only one fossil, to be compared with one living species. But a comparison of the osteology of the fossil with that of the living rhinoceros shows, that these also are of different species, and that the diversity is even more remarkable, than in the former instance.

An animal has also been found in a fossil state, that belongs to the genus of the *Tapir*, but of a species different from any now living. This animal, among the living tribes of the present world, is confined to the New Continent. In former ages its residence seems to have been exclusively in the Old; for among the fossil animals of America, the *Tapir* has never been discovered. The bones of these animals, (which all belong to the order of the *Pachydermata*, that is to say, of thick-skinned quadrupeds, having more than two toes to the foot, and incisive teeth in both jaws), though entire skeletons, have sometimes been found alone; are more frequently mixed with the bones of other quadrupeds,—the ox, the buffalo, the horse, the antelope; and to these are sometimes added, shells, and the bones of marine animals.

The beds which cover those fossil remains, are not always of great thickness; they are almost never of a stony nature, but consist of alluvial and unconsolidated earth. The bones themselves are rarely petrified, and have no appearance of being rolled or carried by water from one region of the globe to another.

The abundance of them in so many climates is in itself a proof, without any other circumstance, that they were not transported,

ported, by a sudden inundation, from one place of the earth to another; for they could not, in that way, have been so generally diffused. On the same principle, we conclude, that these bones have not been buried by the hands of men. If the only instances in which they occurred were in countries that had been conquered by the arms of the Macedonians, the Carthaginians, and the Romans; and if the bones found were those of the elephant only, there might be some pretence for supposing them to be the bones of animals of the last mentioned species which had perished in war. But when the number of individuals is so great, when the region to which they extend is so vast, and the bones of other animals so frequently intermixed, we must acknowledge, that they have not been the victims of the restlessness and ambition of the human race. Indeed, they probably belong to a period when man's dominion over the earth was weak and partial; when the human race, perhaps, was confined to some favourite spot in the valley of the Nile, or in the plains of Shinaar; and when the elephant, from his sagacity and strength, remained master of the earth.

The facts also that have been stated, lead us to reject Buffon's explanation, founded on the gradual refrigeration of our globe. The rhinoceros of the Lena, and the mammoth whose carcase was preserved in the ice, must have lived and died in a cold climate; so that, as soon as the warmth of life was extinguished, the antiseptic power of cold prevented the approach of corruption. The skilful and indefatigable naturalist whose discoveries we are now considering, beside all this, has clearly proved, that the fossil *pachydermata* contain six different species that are now extinct, though belonging to *genera* which still exist;—one species of the rhinoceros, two of the hippopotamus, two of the tapir, and one of the elephant. All the genera to which these species belong, are perfect strangers in the climates where their bones are found. Three of them belong to the Old Continent, and one of them only to the New.

These, however, are not the only wonders which the fossil remains of this order of quadrupeds have discovered. The bones from the Ohio have been long known, and were the first which convinced naturalists that certain species had become entirely extinct. The great animal to which these bones must have belonged, was for a long time confounded with the mammoth of Siberia; and though the teeth were admitted to be of a structure quite different, the name of *mammoth's bones* was very improperly applied to them, both in England and America. The teeth are studded with large tubercles, instead of being composed

posed of alternate layers of bone and enamel, as in the case of the elephant and most graminivorous quadrupeds. The animal must, nevertheless, have had a great affinity to the elephant; yet, on account of its teeth, Cuvier refers it to a different genus, to which, because of the tubercles just mentioned, he gives the name of *Mastodonton*. A skeleton of this animal was found by Mr Peale of Philadelphia on the banks of Hudson's River, in the state of New York, and is now preserved in his museum. Another, nearly as perfect, was brought to London by his son, Mr Rembrandt Peale, and was exhibited a few years ago in that metropolis. These skeletons are so complete, that the osteology of the animal may be considered as perfectly known. What rendered this discovery peculiarly interesting, was, that, in the midst of the bones, there was a mass of small branches, grass and leaves, half bruised, among which they thought they could discover a species of reed at present common in Virginia; the whole appearing as if it had been enveloped in a sack, which they conceived to be the stomach of the animal. Hitherto, it is only in North America that the bones of this animal have been found. Similar bones have been discovered in Peru and in Terra Firma; but they are thought by Cuvier to belong to another species of the same genus.

The general conclusions are, that the great Mastodonton, or animal of the Ohio, was in many respects similar to the elephant, not surpassing it greatly in size, and being probably furnished with a proboscis; that the structure of its grinders refer it nevertheless to a different genus; that it probably fed, like the hippopotamus and the bear, on the roots and tougher parts of vegetables; and that though, on this account, it must have frequented marshy ground, it was not made for swimming, or living in the water, and was truly a land animal; that its bones are most common in North America, and that they are fresher and better preserved than any other fossil bones. Further inquiry has enabled Cuvier to reckon, in all, five different species of the mastodonton, some of which have been found on the Old Continent. One species was found by Humboldt in the kingdom of Quito, at the height of 1200 toises. This, we believe, is the greatest height at which the fossil bones of quadrupeds have ever been discovered. Thus we have five species, constituting an entire genus, to be added to the six formerly enumerated; making, in all, eleven species, which have entirely disappeared from among the living inhabitants of the earth.

We have spoken, hitherto, only of those animal remains which occur in the loose and unconsolidated earth. The remains of land animals, however, and even of quadrupeds, have been

been sometimes found included in stone, of a slaty and calcareous nature. Of this, the plaster quarries near Paris have afforded a remarkable example, and one that occurred fortunately in a situation where there were many skilful and accurate observers. In the third volume of the *Annales*, Cuvier gives an account of bones which he had found included between the strata of gypsum, in the plaster quarries near Paris, of which, after a very ample detail of the head, the various parts of which, he had been enabled perfectly to replace, he concludes, that no well informed naturalist would deny that these bones had belonged to a herbivorous animal, of the order of *Pachydermata*, and of a genus between the tapir and the rhinoceros. As little could he deny, says he, that no such animal has yet been discovered among the living tribes on the surface of the earth. He gives to this genus the name of *Palæotherium*, expressive of its great antiquity.

Farther research into the remains, of which the plaster quarries about Paris contain so many specimens, enabled him to discover another genus similar to the former, but without canine teeth, which he has distinguished by a term indicating this inoffensive structure, *Anoplotherium*. In each of these genera he distinguished several species, as the *Magnum*, *Medium*, *Minus*, *Commune*.

In a Memoir subsequent to those which are considered above, inserted in the 12th vol. of the *Annales*, Cuvier gives an account of two entire skeletons which he had completed with infinite labour, one of the *Anoplotherium commune*, and the other of the *Palæotherium medium*. They were, as has been said, something between the hog and the tapir, but of great size; the *Anoplotherium* about twelve feet long, measuring to the extremity of the tail.

A reflection with which he concludes his second Memoir on this subject, is highly deserving of attention.* It must seem strange, he observes, that in a country as extensive as that which our quarries occupy, more than twenty leagues from east to west, there are hardly any animal remains, but of one single family. It can hardly be doubted, that the proportion of bones of any species has some relation to the numbers of that species when alive. This, therefore, indicates a condition of the animal world, corresponding very little to what we have now before us. In the present state of the globe, the countries which make a part of the two great continents are inhabited by animals of all the different families, each according to its latitude and the quality of the soil. This, however, is not the case with

* Annales du M. tom. 3. p. 366.

with large islands; and the condition of New Holland, in particular, may throw some light on the state of the country inhabited by the animals in our quarries.

Five sixths of all the quadrupeds of New Holland belong to one and the same family,—that of the animals of the Opossum kind. The six genera of this family, the Dasyurus, the Phalangist, the Kangaroo, &c. are all very near one another, and have nothing analogous to them in the rest of the world, except the Oposum of South America.

The number of species comprehended in these six genera, amounts at least to forty; and there are not in the whole country above eight or ten species not belonging to them, namely, a Wild-Dog, two Rats, and several species of Bat. Here then we have a country, of considerable extent, which, at the present day, in the proportion of the families of existing quadrupeds, offers something very similar to what must have taken place among the fossil animals of our quarries, where we find at least eight that are pachydermous for one that is carnivorous. This consideration must evidently be of weight, if we are to form any conjecture concerning the state of the earth's surface, at the time when it was inhabited by these extinct species.

Besides the *Memoires* in which Cuvier has described the Pachydermata, he treats, in another, of those Carnivorous animals of which the remains are preserved in a fossil state.* The caverns of Germany, found in a great tract of mountainous country, have been long celebrated for the multitude of animal remains which they contain. The mountains in which these caves are found, are all calcareous and connected with one another. Beginning with the Hartz, they separate the valley of the Elbe from that of the Weser, and proceeding eastward, from those of the Rhine and the Danube, till, turning the sources of the Elbe, they go on, to divide the valleys of the Oder and the Vistula from the plains of Hungary, or the great basin of the Danube. The extent of this chain is more than two hundred leagues.

At one extremity of this long line are Beauman's Cave and Scharfel's in the Hartz, described in the *Protogea* of Leibnitz. At the other extremity are the caves in Hungary which also contain bones, and which have been known from immemorial time. Between these two extremes, are the caves in Franconia near Bayreuth, and particularly the cave of Gaylenreuth, which of all others is the richest in fossil remains. These caverns are of great extent; they are lined with stalactitical concretions; and in

 these

* Vol. 7. p. 301.

these concretions, near the bottom, and on the floor, are contained a vast number of bones. The bones in them all, are nearly in the same state; detached, shattered, broken, but never rolled; a little lighter and less solid than recent bones, yet in their animal state very little decomposed, containing much gelatinous matter, and not at all petrified.

What is most singular is, that in all these caverns, over a distance of more than two hundred leagues, the bones are the same. Three fourths of them nearly belong to two species of Bears which no longer exist. About half the remainder belong to a species of Hyæna; some few belong to the Tiger, or the Lion; others to the Wolf or Dog, the Fox, the Polecat, or to some species nearly allied to them. The species so common in the soil and alluvial ground, as already described, viz. Elephants, Rhinoceroses, Horses, Buffaloes, Tapirs—are never found here; neither any of the Palæotheria, such as occur in the stony beds about Paris. So also, conversely, none of the bones found in these caverns are ever discovered in either of the other situations, except those of the Hyæna, which are sometimes found in the loose earth. It is also of consequence to observe, that the caves never contain the bones of any marine animals whatever, nor any thing that marks the presence of the sea.

The earth which serves as the *envelope* of the bones, was analyzed by M. LAUGIER, assistant chemist in the Museum, and was found to contain 21 per cent. of the phosphate of lime, the characteristic of bone. There were 32 per cent. of lime and magnesia combined with carbonic acid; and 24 of the carbonic acid itself. The comparison of the bones with those of living animals, has been made with a degree of care, accuracy, and laborious examination, that can hardly be exceeded.

The bones of the carnivorous animals, deposited over this extensive chain, are on a level higher than that at which the bones of the elephant and the other *Pachydermata* are found, with the exception of that which Humboldt brought from the height of 1200 toises.

There appears, however, to be no distinct marks, by which the order of the two, in respect of time, can be compared with one another. CUVIER seems inclined to think the era of the carnivorous animals later than that to which the bones of the Mammoth are to be referred. A very long period, however, and not a mere point of time, must have been required for the accumulation of these bones.

It cannot be doubted, that the animals to which they belonged, lived and died in the caverns where their bones remain.

There is no appearance of any sudden catastrophe, like the waters of the ocean, arising and pursuing the animals into caverns, where they at last perished.

But carnivorous animals are solitary, both from inclination and necessity; and instinct would in vain collect those individuals, whom the difficulty of procuring subsistence must soon force to a distance from one another. Each cavern in this extensive chain was therefore the den of a single Despot, who sallied forth, as his ancestors had done, to prey on the defenceless inhabitants of those woods, which, in later times, after men had become masters of the world, were known by the name of the Hircynian Forest. What a length of time must have been required to pave these vast caverns with the bones of their solitary masters, in such quantities as still to astonish the Naturalist, after supplying the apothecaries of Germany from the days of Paracelsus to the present time! Indeed, it is a striking mark of the vicissitudes to which the earth and all its inhabitants are subject, that the bones of animals, of which the very race is extinct, and which fed many ages ago on species that are now unknown, should be devoured, in their turn, by the individuals of the human race.

The extinct genera and species, of which we have now seen so many examples, belonged to two of the great families of the animal kingdom, the *Carnivora* and *Pachydermata.* Among the ruminating animals, a similar loss has not been observed. A memoir of Cuvier, inserted in the Twelfth volume * of the *Annales*, contains an account of the principal facts that have been observed concerning these last, particularly the Deer, the Ox, and the Buffalo; of all which, fossil remains are frequently discovered. It is remarked, however, that this numerous family presents peculiar difficulties, when its remains are found in a fossil state. For, though the order of ruminating animals is distinguished, by strong and well marked characters, from every other order, the genera and species are not easily distinguished from one another. This is so much the case, that naturalists, for making out these distinctions, have been obliged to have recourse to the horns, which being entirely exterior, and varying in the same species, both in form and in size, according to the sex, the age, and the climate, cannot fail to be subject to considerable uncertainty. The conclusions, therefore, concerning the identity or the diversity of the genera and species of such animals, can hardly be drawn with the same confidence as in the preceding instances. Admitting this to be true,

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* p. 333.

and looking rather to what is probable, than to what is certain, our author concludes, from a very careful examination, that the remains of ruminating quadrupeds, whether found in the loose earth, or in the fissures of rocks combined with stalactitical concretions, do not differ essentially from the bones of animals now living, and inhabiting the same countries where these remains are found. To this rule, some animals of the Deer kind, and especially the fossil Elk of Ireland, form the only exceptions that are known. This is the more remarkable, that the bones of these animals are found along with those of the Elephant and the other *Pachydermata*. In the bones of the Horse, as well as in those of the ruminating animals, an accurate resemblance between the fossil and the living species is observed.

The fossil elk of Ireland is the most celebrated of the ruminating animals found in a fossil state, and is that which naturalists are the most unanimous in considering as an unknown species. The horns of this animal are found in Ireland, not, properly speaking, in the bogs, but in the gravel or alluvial earth, which usually forms the base on which the peat-moss rests. The horns are of an extraordinary size; and CUVIER has shown, that they are neither those of the elk nor the reindeer. The horns of the largest elks, now living, are not above half the size of the fossil horns of Ireland. The results, deduced from a long and accurate comparison, are, that the Irish elk, the deer of Scania, and the great buffalo of Siberia, are unknown animals; but that the other fossil bones of this order are undistinguishable from those of the common deer, the roe, the urus, the ox, the buffalo, &c.

The difficulty of accounting for the loss of the species belonging to one family, and the preservation of those belonging to another, are nearly alike; and we cannot hope to understand the one, without having an explanation of the other. Further examination may throw more light on a subject, where, though much has lately been discovered, a great deal no doubt remains to be known.

We have thus finished an abstract of what we conceive to be a most curious and valuable document concerning the ancient inhabitants of our globe. It is a work of great ingenuity and research; and does infinite honour to the skilful Naturalist by whom it has been conducted. It is curious to remark, that the principal loss which the lapse of time has produced, so far as we are acquainted with the history of animals, has fallen upon one particular order. There are six genera of *Pachydermata* now existing; namely, the Elephant, the Tapir, the Hog,

Hog, the Hippopotamus, the Daman, and the Rhinoceros; and there are three genera, the *Palæotherium*, *Anoplotherium*, and *Mastodonton*, which are lost, besides many species.

The opinion entertained by CUVIER concerning the extinction of these animals, such of them at least as are found in the soil or the alluvial earth, is, that it has been produced by water, or by some sudden inundation that overwhelmed the land to a certain height. There is, indeed, no appearance of the bones having been carried or transported by water; and there is no reason to suspect that the catastrophe arose from a wave or current having such force as to carry every thing along with it. If a deluge was the cause, it must have been a simple submersion of the land under the water, without any thing like that *debacle* which some geologists have imagined. Whether this submersion arose from the rising up of the water, or the sinking down of the land, is not likely to be ascertained from the phenomena of the animal kingdom; and on this subject, the facts, and, perhaps, still more, the theories of geologists, will incline them to form different opinions. Some perhaps may think, that a sudden catastrophe is not a supposition necessary for the explanation of these appearances. The fossil remains in some countries, particularly in Siberia, where they seem to form the groundwork of entire islands, are too great to owe their origin to the animals existing, at any one instant, on the surface of the globe. The accumulation of ages; the collecting together of the remains which a long series of years had consigned to the earth, could alone enable the Lena or the Indegurka to construct those sepulchral monuments which are described above. The common course of nature, therefore, may be sufficient to explain the existence of these animal remains; and the entire loss of certain species may perhaps have arisen from the extension and severity of man's dominion over the earth. The preservation of the Ruminant, and the extinction of so many of the Pachydermous animals, may also, in some measure, be explained by the greater numbers of the former, their wider diffusion, and their greater activity. This much at least may be considered as certain, that the explanation of these fossil bones is to be derived, either from a submersion of the continents under water, quietly and without agitation, or from the accidents which occur in the ordinary course of nature. All other hypotheses seem to be excluded; and this exclusion is no inconsiderable step towards the final solution of the problem.

The only *desideratum* that has occurred to us in these *Memoires*, is one which may be easily removed; it concerns the state of the bones found in the plaster quarries, mineralogically

considered. Are they completely petrified, or are they only included in the gypsum? In what degree are they penetrated by earthy substances? Do they contain any phosphate of lime? What is the degree of their consolidation?

These *Memoirs* serve strongly to exemplify the great advantage which the sciences may derive from each other, even when they are so unlike as Geology and Anatomy. So, also, the examination of the marine petrifactions found in rocks, may give great information concerning the migration and character of the animals that inhabited the earth at a period much more remote than any of those which we have now been considering. We have accordingly observed, with great satisfaction, the inquiries of another learned Professor in the Museum, LAMARK, into the nature of the fossil shells found in the vicinity of Paris. From the description and classification of such objects it cannot be doubted that much benefit will be derived to the history both of the Mineral and of the Animal kingdom.

ART. IX. *Brief Remarks on the Character and Composition of the Russian Army, and a Sketch of the Campaigns in Poland, in the Years* 1806 *and* 1807. By Sir Robert Wilson, Aid-de-camp to the King, Knight of the Military Order of Maria Theresa, &c. &c. &c. 4to. pp. 306. London, Egerton. 1810.

THIS is, in many points of view, a very interesting book. The name of its author stands deservedly high, for gallantry and enterprise in the profession of arms; he is known, too, and favourably known, by his former writings; and whatever comes from his pen, though frequently tinctured with prejudices, and marked with a zeal sometimes bordering on intemperance, bears nevertheless a strong character of originality and enthusiasm, which excites and maintains our attention. The subject of the present volume is sufficiently important. It is the real vindication of the Russian army from certain supposed charges, and a supposed defence of the Russians in general, from some actual imputations which recent travellers have brought against them. It contains many valuable particulars imperfectly known in this country; and, after making allowance for much inaccuracy, and a good deal of useless disputation, to prove what no one seems to have disputed, must be allowed to have made an important addition to our knowledge of that country. If any further apology were wanting, for directing

recting the attention of our readers to this work, we might fix it in the circumstance of Sir Robert Wilson having apparently been led to publish it as an answer to Dr Clarke's excellent travels, formerly noticed in this Journal.

The opportunities of information possessed by our author were, in so far as regards the Russian *army*, and the campaigns in Poland, exceedingly ample. He was attached to the mission of Lord Hutchinson during those campaigns; and, beside having access to the Russian staff, (if we may so term it), he was an eyewitness of part of the manœuvres of the mass of soldiers which we are taught to call the Russian army. Studying the subject so nearly, and in company with so admirable a military observer as Lord Hutchinson, it must be his own fault if he has reported inaccurately to his readers; and, that the inaccuracy, if any, is undesigned, we may infer from the appeal which he makes to that noble and gallant officer to confirm his statements,—an appeal, which indeed, as yet, only manifests his own consciousness of well-meaning, inasmuch as it is coupled with the admission that Lord Hutchinson has not seen the work, nor consequently given any testimony to its correctness, but which, at all events, is an evidence of frankness and sincerity. 'Lord Hutchinson' (he observes) 'is indisputably high 'authority; and although I have had no communication with 'him relative to this publication, I dare to affirm, that he will 'corroborate all that I have stated respecting the Emperor and 'his government, and the courage, conduct and merit, of the 'Russian army; and that he will express his concurring sentiments in more impressive language than I have used, whenever suitable opportunity offers.' (p. vii.) He then goes on to mention various other things, for which Lord Hutchinson is, according to our author's expectations, ready to vouch, but which, until these large drafts on his Lordship are duly accepted, must rest entirely on the credit of Sir Robert Wilson. We do not mean to insinuate that this is inferior,—we only remark, in passing, and to prevent mistakes, that it is a different security. He makes a similar appeal to 'five hundred' other travellers, some of whom he names. But the only document like evidence which he has hitherto produced, is a short letter from the Hon. C. H. Hutchinson, expressive of his goodwill towards the Russians, and his indignation at the accusations made against them;—accusations, of which he seems to have no very correct idea (probably because he took them at second hand); for he adds, that they have been described as a people 'with whom no intercourse should be held;' and we are confident, that if any such description has been given of them, it has not fallen under our

 eyes.

eyes. In truth, Sir Robert Wilson himself defends the Russians against attacks which never have been made on them, much more successfully than when he comes to the points where they have really been assailed.

There is another circumstance which deserves attention, as affecting the credit of this work on controverted matters. We allude to the indistinct, but, we are very far from thinking, purposely obscure, manner in which facts known to our author as an eyewitness, are mixed up with others which he has learnt from testimony, or perhaps picked up from common report. He does not deal much indeed at any time in the particulars of his evidence. He seldom lets us know how he came by his information. We have it all together as if it rested on equal authority,—and doubtless, he himself believes it all equally: But the question being very often neither more nor less than,—whether he or others had the most authentic information, and whether he was entitled to believe what he wrote, and to contradict those others,—it was manifestly fitting that he should lay open the grounds on which he demands credit, if he expected to obtain such a preference. Under this class comes a practice very familiar with Sir Robert Wilson, but which we really cannot approve of;—we mean, his way of relating occurrences in such equivocal terms as to leave it doubtful whether he is speaking as an eyewitness—nay indeed speaking of himself, or not. '*A British officer who was present*,' we suspect, frequently means our gallant author—but undoubtedly not always; and hence much, and often fatal, uncertainty. So, such lively description as the following, of the Ataman of the Cossacks, would lead one to suppose that the author is speaking from recollection—'His mien, his venerable and soldier-like appearance—his solemn dignity of manner, combined with the awful incidents of the scene to render this one of the most imposing and interesting sights that could be witnessed:'—Yet he does not once say that he was there, or that he ever saw the Ataman in his life. Now, why all this scrupulousness about the use of the first person? Was there any kind of impropriety in telling the thing plainly and distinctly as it happened? Or, is it not infinitely hurtful to the credit of the narrative, to leave the reader in such a state of doubt—to throw suspicions into the minds of some—and furnish ill-disposed persons with an opportunity of insinuating, that we are kept in this uncertainty to prevent us from confronting the author with other witnesses?—These things we throw out for Sir Robert Wilson's consideration; they must have struck every one who reads his book: But those will regret them the most, who have perused it with the greatest interest.

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We must still further premise, with respect to the composition of this volume, that it can hardly be said to be written in the English language—so bad is the style, in every respect. Nor should we have noticed this, had the faults been such as an unpractised hand might naturally fall into; but its vices are those of elaborate effort; and respecting, as we sincerely do, the talents of the author, and hoping that we shall again be called upon to consider his workmanship, we must earnestly intreat of him to write plainly, and intelligibly, and naturally. To give instances of what we are blaming, would be to extract any sentence at random from the book. We have it lying open at p. 26 & 27; and, in the course of one paragraph, it is said that '*the Cossaque is to no man inferior*,'—that 'hereditary habits of war, and perhaps a natural talent for that species of it *in which they* (the habits?) *are engaged*, *adds* an acute intelligence and capacity that *is not generally shared*'—that 'by the stars, the wind, and *an union of the most ingenious observations*, he travels, &c.'—that 'he *tracks some precursor* with the *assurance* and the indefatigable ardour of the *instinctive bloodhound*.' The creation of new words is perpetual;—every page teems with them.—It is needless to give instances.—But what will our readers think of a vocabulary, in which are to be found, *chivalresque*, *disunitable*, *evitate*?—Let us also whisper to the author, that '*auferre*, *rapere*, *trucidare*, *falsis nominibus imperium*,' does in no wise mean, '*under false pretexts they rob, despoil and desolate the empire*.' (p. xvii.) Nor indeed did Tacitus, when he said '*solitudinem faciunt*,' ever dream of 'rendering *it*' (that is, the empire) 'a desert' (desart).—All these things, however, are of little moment; and we speak without any kind of compliment, when we desire the reader to lay every thing out of his view except the substantial merit of this work, which is real and important.

It contains a preface, filled with a good deal of general and rather declamatory matter, evincing the author's displeasure at those who have attacked the Russians; a dissertation on the composition of the Russian armies, which is extremely valuable; and an equally interesting account of the Polish campaigns of 1806 and 1807 We must, however, advert to this preface, for the purpose of entering our protest against some loose and dangerous opinions thrown out by Sir Robert Wilson, we trust hastily and from imperfect consideration of the subject. He thus mentions the partition of Poland.

'The erasure of Poland from the list of States has ever been deemed an atrocious outrage. But certainly Poland had abused her independence. For nine hundred years this fine country (with very

little intermission) had been the prey of factions and disorder, which had kept the bordering States in continual inquietude, whilst they desolated and degraded the people. A king without authority, a turbulent and avaricious nobility, and a people greatly favoured by nature, overwhelmed with oppression and poverty, were the characteristics of this nation.

'Its habits of violence and anarchy were at variance with the good order of society; and its constitution was not analogous to the general spirit and political system of Europe.

'The principle of the Elective Monarchy, so plausible in theory, was in practice found to be the source of innumerable evils, which destroyed the country, were injurious to the repose of Europe, and only gratified the sordid or ambitious views,' &c. p. xiv.

And there follows a great deal more to the same effect. Certainly the jurists of Catherine and Frederick themselves never ventured upon so bold a ground in their mercenary attempts to defend the atrocious transaction in question. Indeed, we afterwards find him dealing in topics, if possible, still more startling,—and speaking as if not only all public law were at an end, but as if nations might, with their eyes open to the nature of their conduct, pursue their interest at the expense of every thing like moral duty. 'The possession of Finland,' he says, (meaning that barbarous war which the Russians lately waged against our Swedish allies, and which probably nothing but the atrocities of the French during the late campaign in Portugal ever equalled)—'The 'possession of Finland was a measure that may be condemned for 'its immorality, but which has placed the most valuable gem in the 'Russian diadem;'—and then he enumerates the advantages which Russia has gained by it. Indeed, we must observe, that our gallant author's professional pursuits appear somewhat to have blunted his feelings, and given him a bias towards every thing that is varnished over by the 'circumstance of glorious 'war.' In this volume we meet with frequent instances of his tendency to view every thing merely in a military light. Thus, after mentioning the savage warfare of the Cossacks—he adds, that, to be sure, 'they are injurious in countries where the 'goodwill of the inhabitants is of immediate importance, or 'where moderation and regularity can alone provide the armies 'with their subsistence.' And, speaking of the Basquiers, he says, 'Some benefits might be derived from the example of their 'habits; and the troops who could, like them, banquet on horse-'flesh, dressed or raw, sweet or tainted, requiring not either 'bread or wine for sustenance, might indeed be called savages, 'but would soon have at their command all the luxuries of o-'ther nations, to lose again, when they adopted the polished 'manners of the conquered.'

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There are some atrocities, however, which, greatly to his credit, Sir Robert Wilson has always vehemently attacked, although they were committed in the course of military proceedings, for purposes strictly belligerent, to the great benefit of those who practised them, and by masters in the art of war: But, then, they were not perpetrated by either Russians or Cossacks; and, consequently, they may fairly be exposed. We allude to the well known charges made by our author against Buonaparte in a former work, and to which he recurs in this preface. He thus mysteriously speaks of this subject—'Respect for the lives and families of several persons, not less 'eminent for virtue than science, obliges me still to withhold 'the evidence on which I frame those charges; and there exist 'other momentous considerations to restrain me from a voluntary display of that authority, which would assure the sacrifice of persons who are entitled to protection, instead of 'injury; but I repeat again, that although the *onus probandi ultimately lies with me*, * this was a case where the accused 'should have insisted upon trial, so as to have forced the 'proofs; and not have directed his ambassador to have made 'a clandestine remonstrance for the punishment of the accuser, 'and the suppression of the charges.' As this is a question of some moment, we must be excused for stopping on our way to offer a few observations upon it.

It will scarcely, we imagine, be necessary for us to premise, that we have but little inclination to take the part of the French Emperor. We need not appeal to the former pages of this Journal, for our defence from such an imputation: We appeal only to its spirit and principles. He is the enemy of England; and he is the enemy of liberty. That is enough. We hate him as a tyrant;—we hate him as we do those who would in this country extinguish what remains of freedom, and destroy all that is glorious in the English name;—and if we dread him somewhat more, it is only because his capacity is greater than theirs. Now, if there are any persons who feel it necessary to discover other reasons for detesting this Buonaparte—who, not satisfied with his being a despot, a tyrant by trade, a contemner of the rights of men, and an enemy of peace and of the independence of nations, must needs have additional reasons for abhorring him:—If there are any persons naturally so well inclined towards his person and government, that they require strange and extravagant things to be proved against him, before they will well and truly hate him;—if there are any who care so little for liberty and their country, that a French tyrant,

* So printed in Italics in the original.

rant, thirsting for the destruction of English freedom, is not in their eyes odious, until he be also proved a monster;—to them, if such there be, we recommend the doctrine, but too prevalent in these times, that every thing, however groundless, may fairly be asserted of the enemy; and, provided the atrocity of the charge make up for the defects of the evidence, that every thing should instantly be believed. For ourselves, we require no such stimulants to our patriotism; and we shall therefore continue—until some proceeding in the courts of law, or some act of the legislature, force us to be silent—(they cannot reach our opinions)—to believe according to the evidence, on which side soever of the Channel the parties in question may reside.

Such being our principles, which we openly and plainly avow, and which neither the folly nor the cant of pretenders to exclusive patriotism will ever make us swerve from, we must say, that the passage we have just cited is not by any means satisfactory to our minds. Common justice required, that if he could not adduce his proofs against Buonaparte, he should have suppressed his accusation. He pretty distinctly hints, that, until certain persons either die, or come over to settle in this country, he dares not mention their names. If they die, *his* testimony will avail but little; and the other alternative is surely not very probable.—But, perhaps, if Buonaparte dies, or a revolution happens in France, he may safely call his witnesses. Does he, however, think it fair to the accused, that the proof should be delayed until his death? Or, is the very improbable event of a successful rebellion against his power, and his being put in a situation which shall affix a premium to all defamatory stories, the only chance of our ever knowing whether these dreadful charges are true or false? In the mean time, the evidence *for* the accused may die; and can any case be harder than his, who is condemned without any proof, and deprived, by the silence of his accuser, of all means of exculpation? We repeat our protest against being thought to lean towards Buonaparte: but, at least, let him have the same justice which, in this country, however it may be in France, is never refused to the most atrocious of criminals.

But, says our author, 'I repeat again, that the accused should have insisted upon trial.' Now, is there really any sense in this? What does a trial here mean?—what can it mean in such a case? 'A trial' (he adds) 'so as to have forced the proofs.' Why, does the author really mean, that if Buonaparte had put forth an answer to his (Sir R. Wilson's) book, the only way we can conceive of 'insisting on a trial,' he (Sir Robert)

Robert) would have overcome all his scruples, and given up the names of his concealed witnesses? Does he mean to say, that there is any one act which Buonaparte could do, which would warrant him (Sir R. Wilson) in disclosing his secret evidence? If a proclamation were to issue to-morrow from the Thuilleries, promising pardon and indemnity to every one who should come forward with evidence of the poisoning—or pledging the French government to leave unmolested, whomsoever Sir R. Wilson should appeal to as his authority for the story in question; would he, on that account, ever dream of giving up the names of his informants? Then, why amuse his readers with this trash about 'insisting upon a trial,' and 'forcing the proofs,' when he knows full well, that there can be no such thing as a trial, and that nothing but Buonaparte's death, and the end of his dynasty, can drive him from the ground he has chosen to occupy, and compel him to give up his witnesses?

The last part of the passage refers to a remonstrance which it seems was made to our government 'clandestinely,' (nor, indeed, is it usual for governments to correspond upon any subject in gazettes, unless they are at war with one another), and an application for the prosecution of the accuser. Now, we will be very fair and open with Sir Robert Wilson; because the subject is highly important, and touches nothing *less* than the honour of the country, and the purity of its courts of justice. His book on Egypt, containing the charge against Buonaparte of massacring his prisoners, and poisoning his sick soldiers, was published in London during the peace; and we think Buonaparte had a right to complain of the publication. If no one else had ever been tried for a libel on Buonaparte, we should have stopped here; but a respect for the government which prosecuted, and the court which convicted M. Peltier, compels us to add, that it would have been consistent at least, if not just, to have prosecuted Sir R. Wilson also. The poor emigrant was singled out,—the person who had every excuse for a little violence against Buonaparte,—he whose ruin had been sealed by that leader's usurpation,—and all whose feelings of loyalty were daily outraged by his triumph over the old dynasty of France; while Sir R. Wilson was not only suffered to escape, but praised and promoted. In conducting this prosecution, Mr Perceval acted as Attorney-General; but he might have refused to do so, or insisted on prosecuting Sir R. Wilson also; and, if his terms had been declined, he might have resigned his office. He made no such terms; he tendered no resignation; and every man has therefore a perfect right to consider him as the author of the measure alluded to,—which we are prevented

from

from calling by its right name, when we look to the late proceedings of his successors in office, and the penalties to which men are exposed, who express their sentiments with too much freedom upon delicate topics.

We dismiss this subject with one other remark. Sir R. Wilson is not content with bringing forward the charges against Buonaparte, unsupported by evidence, and then leaving them until he can prove them; but he uses them as if they were already fully substantiated; and recurs to them, whenever he finds occasion, as if they were completely admitted on all hands. Thus, Buonaparte had accused the Cossacks of not giving quarter. Our author, admitting the charge to be in a great measure well founded, adds, 'They did not murder in cold blood; 'they did not cut down the sick and infirm,' &c.—'*Vide* the 'account of the massacre at Jaffa,' &c. And then he eloquently exclaims, 'Accusations of inhumanity from Buona-'parte!!. .Scripture quotations from the Devil!!' Now, our taste may be a little singular; but, we confess, we should think one line under our author's hand, stating that he had, at the head of his corps, killed or taken prisoner a single French soldier, a much more eloquent effort against this same Buonaparte, than a million of such exclamations as those just quoted. But it is time that we come nearer to the principal subject of the present publication,—the composition of the Russian armies.

In as far as this treatise is controversial, we do not think very highly of its merits; for it leaves, undefended, all the points upon which former writers have made their attacks; and, setting out with large professions of a disposition and materials to confound those writers, it leaves the matters in issue nearly where it found them, and proves, what it is no doubt highly important to have explained in the detail, but what was never, as far as we know, formally denied. That the Russians are among the bravest soldiers in the world; the hardiest, the most patient, the most easily subsisted, the most passively obedient, the quickest in their movements:—in a word, that there can scarcely exist better soldiers,—that their officers are very indifferent, to say the least of them,—their staff the worst in Christendom, and the political arrangements of their military department bad in almost the same proportion,—are points which indeed most men had agreed upon before Sir R. Wilson's book appeared, but of which we find ample proofs, and detailed explanations, in all its pages. We must remark, however, that all the valuable information which this treatise contains, is scattered about without any method or arrangement; so that it is only by going through the whole of it, and arranging its contents for ourselves,

ourselves, that we have any chance of finding the different parts which bear on particular points.

The instances of Russian courage which are to be found in this work are so striking, that we shall extract a few of them.

'The untrained Russian also, like the Briton, undaunted, whilst he can affront (confront) the danger, disdains the protection of favouring ground, or the example of his adversary, and presents his body exposed from head to foot, either to the aim of the marksman, or the storm of the cannonade.

'No carnage intimidates the survivors; bullets may destroy, but the aspect of death awes not, even when a commander's evident error has assigned the fatal station.—"Comrades, go not forward into the trenches," cried out a retiring party to an advancing detachment; "retreat with us, or you will be lost, for the enemy are already in possession." "Prince Potemkin must look to that, for it was he who gave us the order: come on, Russians," replied the commander. And he and his men marched forward, and perished, the victims of their courageous sense of duty.

'But, although Russian courage is in the field so pre-eminent, a Russian army, in movements that are not in unison with the Russian principle of warfare, and Suwarrow's practice, presents to an enterprising and even inferior enemy, all the advantages that may be derived from a state of disorganization of the military frame; and the most difficult of human operations to the year 1807, was the conduct of a Russian retreat.

'When Beningzen retired from Yankova, on the approach of Buonaparte, and sought to evade the enemy by forced marches in the dark nights of a Poland winter, although 90,000 men thundered on in close pursuit, the Russian murmur at retreat was so imposingly audacious, the clamour for battle so loud and reiterated, the incipient disorder was so frightfully extending, that Beningzen was obliged to promise acquiescence to their demand; and to soothe their discontents, by an assurance, that he was marching to reach an appropriate theatre of combat. Gratified in this request, they fought six long days, to secure the undisturbed march of six longer, more painful, and more terrific intervening nights; but in which, alarm, anxiety and disorder mingled to such a degree, and so shattered the military frame, that victory might have been achieved against them without the glory of a subdued resistance; yet when this army, wearied, famished, and diminished by the loss of 10,000 men, entered at Eylau, their alignement for battle-order regenerated, as with the British at Corunna, the memory of former glories; and the confidence of approaching victory, cheered even the most exhausted; and a spectator would have supposed that the joyous acclamations commemorated a success, instead of being an anticipation of the most sanguinary trial that was yet upon the records of this bloody war. Such was their vehement ardour to retrieve imaginary disgrace.

grace, and profit of a liberty to engage, that when, in the evening before the battle, Beningzen ordered the village of Eylau, which had been abandoned by mistake, to be recovered, and the columns were in motion to the attack, animated by an expression in the command, " that the Emperor expected his troops to execute the orders; " but afterwards, thinking it advisible, as the enemy was greatly reinforced, to desist from the enterprise, he sent his officers to countermand the service,—" No, no, " exclaimed every voice; " the Emperor must not be disappointed. " And they rushed forward, sheltering their gallant disobedience under the authority of an illusion created by their commander.' p. 2—3.

To this picture must succeed one of kindred ferocity, but the particular lineaments of which are traced so minutely, that the reader almost doubts whether a little fancy is not concerned in the composition. At least, it does not appear quite plain, that the words put into the mouth of the marauder Chief could, in the peculiar circumstances of the case, have been committed to paper by the aid of a short-hand writer.

'When General Beningzen was retiring upon Eylau, considerable numbers of stragglers formed what they denominated corps of marauders,* who, placing themselves under the orders of chiefs, chosen by themselves, lived by violence until opportunity offered for a return to Russia.

'A party of Russian officers, who had been taken at Landsberg, were marching to Prague on parole, but under the charge of some French officers; a corps of marauders surprised them; and, after some violence, the Russian soldiers were indiscriminately proceeding to despatch the French, when the Russian officers interfered, and endeavoured to explain, that as these French were but an amicable escort to them, who had given their *parole*, their lives must not only be preserved, but that honour obliged the Russian officers to refuse the opportunity of release, and bound them to proceed as prisoners of war, until regularly exchanged. The marauder captain stepped forward—" Will you, " addressing himself to the Russian officers, " join and command us, and conduct us to our country? If so, we are bound to obey you, but with this annexed condition, that you do not interfere with our intention of putting to death the French who are in your company. "—" No, we cannot, " was the answer; and arguments were urged to justify the propriety of their decision. The marauders then assembled as a court-martial; and, after some deliberation, the Captain re-advanced and delivered its sanguinary decree. " The French, for their atrocious conduct to Russian prisoners on every occasion, have merited death—Execute the sentence. " Obedience was immediate; and the victims

'* In the Austrian campaign there were several hundreds of these marauders, under the command of a sergeant.'

tims were successively shot. This lawless assassination completed, silence was again ordered, and the leader resumed his harangue—"Now, degenerate Russians, receive your reward; you, forgetting that you were born so, that your country has a prescriptive right to your allegiance, and that you have voluntarily renewed it to your sovereign, have entered into new engagements with their most hated enemies; and you have dared to advance in your defence, that your *word* must be binding in *their* service, when you violate the *oath* you have sworn *against* them. You are therefore our worst enemies; more unnatural, more wicked, than those we have slain, and you have less claim upon our mercy. We have unanimously doomed you to death, and instant death awaits you." The signal was immediate, and fourteen officers were thus massacred for a persevering virtue, of which history does not record a more affecting and honourable trait. The fifteenth (Colonel Arsinoeff,* of the imperial guards) was supposed dead, the ball of the musquet having entered just above the throat. He was stripped, and the body abandoned on the frozen and freezing snow. Towards night, after several hours torpor, sense returned; and whilst he was contemplating the horror of the past and present scene, identified, not only by his own condition, but, still more painfully, by the surrounding corpses of his mangled friends, and momentarily becoming more terrific, from the apprehension of an horrible and unmitigable death; he perceived a light, towards which he staggered with joyous expectation; but, when he approached the hut, a clamour of voices alarmed his attention. He listened, and recognised his carousing murderers! He withdrew from imminent destruction, to a fate, as he then supposed, not less certain, but less rude and revolting. He had still sufficient strength to gain the borders of a no very distant wood, where he passed the night without any covering on his body, or any application to his open wounds. The glow of a latent hope, perhaps, preserved animation; his fortune did not abandon him, his extraordinary protection was continued; and as the day broke, he perceived a passing peasant girl, who give him some milk, finally sheltered him, and obtained surgical relief. He recovered, and went to Petersburgh. The Emperor ordered him to pass the regiments in review, that he might designate the offenders He declined to do so, observing, that "he thought it unadvisable, to seek an occasion for correcting such a notion of indefeasible allegiance." p. 6—8.

The light infantry appears not to be so numerous in the Russian army, as the peculiar adaptation of many parts of the empire for raising this force might lead us to expect. We speak by

'* Arsinoeff, who was one of the most estimable of the Russian officers, was shot afterwards in a duel, about a lady whom he wished to marry. He died universally lamented, and especially bewailed, by the battalion of guards that he commanded.'

by inference merely, from our author's way of talking upon this part of his subject; for he avoids minute details, in a manner not a little distressing to those who are in quest of accurate information. He mentions the chasseurs of the imperial guard, who are chiefly Siluriaus, with peculiar commendation. But the body of that guard appears to surpass almost all other corps in any service. It is 7000 strong; and, when compared with the French and Russian guards at Tilsit, (or, as he writes it, we presume correctly, Tilsitz), threw them quite into the shade. Nor is it only in appearance that these men excel: on every occasion they have distinguished themselves,—and the whole army takes to itself a pride and glory in their superiority.

The artillery is also praised by Sir R. Wilson. Their guns are numerous, beyond those of any other service. In the Polish campaign, about five hundred generally moved with the army, and were actually in the field at Eylau. They are well drawn; their tackling is of an excellent construction, and they are gallantly served; but, as for the officers, 'they have not 'the same title to estimation as in the other European services; 'for their education is not formed with the same care, and their 'service does not receive the same encouragement. To them is 'the toil and responsibility, but the honour is by no means 'assured them. Some favourite officer, completely ignorant of 'the science and practice of the artillery, is frequently, in the 'day of action, appointed for the day to the command of their 'batteries; and the credit is, in the despatches, given to him 'for a service which depended on long previous systematic ar-'rangements and laborious attention, with which he never was 'acquainted; an injustice mortifying to the corps, injurious to 'the individual artillery officer, and gravely detrimental to the 'general interests.' p. 22.

But the part of the army which he praises most lavishly, and the excellence of which, we own, we were least prepared to hear of, is the cavalry. He considers them (and the authority of his report on this matter must be deemed nearly conclusive) as the best mounted of any on the Continent. The heavy Russian horses, it seems, are matchless for an union of size, strength, activity and hardiness. They have the bulk of the English cart-horse, with blood enough to prevent them from ever being coarse, and suppleness to fit them naturally for the menage. But facts will speak more strongly to their excellence, than any description; and we have here a sufficient example of what they can do and bear.

'After the battle of Eylau, when the Imperial cavalry of the guards were ordered from St. Petersburgh to join the army in Poland,

land, the men were sent in waggons as far as Riga, and the horses accompanied at the rate of 50 miles each day. From thence they were ridden, and proceeded to their station at the rate of 35 miles each day. After a march of 700 miles, so conducted, they appeared not only in excellent comparative order, but in such high condition, that the regular garrisons of any capital in Europe could not present a finer cavalry parade. The hussar horse has nothing remarkable, except that he is generally stronger loined than the Hungarian, with equal blood, and force of constitution.

'During Beningzen's retreat, and from that period to the disappearance of the snow in June, no cavalry ever encountered greater hardship.

'For above six months in the severity of the extremest Poland winter, they were always at the piquet post without any shelter; and for three months, or more, they had no other sustenance than what the old thatch, stripped from the roofs of the cottages, supplied; and in consequence of this necessity, Poland was progressively rendered uninhabitable, and war assumed her most frightful aspect.

'The mortality certainly was great, but it did not render the cavalry inefficient or feeble for the service of the most active and laborious campaign which succeeded.' p. 16—17.

After mentioning that the Russians are not by habit horsemen, but that their riding is the effect of training and discipline, he describes the dragoons as equally steady, skilful and persevering.

The account of the Cossacks is curious, but differs not materially from that of former writers, as far as regards their military character; and confirms the account which we took from Dr Clarke's valuable work, as to the amiable, and even *civilized* manners, of those tribes, when living in a domestic state. They are the people, however, it may be remembered, whose treatment, both by the government and the subjects of Russia Proper, has so justly been stigmatized by the last mentioned author, as in the highest degree unjust and oppressive.

We have now gone through all the praises which even the laudable partiality of Sir R. Wilson for his Russian friends can collect, except one or two topics on which his statements are either inconsistent with themselves, or contradicted by undoubted facts. We class those topics, therefore, among the points in the dark side of the picture, which, however unwillingly, and indeed partially and by piecemeal, he is compelled to bring forward. To this shady side we too must now shortly turn the eye of the reader.

That the Russians (he is speaking of the soldiers, but means evidently to describe the people) are '*religious, without being weakened by superstition*,' is a proposition which is not the less calculated to scare the reader, from its meeting him in the first

page of this treatise. Were not the authority of Sir R. Wilson himself at variance with it in other parts of this book, we might easily refute it from other sources. 'Die for the honour of the Virgin Mary!' says the energetic command in Suwarrow's catechism. Did Sir Robert never hear of the faith which every soldier, officer and private, has in the powers of the badge (or *bogh*) on his breast, to turn a bullet or a bayonet? Does he not know, that their belief is in an instantaneous transition, if slain in battle, to the arms of the ninety thousand virgins of their church, now officiating in Paradise? And what says Prince de Ligne on this subject, speaking even of their most eminent characters? 'Nous voici au camp de Novo Gregori, 'où nous venons d'apprendre la nouvelle de la première victoire du Prince de Nassau sur le Capitan Pacha. Le Prince 'Potemkin me fait chercher, m'embrasse, me dit: '*Cela vient de Dieu; voyez cette Eglise, je l'ai consacrée à St George, 'mon patron, et l'affaire de Kinburn a eu lieu le lendemain de sa 'fête.*' Au bout de quelques semaines de séjour et de marches 'rétrogrades à l'occasion du pont pour passer la maudite rivière, 'nous nous trouvâmes encor à la hauteur de Novo Gregori, où 'nous reçumes la nouvelle de deux autres victoires du Prince 'de Nassau. *Eh bien! mon ami!* me dit le Prince Potemkin, 'en me sautant au cou, *que vous ai-je dit de Novo Gregori? 'le voilà encore. Cela n'est il pas clair? je suis l'enfant gâte 'de Dieu!*' (Lett. à l'Empereur Joseph II.)

But what says our author himself, in other passages of his work? In p. 11, speaking of the same Russian soldiers, he observes, 'Religious, perhaps superstitious, the Russian believes that heaven is a palace with many gâtes,' &c. And, in p. 4, we are told, that they regard Suwarrow as deified, and acting in the capacity of god of war.

His account of the *recruiting* is extremely meagre, and we do not think quite impartial. 'It is not,' he says, 'by volunteer enrolment; but the magistrates select the most efficient young men, according to the required number.'—'The day of nomination,' he adds, 'is passed in general grief, 'and each family is in unaffected affliction at the approaching 'separation of a son or a brother.' This we conceive to be quite probable; but what follows certainly can be credited by no one, who is not prepared to say, that human nature is altogether different in Russia and in France. In truth, a more romantic tale was never told; and we marvel at a person, of our author's acuteness, allowing himself to be taken in by it; for we presume he gives it on the authority of his Russian military friends. 'But no sooner,' he says, 'is the head of the reluctant conscript shaved according to military *habit*; no sooner

'is

'is he recognized as a defender of his country, than the plaints 'and lamentations cease; and all his relatives and friends present articles of dress or comfort to the *no longer reluctant* recruit; then revel, with the music and the dance, takes place, 'until the moment arrives when he is to abandon his native 'home, and the adored tomb of his fathers; with cheers the 'eternal farewel is mutually expressed; and the exulting soldier extends his regards to his country, and devotes his new 'life to the glory and prosperity of his sovereign and Russia.'— 'This moral death,' he adds, 'this military resuscitation, 'is a phenomenon generated and perpetuated by patriotism, 'the fundamental principle of Russian action, which cheers 'him in hardship, and animates him in danger.' (p. 10, 11.) There is certainly nothing much surpassing this in Captain Lemuel Gulliver's valuable account of the country and character of the Houyhnhms,—of which, however, notwithstanding its great merits, and the author's known respectability, an Irish Bishop observed, that it contained some things which he could scarcely believe, and one or two which he was positive could not be accurate; which made his Lordship, not unnaturally, hesitate about crediting the rest. And, truly, one is perplexed by meeting such a passage in Sir Robert's work; for it takes away much of the weight which other parts would undoubtedly carry to the mind of the judicious reader. Perhaps the assertion, that 'no man with bad teeth is allowed to enlist,' may belong to the same class; and points at both a more abundant supply, and more perfect state of the recruiting service, than any other country has yet attained.

Our author's remarks on the officers and the commissariot are of much importance, and explain many of the events which happen in Russian campaigns. After praising the cavalry officers, he proceeds to the infantry, forming, of course, the bulk of the service.

'The officers of infantry are but in the higher ranks such as ought to fill those stations. With partial exceptions, the inferior officers are disqualified by the neglect of education, and the absence of those accomplishments which should distinguish officers as well as the sash and gorget.

'The qualifications of zeal and courage, which they have but in common with the soldiery, are not sufficient to command the respect of superiors or inferiors, and, consequently, the society in the infantry regiments is generally so little worth, that the nobility of the country commence their career in the guards or the calvalry, until they are eligible for those ranks in the infantry battalions of the line which assure them a better association—a system which is one of the fatal causes of the condition which it proposes to evitate.' p. 42.

Of the Staff, he says, that 'if regularity of manuscript could

 'organize

'organize an army, the Russians, long ago, would have at- 'tained excellence.' The elaborate system of their returns and reports, is mentioned, with deserved ridicule, as a mere useless incumbrance. According to our author, the Russian officer would seem rather to lead the life of an attorney's clerk, than of any nobler animal. Indeed, we here, as in a former passage, are inclined to suspect a little exaggerated description, on the part of those from whom Sir R. Wilson drew his facts. As, for instance, when he says, that 'the lowest Cossack offi- 'cer, from his saddle, or the snow, is obliged to send his in- 'formation, with such care about the paper, the wording, fold- 'ing and address, as if the report was destined to be pre- 'served as a document in the archives of St Petersburgh.' (p. 70.) The officers in the Quartermaster-General Staff draw well, and take up ground quickly and judiciously; but their duties are both complicated and unsuitable to their rank. The great *desideratum*, however, he adds, is proper chiefs.

The commissariot is well known to be of the very worst. Sir R. Wilson describes it as wretched indeed.

'Whilst armies are advancing rapidly, the food of the inhabitants can be seized and may prove sufficient; but when the seat of war becomes permanent, as was the case in Poland, in consequence of Russian valour, famine † must destroy the population, and disorganization and disease consume the army, unless arrangements are made to ensure the regular supplies from unexhausted countries. As the Russian soldiery are satisfied with less than perhaps any soldiers in Europe, great facilities are afforded for the establishment of sufficient supplies; but, unless those supplies are, in the first instance, redundant, the convoys will always be intercepted by the famishing divisions in rout, and rapine and violence will destroy all the resources which might be recollected, under a proper direction, from the immediate country in which the army may be acting. As it was, no derangement could be greater, no effect more distressing, and no misery more continual; and it is only extraordinary that the army did not disperse, not from mutinous spirit, but actual necessity.' * p. 51—52.

But

'† The horrors of famine were at their height during the winter. The mortality amongst the inhabitants was prodigious from actual hunger. The present afflicted state of Europe may be truly ascribed to it; for, chiefly from want of food, Beningzen retired after the battle of Eylau.'

* 'Konigsberg was only 20 miles from Eylau, and yet, although that field had long been selected for the battle, although it was notorious that the army would arrive there without food, not a loaf of bread was on the ground, so that they were fighting and starving from the 7th to the 9th. General Beningzen, for himself and Staff, could get but a bowl of potatoes at midnight after the battle, and, from the evening before the battle, had not eat any thing.'

But the state of the hospital department is, if possible, still more dreadful. We shall not disgust our readers with the details. It may suffice to observe, that at the battle of Friedland, *for the first time*, the wounded were dressed on the field; and that notwithstanding all the attempts made to improve the hospital staff, our author admits, that they are in total want of medical assistance at home, and that the pay is far too small to procure the assistance of strangers. Then comes a remark, which should really soften so great an admirer of Russia, towards Buonaparte, even if all he has charged him with were accurately true—'It 'must also be stated,' says he, 'that the care of grievously 'wounded men, so as to be disabled from future service, has 'never till lately *been in the policy* of the Russian government: 'For the finances of the empire did not admit of *this burthen*, 'and, even at Friedland, it was remarked by an officer of high 'rank, and of *most humane character*, that a cannon ball was 'the best doctor for men without limbs.' p. 53.

The important point of the numbers of the Russian armies, receives little illustration from our author. He tells us, however, that we must distrust the numbers upon paper in this, much more than in other services: For it seems Suwarrow never, at any time, had more than 3 ,000 men, although operations were calculated on the supposition of his having 70,000. And in the Polish campaign their numbers never amounted, even at the beginning, to 80,000. (p. 4 and 23.) Of these moderate sized armies, the wear and tear is enormous, in consequence of bad arrangements; and this statement of our author, he confirms by the circumstance recorded in Frederick II.'s History of the Seven-Years war, that the Russians, during that contest, lost 120,000 men, although they had only been in four great battles; while the Prussians, who had fought sixteen, lost only 180,000; and the Austrians, who had fought ten, and supported two garrisons, lost only 140,000.

After all, there recurs the question, so vitally affecting our estimate of the real power of Russia, how it happens that, with a population which Sir Robert Wilson boasts of as fifty millions, she has never sent any adequate armies into the field; and unable to supply the great consumption of men which arose from bad generalship, and want of arrangement in military economy, she has always been unsuccessful in the long-run, whatever doubts there may be as to this or that affair, and ultimately beaten by superior numbers, as well as greater skill? Sometimes our author refers to the maladministration of the state in general—sometimes he dwells particularly on the want of money—sometimes he varies the phrase, and ascribes the

failure of the Russians to their deranged finances. Now, it is the want of a plan altogether—now, the want of foresight—now, the delay in preparing for an approaching campaign. Of all these explanations (which we by no means think unfounded in the fact, or unsatisfactory) perhaps the least intelligible, is the answer he makes to what has so often been observed of the dispersion of the Russian population. It is as follows, and we profess not to catch even a glimpse of its meaning.

'It has been indeed insisted, that the population of Russia is so dispersed, that she cannot collect and concentrate her disposable means; but such arguments can only be used by persons ignorant of the powers of systematic direction, and who are not habituated to contest with difficulties. Distance is of no consequence, if an advance be gained upon the need; and it must be presumed that Russia has not neglected to profit of the opportunity. An augmented expenditure is indeed a consideration of great weight; and the finances of Russia are embarrassed, but she can never *again* experience pecuniary difficulties, when she adopts a policy suitable to her character, and consonant with her legitimate views.' p. 68.

Every thing that can be said upon this subject, we believe, resolves itself into the general barbarism of the Russians—their want of well educated statesmen—their inferiority to other nations in a supply of those men who can either improve the resources of a state, or draw forth into effective action the resources which it already possesses. But, for offensive operations in the South of Europe, Russia is at too great a distance, even if her affairs were far better administered than we can soon hope to see, by any progress of improvement, however rapid; and he must be a sanguine politician who can seriously expect, that while Austria is leagued with France, or only remains an indifferent spectator, any exertions of Russia should do more than protect the remains of her own independence. This is a point upon which we have so often descanted on former occasions, that we shall not enlarge upon it at present, further than to observe, that the proofs are, yet, not merely unshaken, but untouched, which have so frequently been adduced to show the futility of any coalition for the restoration of the independence of Europe by *offensive* operations, in which confederacy Austria is not the prime mover. To explain the failure of the last effort in this great cause, will be for those who planned the Walcheren campaign, and sent the largest and best army that ever sailed from England, to perish by climate, in attempting what was impossible, and almost useless had it been practicable, at the moment when Germany was breaking out into general revolt against her oppressors, and Austria—for the first time overpowering France by superior skill and higher valour—

valour—only required our assistance to consummate, in all probability, the long wished-for deliverance of Europe. It is a subject to which we shall gladly return, as soon as an opportunity is afforded by the publication of the information which, we doubt not, some persons in this country possess relative to that most afflicting and glorious campaign.

From what we have already said, it will appear, that our author's defence of the general character of the Russians, is confined to declamatory topics, and attacks on those who have accused that people of barbarism. We shall close this part of our review, by referring to one or two authors who support us in the view taken of the subject on a former occasion, and whose testimony bears out the narrative of Dr Clarke. It may perhaps show, that neither that excellent writer nor ourselves are liable to the imputation of peculiar prejudice on this subject, if, without going back to the work of the Abbé Chappé, or the well known epithet of '*unprincipled*,' by which the celebrated Ledyard characterized Russia, in his enumeration of the countries he had visited, we extract the following short passages from two of the latest writers who have touched on the subject, Mr Thornton's work on Turkey, and the Prince de Ligne's Letters. 'The court of Catherine II.' (says the former) 'can be distinguished from the capital of Syria, only 'by the grosser character of its debaucheries.' (vol. II. p. 194.) 'Les Russes' (says the Prince) 'que Pierre I. à force de 'barbarie a voulu civiliser et qu'il a fait battre et tuer pendant 'neuf ans pour leur apprendre à vaincre—ces Russes sont 'tout aussi malins que jamais.' (*Lettre à Prince Kaunitz.*)

We have detained our readers longer upon the general treatise, than the proportion which it bears to the rest of this volume might seem to justify. But we consider it as by much the most important part of the work; and, indeed, the account of the Polish campaigns is chiefly valuable as it serves to evince the truth of many general remarks upon the Russian armies which are contained in the former part of the work. The steady and patient valour of the Russian soldiers, rendered always unavailing by the incompetency of their leaders, and the bad administration of their military department, is the fact constantly held up to view in this interesting part of Sir R. Wilson's publication. Several of the statements may be also admitted to show, if indeed any new proofs were required, the exaggerations of the enemy's official accounts. But on this, and in general on the whole controversial part of the narrative, we have to notice the mysterious references to secret sources of information; to letters and documents which the author has

seen,

seen, and to which, he sometimes tells us, Buonaparte will, when he reads this work, know that the author must have had access. In general, we presume, his information is derived either from the Russian Staff, or from his personal observation. Why are we left to doubt which of these is the source of his evidence, not only on several, but literally upon all occasions? The French give one account of the battle of Pultusk, for example; our author gives another, quite different—and in many respects diametrically opposite. Why does he leave us in total ignorance of the material fact, whether he was present at that battle—and, if not, how soon after it he arrived at the Russian head quarters? It was fought on the 26th of December. In no part of this book can we discover the date of Sir R. Wilson's leaving England, or reaching the army. From other sources of information, we may perhaps collect, that the time of Lord Hutchinson's departure from this country does not admit of their having reached Pultusk before the battle: But, then, if it be so, this should have been distinctly stated; and the time when ocular inspection began, should have been fairly marked. The author should recollect, that he is writing upon disputed points of fact—that the question is, not what he believes himself, but whether his account or Buonaparte's is to be taken for the correct one? And in order to weigh the credit of his narrative, we must needs see the evidence on which it rests.

For illustrations of the points formerly stated, we may take any of the accounts of battles given in this narrative, either Pultusk, Eylau or Friedland, or any of the lesser affairs which filled up the intervals between those grand contests. The narrative of battles, however interesting, requires to be gone through at length, and with maps and plans. No general abstract, therefore, of this history could be made intelligible to our readers. We shall prefer the course of giving one or two confirmations of the remarks already made, and a specimen of Sir R. Wilson's powers of interesting his reader by historical and descriptive composition.

The battle of Pultusk is stated by our author to have been a victory on the part of the Russians. He makes the loss of the Russians amount to less than 5000 men, while that of the French exceeded 8000. The latter, too, were compelled to retreat in confusion, and were only saved by the darkness of the night, after losing 'many guns, Buonaparte's equipage,' &c. (as he rather inaccurately says). Now, the whole account of the behaviour of the Russians in this severe affair, must fill us with admiration of their courage and steadiness. We are dis-

posed,

posed, moreover, to allow, that whatever the French may have gained in that battle, was dearly purchased: But then comes the following passage, which at once explains the whole, and perhaps reconciles the French and Russian accounts better than Sir R. Wilson is disposed to allow.

'When General Kaminskoy had found his position behind the Wkra forced by the enemy, he resolved to retire the Russian army behind the Niemen river, and gave directions accordingly to the corps of Buxhowden and Beningzen; but his orders were given under such circumstances, that General Beningzen considered himself as authorised to use his own discretion, and therefore preferred to give battle at Pultusk, hoping that General Buxhowden or General d'Anrep would support him. By some *unfortunate misapprehension or disagreement*, probably originating in the want of acknowledged superior direction and authority, neither of these officers had advanced to his assistance; he therefore thought it more prudent to retire during the night, notwithstanding his success, as Soult was on march for Ostrolenka, *and as he feared to be surrounded, by the whole French army* reuniting to revenge its partial disgrace, if he remained on the position of Pultusk; and this determination was *indeed almost indispensable, since he had not any provisions in his camp or in the neighbourhood.*' p. 80.

General Beningzen after this obtained the chief command, and Kamenskoy (who, from the note p. 83, appears to have gone mad) was displaced, but not till he had, by various blunders, caused the retreat of the army, and prevented Prince Galitzin from profiting by a brilliant affair with Augereau. Beningzen being now Commander-in-Chief, *his* blunders began from bad information respecting Ney. He loses an opportunity of defeating and probably capturing that Marshall's corps.—From equally erroneous intelligence respecting Bernadotte, or from some other mistake, either of his own, or Markow, who led his advanced guard (for we are not accurately informed which), a partial engagement takes place, and the opportunity of surrounding Bernadotte is lost.—All this time 'no troops could evince 'more courage than the Russians, who fought, undaunted by 'the superiority of numbers:' they lost 2000 men, but our author says that the French lost as many.—The French account says 500. It would have been satisfactory to know whether Sir Robert was there at this time, and with whom he held his communications.—The result of this forward movement, however, is stated to have been the raising of the blockade of Graudentz, and relieving that important place by the able cooperation of the Prussians under General Lestocq.'

After Beningzen had been above a month in the chief command,

mand, he receives intelligence by an intercepted order from Buonaparte to Bernadotte, which he appears never to have had the slightest suspicion of, though our author admits that he ought to have foreseen it, viz. that the enemy meant to cut off his retreat. The Russian forthwith resolves to await the attack; and, for that purpose, takes 'an extremely unfavourable position,' after a march of some length, and losing the certainty of a safe and favourable retreat.—He discovers, after narrowly escaping destruction by the French not attacking him, that he dares not remain there; and then wishing he had retreated, he finds he must endeavour to retire the best way he can in face of the enemy which he begins to do in no small confusion. The army and its officers make strong representations against this movement. 'For indeed,' says our author, 'a Russian force was never by character of composition or system calculated to retreat; and the severe and inclement night-marches, after the day's fatigues, with the aggravating anxieties about food, would have been sufficient to conquer the discipline of troops far better regulated.

'The soldiers had to prowl and dig for the buried food of the 'peasantry; so that, between search of provision and duty, they 'had scarce time to *lay* down; and, when they did, they had no 'other bed than the snow, no shelter but the heavens, and no 'covering but their rags.' p. 94.

The General therefore resolved to fight a battle, and chose Preuss Eylau for the scene of it. In assembling his forces there, many blunders were committed by himself and his inferior officers—much loss sustained in consequence; but our author consoles himself with the reflection, that the French did not do all they could, and that Prince Bagration and General Lestocq (the Prussian commander) displayed much skill in conducting their part of the retreat. The Russian general drew up his army, 60,000 strong, according to Sir R. Wilson, 'in an open 'space of uneven ground,' having the village of Eylau (which is quite unprotected by any sort of works) in front, but in a hollow, and so low, that the Russians were higher than the tops of the houses. The enemy, however, having other generals to think for them, arrived in front of the village, and took up a position 'on ground that domineered the Russian position 'completely, so as to expose the minutest object to their fire, 'whilst the intervals between the elevations afforded shelter to 'their troops, and a concealment of their movements and force.' The French, by this account, were almost as superior in numbers as in generalship;—our author says they had 90,000 men.—The victory in this battle is decidedly ascribed to the Russians.

We

—We refer our readers to the account at large, as very interesting, and only extract one or two paragraphs in illustration of the courage and generalship of the Russians.

'Soon after day-break the Russian cannon opened, and played very heavily, but rather at hazard, as the French columns were principally concealed by the favouring swells of their ground and the town and suburbs of Preuss Eylau. The French cannon quickly replied with vigour and effect, as every man of the Russian army was exposed from head to heel.—

'The French, repulsed in their first assaults, maintained a very heavy fire of artillery from their heights and the salient points of the town; and, as the whole Russian army was still exposed to their observation and fire, with much effect, as to the destruction of men.—

'The brave Russians, (it is difficult to refrain from enthusiastic expressions of praise when their conduct at this awful moment is recollected), inclining inwards, eagerly pressed on, indifferent to the shower of balls that plunged through their ranks, and uniting with the first line, the whole charged home upon the enemy, who, panic-struck by this unexpected attack, instantly gave way, abandoning their cannon and several eagles, and pursued, when the army ceased to advance, by the musquetry fire of one of the deploying columns, and the artillery of all the batteries.—

'The Russian army, which had now advanced several hundred paces, was, if possible, more than ever exposed; but the columns remained as a rampart to be battered down; thus proving the superiority of their active and passive courage over an enemy who only advanced with a faltering step to be destroyed, or retired behind the cover that his position offered for shelter.' 101—104.

Courage, however, according to Sir Robert, carried the day; and Buonaparte, repulsed in every quarter, when the night terminated the combat, on an alarm that the Russians meant to renew the battle, sent off his heavy artillery and baggage, and withdrawing to the heights behind, 'with difficulty reassembled the wreck of his shattered and dispirited army, and awaited information of the Russian movements.' Then follows the total result of the victory—about which, unfortunately, there is rarely any doubt, however the narratives of the contending parties may differ as to the details of the battle.

'About eleven o'clock, the Russian generals assembled, (still on horseback), when General Beningzen informed the circle, that he had determined, notwithstanding his success, to fall back upon Kœnigsberg; for he had no bread to give the troops, and their ammunition was expended; but by a position in the neighbourhood of such a city, his army would be certain of every necessary supply, and be assured the means of re-equipping itself, so as to appear again in the field before the enemy could repair his losses.' 107—108.

Our author makes the loss of the Russians, on this dreadful

day,

day, amount to 20,000, that of the French to 30,000, beside 10,000 who fled, and only returned some days after.—Beningzen retired to Kœnigsberg; and the enemy having reconnoitred for some days, and in vain waited for the Russians passing the Pregel, went into cantonments, and remained until he was reinforced.

To pursue the narrative through the different affairs which took place from the battle of Eylau to that of Friedland, would only present an afflicting repetition of the same scenes. We always find the Russians on the worst—the French on the best ground. The former exposed from head to foot, perhaps firing at random against an unseen enemy, confined in their movements, and not protected by either land or water—the latter protected by the natural redoubts of wood and ground, or flanked by marshes, and lakes, and rivers. We shall find no exception to this observation, in the description given by our author of the last great engagement, in which every thing that courage and constancy could perform, was found, as Europe too well knows, wholly unavailing; and the only consolation which the courage of so many brave men afforded, was the almost equal price which it exacted from the enemy for the victory. Sir Robert Wilson's account of this dreadful fight (at which he was unquestionably present), is deserving of particular attention on every account, and we extract the greater part of it, as the specimen by which we have promised to allure our readers to the perusal of his work.

'Friedland is a considerable town situated on the left bank of the Aller: A long wooden bridge connects the town with the right bank—west of the town is a capacious lake—the country, for a mile in the direction of Heilsberg, forms a semicircle of apparent plain, but is cut by a deep and narrow ravine full of water, and scarcely fordable, which runs from Domnau into the lakes. Near the town, on the left of the plain, the ground abruptly descends, and woods border down the Aller. A deep wood fringed the plain from the Aller to the village of Henricksdorf, where there was a little interruption; but woods again closed round to the Aller, the banks of which were very steep, the fords subsequently used were unknown, and, when discovered late in the evening, scarcely practicable.

'In the open space of the semicircle, between the Aller and the rivulet, and about half a mile in front of Friedland, General Beningzen at first formed his troops in column, the cavalry being to the right of the Henricksdorf road, and as the succeeding divisions passed the Aller, the right and part of the centre of his infantry were posted between that road and the rivulet, and that part of the centre was covered by a branch of the rivulet which terminated in a broad piece of water: thus his army was entirely exposed to fire, and every movement distinctly seen; whilst the enemy were sheltered from aim, and their force and operations were concealed until they

they chose to expose them: Moreover, upon the right of their position they had the advantage of some rising ground, which commanded both banks of the Aller as far as the town.' p. 153—154.

A heavy cannonade and various attacks, at first with doubtful success, and afterwards to the disadvantage of the French, occupied the earlier part of the day.—About nine o'clock Beningzen detached 6000 men to secure the bridge at Allenberg, in case he might have his retreat cut off.—About eleven the enemy were giving way, and the Silurian chasseurs pressed on them, but were forced to retire; which they did in perfect order, upon the enemy bringing a large force against them.—The Russians regained possession of Heinricksdorf too, but were again dislodged by artillery; and in this situation, though their original plan had been frustrated, they remained confident of being able to maintain their position till night.

'Under this confidence no precautions had been taken against disaster; no works were constructed to defend the entrances into the town, and cover the retiring troops, if prematurely forced to re-cross the Aller; precautions that were perfectly easy of execution, as well as eligible, and which would have discomfited the ultimate efforts of the enemy.

'About mid-day the enemy's fire, which had relaxed, resumed more vigour; the cannonade increased; the tirailleurs re advanced greatly re-inforced; and the cannon shot and the musquetry continued unremittingly from that time a tremendous fire upon the Russians, who were totally exposed, and standing in columns with some infantry thrown forward to act as tirailleurs, whilst the French columns still remained in the woods; and the supporting lines of the advanced infantry, concealed themselves from direct aim by *laying* down in long grass, or behind the favouring ground.

'The enemy had continued to arrive with fresh succours, and the woods were now thronged by battalions which advanced upon the edge, and there reposed. About four o'clock in the afternoon Buonaparte was first noticed by the bustle and movement amongst the French troops, and soon afterwards he was distinctly seen giving directions. A little before five, the French army stood to their arms, and the cavalry mounted. From the town of Friedland, the masses appeared, through the interstices of the trees, and the partial interruption of the wood, of enormous power and extensive depth; but the eye could not distinguish where the weight of the force was directing From the plain, the horizon seemed to be bound by a deep girdle of glittering steel. It was in vain that General Beningzen had notice, and saw, with his own eyes, the mighty preparation.—The ammunition of his artillery was exhausted, and not forty pieces could fire. He had not a single battalion in reserve; and as he had been obliged to pass the last division over the river, not a soldier but the Cossaques remained on the right bank of the Aller, and they half a league in advance. His columns, reduced by the loss of 12,000

men, were now so thinly scattered over the position, that they seemed rather advanced detachments than the army itself, and which impression deceived Buonaparte so as to suspend his ulterior efforts after the battle.

'It was now that he regretted the absence of the 6,000 men detached in the morning to Allenberg—a detachment that the world has had cause, indeed, to deplore; for if these 6000 men had been present at this moment on the left of the position, Russian courage would have maintained victory against the enormous superiority of hostile forces, and against their more ruthless destiny, which had seduced them into the plain of Friedland.

'General Beningzen in this extremity did all that his means and the time permitted. He directed six guns to take post on the elevation upon the right bank of the Aller, a little in front of his left, so as to flank the enemy's right in a forward movement. He closed up the wreck of his centre, and sent an order for his cavalry to quit the right wing of the position, and support the centre and right of the infantry; orders which were, under the circumstances, most judicious; but, before the officer could reach the cavalry, the enemy's proposed attack was in execution.

'About 5 o'clock the French army had taken its order of battle:—Marshal Ney on the right; Marshal Lannes in the centre; Marshal Mortier on the left; Marshal Victor and the Imperial Guard in reserve; General Grouchy with his division of cavalry supported the left; General Lahoussaye's division of dragoons, and the Saxon cuirassiers, the centre; General Latour Maubourg's division the right. At half past 5 o'clock 20 pieces of cannon, discharging salvos, gave the signal of attack, whilst another battery of thirty pieces, opened upon the Russian left. The report of the guns were scarcely heard when the French column started from the wood, and the right corps advanced in massy echellons at a quick step. The chasseurs of the Imperial Guard, greatly committed by an advanced station, fired some vollies and retreated. Several battalions of militia formed behind the chasseurs, and, on the low garden ground near the banks of the Aller, also gave way, and streamed to the bridges; whilst the six guns upon the elevation on the right bank, overpowered by fire, were beat back out of action. Some Cossaques and cavalry, so soon as the French column had quitted the wood, attempted to attack the rear of the right flank; but a division of French dragoons, sustained by infantry, repulsed them. The enemy quickened their pace, animating each other to the assault by loud cheers, and driving every thing before them, notwithstanding gallant efforts from a division of infantry in front of the guards, whilst the remaining French columns sallying from the wood could scarcely find space for the formation of their numbers.

'The Russian Imperial Guard, impatient of the cannonade which tore them to pieces, rushed forward with fixed bayonets, but not in compact order. They, however, reached the enemy, pierced the leading column, exacted bloody revenge, and, for a moment, the

corps of Marshal Ney retrograded in disorder; but a reserve division advanced, obliged the guards to fall back, pressed on them, and, after a further obstinate contest in the streets, forced the town.

'During this contest the bridges were ordered to be fired. The flames rolled over them instantaneously; they were no longer passable for friends or foes, and were consumed, notwithstanding the efforts of the enemy to preserve them, so that a great portion of the infantry were obliged to plunge into the stream, and escape by an almost impracticable ford.

'The infantry of the centre and right wing had undauntedly kept their ground, and the enemy advancing upon the branch of the ravine, and with the existence of which they were unacquainted, suffered heavy loss during their embarrassment; but the Russian flank being exposed by the retreat of the guards, must have given way in disorder, if the Russian cavalry had not, in full speed, rushed at the enemy, now approaching also with his left wing, and trampled down two battalions, whilst the remainder were obliged to arrest their progress and assume a new formation.

'The infantry, encouraged by this conduct of their cavalry, also advanced and covered its retreat. But when the smoke of the burning bridges darkened the atmosphere, then, indeed, further resistance to retrieve the day was acknowledged as hopeless, and destruction seemed inevitable; yet, still resolved to preserve their honour from the impending ruin, cavalry and infantry adhered to each other's fortunes, and mutually scorned a safety that compromised a friend.

'In solid order they retired; slowly measured back their march; charged whenever the encroaching enemy trespassed; and, in this manner, checking 50,000 men, they continued the action, unbroken and undismayed, until near 11 o'clock at night, when the enemy desisted.

'The Russian General then conceiving it too hazardous to continue his march upon the left of the Aller, explored the banks of the river until a ford was discovered, which did admit, with extreme difficulty, of the passage of his troops; but the infantry were obliged to wade through breast high, and the little remaining ammunition in the tumbrils was utterly spoiled.

'General Beningzen, who had been driven across the Aller, and who had rallied his left wing at the entrance of the wood, about a quarter of a mile north of the town, and on the right bank, covered this operation, and prevented for the night any interruption to the march of the artillery and retiring columns.' p. 156—161.

We may here remark an error of some moment, into which Sir R. Wilson has fallen in his estimate of the total loss of the Russians.—He says, (p. 163) that they lost 12,000 men, exclusive of 500 prisoners; and the French 7000, and 400 prisoners. Now, in the foregoing extract it will be perceived, that before the chief brunt of the battle began, that is, before 5 o'clock, he states Beningzen to have lost 12,000 men by the effects

effects of the destructive cannonade to which the Russian position exposed the army;—how to reconcile these matters we cannot tell:—But such things diminish not a little one's confidence in the cool and accurate narrative of this author, and give his adversaries no small advantage, even in other points where similar errors may not occur.

This appearance of inaccuracy is a point on which we have had occasion to touch formerly in the course of this article.—It arises, we believe, from inadvertency, or perhaps from an over great zeal and eagerness in behalf of the author's own opinions, which, as is very natural, and in controversy very usual, leads him to adopt whatever account may make for him, without scrutinizing its foundations, or even examining its probability. If more instances were required, we should refer to such particulars as are contained in the notes to pages 138 & 141. We doubt not that some one has told Sir Robert of the Cossacks having 'the prudence, when advanced within range of guns 'too highly elevated, not to rush back, but rather to close, 'until they find opportunity to evade the line of fire altogether.' Nevertheless, when he calmly reviews this passage, we suspect he will discover it to belong to the class of stories, which no weight of testimony can prove: And so of the anecdote of a 'French commanding officer having his life saved (in an attack upon his post) by a sign of masonry, just as 'the lance was about to pierce him:—A *brother* was near, and 'by an exertion preserved him.' Again, we must remark how bad the effects of such passages are upon the confidence of the readers. The same consequence follows from our author's extravagant opinions respecting the defects of the French generals —their blunders—their want of enterprise—their missing so many opportunities of destroying their enemies. And these observations, be it remarked, are in almost every page contradicted by his own narrative. Even Buonaparte is represented as so deficient in skill and courage, that his victories over the Russians can only be accounted for by supposing the latter to be infinitely worse governed and commanded than Sir Robert has himself described them;—nor is he content with confining these remarks to the Polish campaigns. He closes his narrative with the following mysterious and significant sentence.— 'Since that time, Buonaparte has acquired new celebrity, and 'his passage of the Danube has been extolled as an immortal 'testimony of his military genius:—But there *is more than authority for insinuation—there is reason to assert—that when that 'operation is investigated at a future period**, a development will be made public, to correct in future a too hasty and credulous admiration.' Does Sir R. Wilson really think that he

he can maintain, among his readers, such a reliance upon his testimony and his opinions, as to make them believe whatever he asserts, both in point of fact and of doctrine, without disclosing either the evidence of the one, or the reasons for the other?—that they will believe the story of the poisoning in Egypt, because he promises, at some future period, which may or may not ever arrive, to produce his proofs of it; and that they will be convinced of the *want of skill* which repaired the defeat of Asperne, and gained the victory of Wagram, because he promises, at a period equally uncertain, to bring forward something, he does not tell us what, connected with this subject? If such conviction can be gained on such terms, we can only say that the hatred, or rather the contempt of the enemy, is more than a match for the reason of this country—and that it will be well if we are not awakened from our dreams by more unpleasant realities than any replies to Sir R. Wilson.

This consideration leads us to say a word, before we finish, upon the charge so frequently brought against all who refuse to partake in the delusions just adverted to—the charge of undervaluing the resources of their own country, and magnifying those of the enemy—of representing Buonaparte as invincible, and all efforts to resist him as vain. Of the many falsehoods which the present contest has engendered, this is perhaps the most gross and unfounded. We verily believe, that among all the speeches and publications to which the war has given rise, not one sentence can be found, uttered, or written, by any Englishman, either with the view, or even with a tendency, to promote a passive submission to France.—But for ourselves, we can only say, that if, in looking back upon the opinions disseminated through this Journal, we find any reason to suspect a flaw, it is rather when we reflect on the confidence uniformly expressed by us at all times in the efficacy of even the boldest offensive operations against the power of the enemy.—To the best of our recollection, we have never condemned one active exertion of this country, except in as much as it was *misplaced*, and because we maintained that a combined and more effectual effort at the same time, would have done real service.—Our hopes have always rested on the power of England to cope with France singlehanded, and to overcome her with the aid of Austria: And while the pretended advocates of '*vigour*' have vapoured in the Sugar colonies, or punctured detached and remote parts of the French empire; we have predicted the success of larger and more daring enterprises, with a confidence which, we admit, could only be justified by a belief almost instinctive in the virtue and fortune of the British arms.

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* Italic in original.

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Nº. XXXVI.

ART. I. *The Dramatic Works of John Ford; with an Introduction and Explanatory Notes.* By Henry Weber Esq. 2 Vol. 8vo. pp. 950. Edinburgh and London. 1811.

ALL true lovers of English poetry have been long in love with the dramatists of the time of Elizabeth and James; and must have been sensibly comforted by their late restoration to some degree of favour and notoriety. If there was any good reason indeed to believe, that the notice which they have recently attracted proceeded from any thing but that indiscriminate rage for editing and annotating by which the present times are so happily distinguished, we should be disposed to hail it as the most unequivocal symptom of improvement in public taste that has yet occurred to reward and animate our labours. At all events, however, it gives us a chance for such an improvement, by placing in the hands of many, who would not otherwise have heard of them, some of those beautiful performances which we have always regarded as among the most pleasing and characteristic productions of our native genius.

Ford certainly is not the best of those neglected writers,—nor Mr Weber by any means the best of their recent editors; but we cannot resist the opportunity which this publication seems to afford, of saying a word or two of a class of writers, whom we have long worshipped in secret with a sort of idolatrous veneration, and now find once more brought forward as candidates for public applause. The æra to which they belong, indeed, has always appeared to us by far the brightest in the history of English literature,—or indeed of human intellect and capacity. There never was, any where, any thing like the sixty or seventy years that elapsed from the middle of Elizabeth's reign to the period of the Restoration. In point of real force and originality of

of genius, neither the age of Pericles, nor the age of Augustus, nor the times of Leo X, nor of Louis XIV, can come at all into comparison; for, in that short period, we shall find the names of almost all the very great men that this nation has ever produced,—the names of Shakespeare, and Bacon, and Spenser, and Sydney,—and Hooker, and Taylor, and Barrow, and Raleigh,—and Napier, and Milton, and Cudworth, and Hobbes, and many others;—men, all of them, not merely of great talents and accomplishments, but of vast compass and reach of understanding, and of minds truly creative and original;—not perfecting art by the delicacy of their taste, or digesting knowledge by the justness of their reasonings; but making vast and substantial additions to the materials upon which taste and reason must hereafter be employed,—and enlarging, to an incredible and unparalleled extent, both the stores and the resources of the human faculties.

Whether the brisk concussion which was given to men's minds by the force of the Reformation, had much effect in producing this sudden development of British genius, we cannot undertake to determine. For our own part, we should be rather inclined to hold, that the Reformation itself was but one symptom or effect of that great spirit of progression and improvement which had been set in operation by deeper and more general causes, and which afterwards blossomed out into this splendid harvest of authorship. But whatever may have been the causes that determined the appearance of these great works, the fact is certain, not only that they appeared together in great numbers, but that they possessed a common character, which, in spite of the great diversity of their subjects and designs, would have made them be classed together as the works of the same order or description of men, even if they had appeared at the most distant intervals of time. They are the works of Giants—and of Giants of one nation and family;——and their characteristics are, great force, boldness and originality; together with a certain raciness of English peculiarity, which distinguishes them from all those performances that have since been produced upon a more vague and general idea of European excellence. Their sudden appearance, indeed, in all this splendour of native luxuriance, can only be compared to what happens on the breaking up of a virgin soil,—where all indigenous plants spring up at once with a rank and irrepressible fertility, and display whatever is peculiar or excellent in their nature, on a scale the most conspicuous and magnificent. The crops are not indeed so clean as where a more exhausted mould has been stimulated by systematic cultivation, nor so profitable, as where their quality has

has been varied by a judicious admixture of exotics, and accommodated to the demands of the universe, by the combinations of an unlimited trade. But to those whose chief object of admiration is the living power and energy of vegetation, and who take delight in contemplating the various forms of her unforced and natural perfection, no spectacle can be more rich, splendid, or attractive.

In the times of which we are speaking, classical learning, though it had made great progress, had by no means become an exclusive study; and the antients had not yet been permitted to subdue men's minds to a sense of hopeless inferiority, or to condemn the moderns to the lot of humble imitators. They were resorted to, rather to furnish materials and occasional ornaments, than as models for the general style of composition; and, while they enriched the imagination, and insensibly improved the taste of their successors, they did not at all restrain their freedom, or impair their originality. No common standard had yet been erected, to which all the works of European genius were required to conform; and no general authority was acknowledged, by which all private or local ideas of excellence must submit to be corrected. Both readers and authors were comparatively few in number. The former were infinitely less critical than they have since become; and the latter, if they were not less solicitous about fame, were at least much less jealous and timid as to the hazards which attended its pursuit. Men, indeed, seldom took to writing in those days, unless they had a great deal of matter to communicate; and neither imagined that they could make a reputation, by delivering commonplaces in an elegant manner, or that the substantial value of their sentiments would be disregarded for a little rudeness or negligence in the finishing. They were habituated, therefore, both to depend upon their own resources, and to draw upon them without fear or anxiety; and followed the dictates of their own taste and judgment, without standing in awe of the antients, of their readers, or of each other.

The achievements of Bacon, and of those who set free our understandings from the shackles of Papal and of tyrannical imposition, afford sufficient evidence of the benefit which resulted to the reasoning faculties from this happy independence of the first great writers of this nation. But its advantages were, if possible, still more conspicuous in the mere literary character of their productions. The quantity of bright thoughts, of original images, and splendid expressions, which they poured forth upon every occasion, and by which they illuminated and adorned the darkest and most rugged topics to

which they had happened to turn themselves, is such as has never been equalled in any other age or country; and places them at least as high, in point of fancy and imagination, as of force of reason, or comprehensiveness of understanding. In this highest and most comprehensive sense of the word, a great proportion of the writers we have alluded to were *Poets:* and, without going to those who composed in metre, and chiefly for purposes of delight, we will venture to assert, that there is in any one of the prose folios of Jeremy Taylor more fine fancy and original imagery—more brilliant conceptions and glowing expressions—more new figures, and new applications of old figures—more, in short, of the body and the soul of poetry, than in all the odes and the epics that have since been produced in Europe. There are large portions of Barrow, and of Hooker and Bacon, of which we may say nearly as much: Nor can any one have a tolerably adequate idea of the riches of our language and our native genius, who has not made himself acquainted with the prose writers, as well as the poets, of this memorable period.

The civil wars, and the fanaticism by which they were fostered, checked all this fine bloom of the imagination, and gave a different and less attractive character to the energies which they could not extinguish. Yet, these were the times that matured and drew forth the dark, but powerful genius of such men as Cromwell, and Harrison, and Fleetwood, &c.—the milder and more generous enthusiasm of Blake, and Hutchison, and Hambden—and the stirring and indefatigable spirit of Pym, and Hollis, and Vane—and the chivalrous and accomplished loyalty of Strafford and Falkland, at the same time that they stimulated and repaid the severer studies of Coke, and Selden, and Milton. The drama, however, was entirely destroyed, and has never since regained its honours; and poetry, in general, lost its ease, and its majesty and force, along with its copiousness and originality.

The Restoration made things still worse: for it broke down the barriers of our literary independence, and reduced us to a province of the great republic of Europe. The genius and fancy which lingered through the usurpation, though soured and blighted by the severities of that inclement season, were still genuine English genius and fancy; and owned no allegiance to any foreign authorities. But the Restoration brought in a French taste upon us, and what was called a classical and a polite taste; and the wings of our English Muses were clipped and trimmed, and their flights regulated, at the expense of all that was peculiar, and much of what was brightest in their beauty. The King and his courtiers, during their long exile, had

had of course imbibed the taste of their protectors; and, coming from the gay court of France, with something of that additional profligacy that belonged to their outcast and adventurer character, were likely enough to be revolted by the peculiarities, and by the very excellences, of our native literature. The grand and sublime tone of our greater poets, appeared to them dull, morose and gloomy; and the fine play of their rich and unrestrained fancy, mere childishness and folly: while their frequent lapses and perpetual irregularity were set down as clear indications of barbarity and ignorance. Such sentiments, too, were natural, we must admit, for a few dissipated and witty men, accustomed all their days to the regulated splendour of a court—to the gay and heartless gallantry of French manners—and to the imposing pomp and brilliant regularity of French poetry. But, it may appear somewhat more unaccountable, that they should have been able to impose their sentiments upon the great body of the nation. A court, indeed, never has so much influence as at the moment of a restoration: But the influence of an English court has been but rarely discernible in the literature of the country; and had it not been for the peculiar circumstances in which the nation was then placed, we believe it would have resisted this attempt to naturalize foreign notions, as sturdily as it was done on almost every other occasion.

At this particular moment, however, the native literature of the country had been sunk into a very low and feeble state by the rigours of the usurpation,—the best of its recent models laboured under the reproach of republicanism,—and the courtiers were not only disposed to see all its peculiarities with an eye of scorn and aversion, but had even a good deal to say in favour of that very opposite style to which they had been habituated. It was a witty, and a grand, and a splendid style. It showed more scholarship and art, than the luxuriant negligence of the old English school; and was not only free from many of its hazards and some of its faults, but possessed merits of its own, of a character more likely to please those who had then the power of conferring celebrity, or condemning to derision. Then it was a style which it was peculiarly easy to justify by argument; and in support of which, great authorities, as well as imposing reasons, were always ready to be produced. It came upon us with the air and the pretension of being the style of cultivated Europe, and a true copy of the style of polished antiquity. England, on the other hand, had had but little intercourse with the rest of the world for a considerable period of time: Her language was not at all studied on the Continent, and her native authors had not been taken into

account in forming those ideal standards of excellence which had been recently constructed in France and Italy upon the authority of the Roman classics, and of their own most celebrated writers. When the comparison came to be made, therefore, it is easy to imagine that it should generally be thought to be very much to our disadvantage, and to understand how the great multitude, even among ourselves, should be dazzled with the pretensions of the fashionable style of writing, and actually feel ashamed of their own richer and more varied productions.

It would greatly exceed our limits to describe accurately the particulars in which this new Continental style differed from our old insular one: But, for our present purpose, it may be enough perhaps to say, that it was more worldly, and more townish,—holding more of reason, and ridicule and authority—more elaborate and more assuming—addressed more to the judgment than to the feelings, and somewhat ostentatiously accommodated to the habits, or supposed habits, of persons in fashionable life. Instead of tenderness and fancy, we had satire and sophistry—artificial declamation, in place of the spontaneous animations of genius—and for the universal language of Shakespeare, the personalities, the party politics, and the brutal obscenities of Dryden. Nothing, indeed, can better characterize the change which had taken place in our national taste, than the alterations and additions which this eminent person presumed—and thought it necessary—to make on the productions of Shakespeare and Milton. The heaviness, the coarseness, and the bombast of that abominable travestie, in which he has exhibited the Paradise Lost in the form of an opera, and the atrocious indelicacy and compassionable stupidity of the new characters with which he has polluted the enchanted solitude of Miranda and Prospero in the Tempest, are such instances of degeneracy as we would be apt to impute rather to some transient hallucination in the author himself, than to the general prevalence of any systematic bad taste in the public, did we not know that Wycherly and his coadjutors were in the habit of converting the neglected dramas of Beaumont and Fletcher into popular plays, merely by leaving out all the romantic sweetness of their characters—turning their melodious blank verse into vulgar prose—and aggravating the indelicacy of their lower characters, by lending a more disgusting indecency to the whole *dramatis personæ.*

Dryden was, beyond all comparison, the greatest poet of his own day; and, endued as he was with a vigorous and discursive imagination, and possessing a mastery over his language which no later writer has attained, if he had known nothing of foreign literature, and been left to form himself on the models of Shakespeare,

Spenser

Spenser and Milton; or if he had lived in the country, at a distance from the pollutions of courts, sections and playhouses, there is reason to think that he would have built up the pure and original school of English poetry so firmly, as to have made it impossible for fashion, or caprice, or prejudice of any sort, ever to have rendered any other popular among our own inhabitants. As it is, he has not written one line that is pathetic, and very few that can be considered as sublime.

Addison, however, was the consummation of this Continental style; and if it had not been redeemed about the same time by the fine talents of Pope, would probably have so far discredited it, as to have brought us back to our original faith half a century ago. The extreme caution, timidity and flatness of this author in his poetical compositions—the narrowness of his range in poetical sentiment and diction, and the utter want either of passion or of brilliancy, render it difficult to believe that he was born under the same sun with Shakespeare, and wrote but a century after him. His fame, at this day, stands solely upon the delicacy, the modest gayety and ingenious purity of his prose style;—for the occasional elegance and small ingenuity of his poems can never redeem the poverty of their diction, and the tameness of their conception. Pope has incomparably more spirit and taste and animation: but Pope is a satirist, and a moralist, and a wit, and a critic, and a fine writer, much more than he is a poet. He has all the delicacies and proprieties and felicities of diction—but he has not a great deal of fancy, and scarcely ever touches any of the greater passions. He is much the best, we think, of the classical Continental school; but he is not to be compared with the masters—nor with the pupils—of that Old English one from which there had been so lamentable an apostasy. There are no pictures of nature or of simple emotion in all his writings. He is the poet of town life, and of high life, and of literary life; and seems so much afraid of incurring ridicule by the display of natural feeling or unregulated fancy, that it is difficult not to imagine that he thought such ridicule would have been very well directed.

The best of what we copied from the Continental poets, on this desertion of our own great originals, is copied in the lighter pieces of Prior. That tone of polite raillery—that airy, rapid, picturesque narrative, mixed up of wit and *naïveté*—that style, in short, of good conversation, concentrated into flowing and polished verses, was not within the vein of our native poets, and probably never would have been known among us, if we had been left to our own resources. It is lamentable, that this, which alone was worth borrowing, is the only thing which has not

been retained. The tales and little apologues of Prior are still the only examples of this style in our language.

With the wits of Queen Anne this foreign school attained the summit of its reputation; and has ever since, we think, been declining, though by slow and almost imperceptible gradations. Thomson was the first writer of any eminence who seceded from it, and made some steps back to the force and animation of our original poetry. Thomson, however, was educated in Scotland, where the new style, we believe, had not yet become familiar; and lived, for a long time, a retired and unambitious life, with very little intercourse with those who gave the tone in literature at the period of his first appearance. Thomson, accordingly, has always been popular with a much wider circle of readers, than either Pope or Addison; and, in spite of considerable vulgarity and signal cumbrousness of diction, has drawn, even from the fastidious, a much deeper and more constant admiration.

Young exhibits, we think, a curious combination, or contrast rather, of the two styles of which we have been speaking. Though incapable either of tenderness or passion, he had a richness and activity of fancy that belonged rather to the days of James and Elizabeth, than to those of George and Anne;—but then, instead of indulging it, as the older writers would have done, in easy and playful inventions, in splendid descriptions, or glowing illustrations, he is led by the restraints and established taste of his age to work it up into strained and fantastical epigrams, or into cold and revolting hyperboles. Instead of letting it flow gracefully on, in an easy and sparkling current, he perpetually forces it out in jets, or makes it stagnate in formal canals;—and thinking it necessary to write like Pope, when the bent of his genius led him rather to copy what was best in Cowley and most fantastic in Shakespeare, he has produced something which excites wonder instead of admiration, and is felt by every one to be at once ingenious, incongruous and unnatural.

After Young, there was a plentiful lack of poetical talent, down to a period comparatively recent. Akenside and Gray, indeed, in the interval, discovered a new way of imitating the antients;—and Collins and Goldsmith produced some small specimens of exquisite and original poetry. At last, Cowper threw off the whole trammels of French criticism and artificial refinement;—and, setting at defiance all the imaginary requisites of poetical diction and classical imagery—dignity of style, and politeness of phraseology—ventured to write again with the force and the freedom which formed the great characteristic of the old school of English literature, and had been so unhappily sacrificed, upwards of a century before. Cowper had many faults,

faults, and some radical deficiencies;—but this atoned for all. There was something so delightfully refreshing, in seeing natural phrases and natural images again displaying their unforced graces, and waving their unpruned heads in the enchanted gardens of poetry, that no one complained of the taste displayed in the selection;—and Cowper is, and is likely to continue, the most popular of all who have written for the present or the last generation.

Of the poets who have come after him, we cannot, indeed, say that they have attached themselves to the school of Pope and Addison; or that they have even failed to show a much stronger predilection for the native beauties of their great predecessors. Southey, and Wordsworth, and Coleridge, and Miss Baillie, have all of them copied the manner of our older poets; and, along with this indication of good taste, have given great proofs of original genius. The misfortune is, that their copies of those great originals, are all liable to the charge of extreme affectation. They do not write as those great poets would have written: they merely mimic their manner, and ape their peculiarities;—and consequently, though they profess to imitate the freeest and most careless of all versifiers, their style is more remarkably and offensively artificial than that of any other class of writers. They have mixed in, too, so much of the maukish tone of pastoral innocence and babyish simplicity, with a sort of pedantic emphasis and ostentatious glitter, that it is difficult not to be disgusted with their perversity, and with the solemn self-complacency, and keen and vindictive jealousy, with which they have put in their claim for public admiration. But we have said enough elsewhere of the faults of these authors; and shall only add, at present, that, notwithstanding all these faults, there is a fertility and a force, a warmth of feeling and an exaltation of imagination, about them, which classes them, in our estimation, with a much higher order of poets than the followers of Dryden and Addison; and justifies an anxiety for their fame, in all the admirers of Milton and Shakespeare.

Of Scott, or of Campbell, we need scarcely say any thing, with reference to our present object, after the very copious accounts we have given of them on former occasions. The former professes to copy something a good deal older than what we consider as the golden age of English poetry,—and, in reality, has copied every style, and borrowed from every manner that has prevailed, from the times of Chaucer to his own,—illuminating and uniting, if not harmonizing them all, by a force of colouring, and a rapidity of succession, which is not to be met with in any of his many models. The latter, we think, can scarcely

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be said to have copied his pathos, or his energy, from any models whatever, either recent or early. The exquisite harmony of his versification, is elaborated, perhaps, from the Castle of Indolence of Thomson, and the serious pieces of Goldsmith;—and it seems to be his misfortune, not to be able to reconcile himself to any thing which he cannot reduce within the limits of this elaborate harmony. This extreme fastidiousness, and the limitation of his efforts to themes of unbroken tenderness or sublimity, distinguish him from the careless, prolific and miscellaneous authors of our primitive poetry;—while the enchanting softness of his pathetic passages, and the power and originality of his more sublime conceptions, place him at a still greater distance from the wits, as they truly called themselves, of Charles II. and Queen Anne.

We do not know what other apology to offer for this hasty, and, we fear, tedious sketch of the history of our poetry, but that it appeared to us to be necessary, in order to explain the peculiar merit of that class of writers to which the author before us belongs;—and that it will very greatly shorten what we have still to say on the characteristics of the older dramatists. An opinion prevails very generally on the Continent, and with foreign-bred scholars among ourselves, that our national taste has been corrupted chiefly by our idolatry of Shakespeare;—and that it is our patriotic and traditional admiration of that singular writer, that reconciles us to the monstrous compound of faults and beauties that occur in his performances, and must to all impartial judges appear quite absurd and unnatural. Before entering upon the character of a contemporary dramatist, it was of some importance, therefore, to show, that there was a distinct, original, and independent school of literature in England in the time of Shakespeare, to the general tone of whose productions his works were sufficiently unfavourable; and that it was owing to circumstances in a great measure accidental, that this native school was superseded about the time of the Restoration, and a foreign standard of excellence introduced upon us, not in the drama only, but in every other department of poetry. This new style of composition, however, though adorned and recommended by the splendid talents of many of its followers, was never perfectly naturalized, we think, in this country; and has ceased, in a great measure, to be cultivated by those who have lately aimed with the greatest success at the higher honours of poetry. Our love of Shakespeare, therefore, is not a solitary and unaccountable infatuation, but is merely the natural love which all men bear to those forms of excellence that have been devised with a reference to their peculiar character, temperament

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and situation; and will return, and assert its power over their affections, long after authority has lost its reverence, fashions been antiquated, and artificial tastes passed away. In endeavouring, therefore, to bespeak some share of favour for such of his contemporaries as had fallen out of notice, during the prevalence of an imported literature, we conceive that we are only enlarging that foundation of native genius on which alone any lasting superstructure can be raised, and invigorating that deep-rooted stock upon which all the perennial blossoms of our literature must still be engrafted.

The notoriety of Shakespeare may seem to make it superfluous to speak of the peculiarities of those old dramatists, of whom he will be admitted to be so worthy a representative. Nor shall we venture to say any thing of the confusion of their plots, the disorders of their chronology, their contempt of the unities, or their imperfect discrimination between the provinces of Tragedy and Comedy. Yet there are characteristics which the lovers of literature may not be displeased to find enumerated, and which may constitute no dishonourable distinction for the whole fraternity, independent of the splendid talents and incommunicable graces of their great chieftain.

Of the old English dramatists, then, including under this name (besides Shakespeare), Beaumont and Fletcher, Massinger, Jonson, Ford, Shirley, Webster, Dekkar, Field and Rowley, it may be said, in general, that they are more poetical, and more original in their diction, than the dramatists of any other age or country. Their scenes abound more in varied images, and gratuitous excursions of fancy. Their illustrations, and figures of speech, are more borrowed from rural life, and from the simple occupations, or universal feelings of mankind. They are not confined to a certain range of dignified expressions, nor restricted to a particular assortment of imagery, beyond which it is not lawful to look for embellishments. Let any one compare the prodigious variety, and wide-ranging freedom of Shakespeare, with the narrow round of flames, tempests, treasons, victims, and tyrants, that scantily adorn the sententious pomp of the French drama, and he will not fail to recognise the vast superiority of the former, in the excitement of the imagination, and all the diversities of poetical delight. That very mixture of styles, of which the French critics have so fastidiously complained, forms, when not carried to any height of extravagance, one of the greatest charms of our antient dramatists. It is equally sweet and natural for personages toiling on the barren heights of life, to be recalled to some vision of pastoral innocence and tranquillity, as for the victims or votaries of

ambition

ambition to cast a glance of envy and agony on the joys of humble content.

These charming old writers, however, have a still more striking peculiarity in their conduct of the dialogue. On the modern stage, every scene is *visibly* studied and digested beforehand,—and every thing from beginning to end, whether it be description, or argument, or vituperation, is very obviously and ostentatiously set forth in the most advantageous light, and with all the decorations of the most elaborate rhetoric. Now, for mere rhetoric, and fine composition, this is very right;—but, for an imitation of nature, it is not quite so well; and however we may admire the powers of the artist, we are not very likely to be moved with any very lively sympathy in the emotions of those very rhetorical interlocutors. When we come to any important part of the play, on the Continental or modern stage, we are sure to have a most complete, formal and exhausting discussion of it in long flourishing orations,—argument after argument propounded and answered with infinite ingenuity, and topic after topic brought forward in well-digested method, without any deviation that the most industrious and practised pleader would not approve of,—till nothing more remains to be said, and a new scene introduces us to a new set of gladiators, as expert and persevering as the former. It is exactly the same when a story is to be told,—a tyrant to be bullied,—or a princess to be wooed. On the old English stage, however, the proceedings were by no means so regular. There the discussions always appear to be casual, and the argument quite artless and disorderly. The persons of the drama are made to speak like men and women who meet without preparation in real life. Their reasonings are perpetually broken by passion, or left imperfect for want of skill. They wander from the point in hand, in the most unbusinesslike manner in the world;—and after hitting upon a topic that would afford a judicious playwright room for a magnificent see-saw of pompous declamation, they have always the awkwardness to let it slip, as if perfectly unconscious of its value, and uniformly leave the scene without exhausting the controversy, or stating half the plausible things for themselves that any ordinary advisers might have suggested after a few weeks reflection. As specimens of eloquent argumentation, we must admit the signal inferiority of our native favourites; but as true copies of nature,—as vehicles of passion, and representations of character, we confess we are tempted to give them the preference. When a dramatist brings his chief characters on the stage, we readily admit that he must give them something to say,—and that this something must be interesting and characteristic;—but he should recollect also,

that

that they are supposed to come there without having anticipated all they were to hear, or meditated on all they were to deliver; and that it cannot be characteristic, therefore, because it must be glaringly unnatural, that they should proceed regularly through every possible view of the subject, and exhaust in set order the whole magazine of reflections that can be brought to bear upon their situation.

It would not be fair, however, to leave this view of the matter, without observing, that this unsteadiness and irregularity of dialogue, which gives such an air of nature to our older plays, and keeps the curiosity and attention so perpetually awake, is very frequently carried to a most blameable excess; and that, independent of their passion for verbal quibbles, there is an inequality and capricious uncertainty in the taste and judgment of these good old writers, which excites at once our amazement and our compassion. If it be true, that no other man has ever written so finely as Shakespeare has done in his happier passages, it is no less true, that there is not a scribbler now alive who could possibly write worse than he has sometimes written,—who could, on occasion, devise more contemptible ideas, or misplace them so abominably, by the side of such incomparable excellence. That there were no critics, and no critical readers in those days, appears to us but an imperfect solution of the difficulty. He who could write so admirably, must have been a critic to himself. Children may play with the most precious gems; and the most worthless pebbles, without being aware of any difference in their value; but the very powers which are necessary to the production of intellectual excellence, must enable the possessor to recognize it as excellence; and he who knows when he succeeds, can scarcely be unconscious of his failures. Unaccountable, however, as it is, the fact is certain, that almost all the dramatic writers of this age appear to be alternately inspired and bereft of understanding; and pass, apparently without being conscious of the change, from the most beautiful displays of genius to the most melancholy exemplifications of stupidity.

There is only one other peculiarity which we shall notice in these antient dramas; and that is, the singular, though very beautiful, style in which the greater part of them are composed, —a style which we think must have been felt as peculiar by all who peruse them, though it is by no means easy to describe in what its peculiarity consists. It is not, for the most part, a lofty or sonorous style,—nor is it finical or affected,—or strained, quaint, or pedantic,—but it is, at the same time, a style full of turn and contrivance,—with some little degree of constraint and involution,—very often characterised by a studied briefness and

and simplicity of diction, yet relieved by a certain indirect and figurative cast of expression,—and almost always coloured with a modest tinge of ingenuity, and fashioned, rather too visibly, upon a particular model of elegance and purity. In scenes of powerful passion, this sort of artificial prettiness is commonly shaken off; and, in Shakespeare, it disappears under all his forms of animation: But it sticks closer to most of his contemporaries. In Massinger (who has no passion), it is almost always discernible; and, in the author before us, it gives a peculiar tone to almost all the estimable parts of his productions.—It is now time, however, and more than time, that we should turn to this author.

His biography will not detain us long; for very little is known about him. He was born in Devonshire, in 1586; and entered as a student in the Middle Temple, where he began to publish poetry, and probably to write plays, soon after his twenty-first year. He did not publish any of his dramatic works, however, till 1629; and though he is supposed to have written fourteen or fifteen pieces for the theatres, only nine appear to have been printed, or to have found their way down to the present times. He is known to have written in conjunction with Rowley and Dekkar, and is supposed to have died about 1640;—and this is the whole that the industry of Mr Weber, assisted by the researches of Steevens and Malone, has been able to discover of his author.

It would be useless, and worse than useless, to give our readers an abstract of the fable and management of each of the nine plays contained in the volumes before us. A very few brief remarks upon their general character, will form a sufficient introduction to the extracts, by which we propose to let our readers judge for themselves of the merits of their execution. The comic parts are all utterly bad. With none of the richness of Shakespeare's humour, the extravagant merriment of Beaumont and Fletcher, or the strong colouring of Ben Jonson, they are as heavy and indecent as Massinger, and not more witty, though a little more varied, than the buffooneries of Wycherly or Dryden. Fortunately, however, the author's merry vein is not displayed in very many parts of his performances. His plots are not very cunningly digested; nor developed, for the most part, by a train of very probable incidents. His characters are drawn rather with occasional felicity, than with general sagacity and judgement. Like those of Massinger, they are very apt to startle the reader with sudden and unexpected transformations, and to turn out, in the latter half of the play, very differently from what they promised to do in the beginning. This kind of surprise has been

been represented by some as a master-stroke of art in the author, and a great merit in the performance. We have no doubt at all, however, that it arises merely from the writer's carelessness, or change of purpose; and have never failed to feel it a great blemish in every serious piece where it occurs.

The author has not much of the oratorical stateliness and imposing flow of Massinger; nor a great deal of the smooth and flexible diction, the wandering fancy, and romantic sweetness of Beaumont and Fletcher; and yet he comes nearer to these qualities than to any of the distinguishing characteristics of Jonson or Shakespeare. He excels most in representing the pride and gallantry, and high-toned honour of youth, and the enchanting softness, or the mild and graceful magnanimity of female character. There is a certain melancholy air about his most striking representations; and, in the tender and afflicting pathetic, he appears to us occasionally to be second only to him who has never yet had an equal. The greater part of every play, however, is bad; and there is not one which does not contain faults sufficient to justify the derision of those who are incapable even of comprehending its contrasted beauties.

The diction we think for the most part beautiful, and worthy of the inspired age which produced it. That we may not be suspected of misleading our readers by partial and selected quotations, we shall lay before them the very first sentence of the play which stands first in this collection. The subject is somewhat revolting; though managed with great spirit, and, in the more dangerous parts, with considerable dignity. A brother and sister fall mutually in love with each other; and abandon themselves, with a sort of splendid and perverted devotedness, to their incestuous passion. The sister is afterwards married, and their criminal intercourse detected by her husband,—when the brother, perceiving their destruction inevitable, first kills her, and then throws himself upon the sword of her injured husband. The play opens with his attempting to justify his passion to a holy friar, his tutor—who thus addresses him.

'*Friar*. Dispute no more in this; for know, young man,
These are no school points; nice philosophy
May tolerate unlikely arguments,
But heaven admits no jest. Wits that presum'd
On wit too much, by striving how to prove
There was no God, with foolish grounds of art,
Discover'd first the nearest way to hell,
And filled the world with dev'lish atheism.
Such questions, youth, are fond: for better 'tis
To bless the sun, than reason why it shines;

Yet

Yet he thou talk'st of is above the sun.
No more! I may not hear it.
Gio. Gentle father,
To you I have unclasp'd my burden'd soul,
Emptied the storehouse of my thoughts and heart,
Made myself poor of secrets; have not left
Another word untold, which hath not spoke
All what I ever durst, or think, or know;
And yet is here the comfort I shall have?
Must I not do what all men else may,—love?
No, father! in your eyes I see the change
Of pity and compassion; from your age,
As from a sacred oracle, distils
The life of counsel. Tell me, holy man,
What cure shall give me ease in these extremes?
Friar. Repentance, son, and sorrow for this sin:
For thou hast mov'd a majesty above
With thy unranged, almost, blasphemy.
Gio. O do not speak of that, dear confessor.
Friar. Then I have done, and in thy wilful flames
Already see thy ruin; Heaven is just.
Yet hear my counsel!
Gio. As a voice of life.
Friar. Hie to thy father's house; there lock thee fast
Alone within thy chamber; then fall down
On both thy knees, and grovel on the ground;
Cry to thy heart; wash every word thou utter'st
In tears (and if't be possible) of blood:
Beg Heaven to cleanse the leprosy of love
That rots thy soul; weep, sigh, pray
Three times a day, and three times every night:
For seven days space do this; then, if thou find'st
No change in thy desires, return to me;
I'll think on remedy. Pray for thyself
At home, whilst I pray for thee here. Away!
My blessing with thee! We have need to pray.' I. 9—12.

In a subsequent scene with the sister, the same holy person maintains the dignity of his style.

'*Friar.* I am glad to see this penance; for, believe me,
You have unripp'd a soul so foul and guilty,
As I must tell you true, I marvel how
The earth hath borne you up; but weep, weep on,
These tears may do you good; weep faster yet,
Whilst I do read a lecture.
Ann. Wretched creature!
Friar. Ay, you are wretched, miserably wretched,
Almost condemned alive. There is a place,
(List, daughter) in a black and hollow vault,

Where day is never seen; there shines no sun,
But flaming horror of consuming fires;
A lightless sulphur, chok'd with smoky fogs
Of an infected darkness; in this place
Dwell many thousand thousand sundry sorts
Of never-dying deaths. There damned souls
Roar without pity; there are gluttons fed
With toads and adders; there is burning oil
Pour'd down the drunkard's throat; the usurer
Is forc'd to sup whole draughts of molten gold;
There is the murderer for ever stabb'd,
Yet can he never die; there lies the wanton
On racks of burning steel, whilst in his soul
He feels the torment of his raging lust.
Ann. Mercy! oh mercy!
Friar. There stand these wretched things,
Who have dream'd out whole years in lawless sheets
And secret incests cursing one another,' &c. I. 63, 64.

The most striking scene of the play, however, is that which contains the catastrophe of the lady's fate. Her husband, after shutting her up for some time in gloomy privacy, invites her brother, and all his family, to a solemn banquet; and even introduces him, before it is served up, into her private chamber, where he finds her sitting on her marriage-bed, in splendid attire, but filled with boding terrors and agonizing anxiety. He, though equally aware of the fate that was prepared for them, addresses her at first with a kind of wild and desperate gayety, to which she tries for a while to answer with sober and earnest warnings,—and then exclaims impatiently,

'*Ann.* O let's not waste
These precious hours in vain and useless speech.
Alas, these gay attires were not put on
But to some end; this sudden solemn feast
Was not ordain'd to riot in expense;
I that have now been chamber'd here alone,
Barr'd of my guardian, or of any else,
Am not for nothing at an instant freed
To fresh access. Be not deceiv'd, my brother;
This banquet is an harbinger of Death
To you and me; resolve yourself it is,
And be prepar'd to welcome it.
Gio. Look up, look here; what see you in my face?
Ann. Distraction and a troubled countenance.
Gio. Death, and a swift repining wrath,——yet look,
What see you in mine eyes?
Ann. Methinks you weep.
Gio. I do indeed. These are the funeral tears

Shed on your grave. These furrow'd up my cheeks
When first I lov'd and knew not how to woo.
Fair Annabella! should I here repeat
The story of my life, we might lose time!
Be record all the spirits of the air,
And all things else that are, that day and night,
Early and late, the tribute which my heart
Hath paid to Annabella's sacred love,
Hath been these tears,—which are her mourners now.
Never till now did nature do her best,
To show a matchless beauty to the world,
Which in an instant, ere it scarce was seen,
The jealous destinies require again.
Pray, Annabella, pray! since we must part,
Go thou, white in thy soul, to fill a throne
Of innocence and sanctity in heaven.
Pray, pray, my sister.

Ann. Then I see your drift;
Ye blessed angels, guard me!

Gio. So say I.
Kiss me. If ever after-times should hear
Of our fast-knit affections, though perhaps
The laws of conscience and of civil use
May justly blame us, yet when they but know
Our loves, that love will wipe away that rigour,
Which would in other incests be abhorr'd.
Give me your hand. How sweetly life doth run
In these well-colour'd veins! how constantly
These palms do promise health! but I could chide
With nature for this cunning flattery.—
Kiss me again,—forgive me.

Ann. With my heart.

Gio. Farewell.

Ann. Will you be gone?

Gio. Be dark, bright sun,
And make this mid-day night, that thy gilt rays
May not behold a deed will turn their splendour
More sooty than the poets feign their Styx!
One other kiss, my sister.

Ann. What means this?

Gio. To save thy fame, and kill thee in a kiss. [*Stabs her.*
Thus die, and die by me, and by my hand.

Ann. Oh brother, by your hand!

Gio. When thou art dead
I'll give my reasons for't; for to dispute
With thee, even in thy death, most lovely beauty,
Would make me stagger to perform this act
Which I most glory in.

Ann. Forgive him, Heaven—and me my sins! Farewell.
Brother unkind, unkind,—mercy, great Heaven,—oh—oh.
[*Dies.*

Gio. She's dead, alas, good soul! This marriage-bed
In all her best, bore her alive and dead.
Soranzo, thou hast miss'd thy aim in this;
I have prevented now thy reaching plots,
And kill'd a love, for whose each drop of blood
I would have pawn'd my heart. Fair Annabella,
How over-glorious art thou in thy wounds,
Triumphing over infamy and hate!
Shrink not, courageous hand; stand up, my heart,
And boldly act my last, and greater part! [*Exit with the Body.*'
I. 98—101.

There are few things finer than this in Shakespeare. It bears an obvious resemblance indeed to the death of Desdemona; and, taking it as a detached scene, we think it rather the more beautiful of the two. The sweetness of the diction—the natural tone of tenderness and passion—the strange perversion of kind and magnanimous natures, and the horrid catastrophe by which their guilt is at once consummated and avenged, have not often been rivalled in the pages either of the modern or the antient drama.

The play entitled, 'The Broken Heart,' is in our author's best manner; and would supply more beautiful quotations than we have left room for inserting. The story is a little complicated; but the following slight sketch of it will make our extracts sufficiently intelligible. Penthea, a noble lady of Sparta, was betrothed, with her father's approbation and her own full consent, to Orgilus; but being solicited, at the same time, by Bassanes, a person of more splendid fortune, was, after her father's death, in a manner compelled by her brother Ithocles to violate her first engagement, and yield him her hand. In this ill sorted alliance, though living a life of unimpeachable purity, she was harassed and degraded by the perpetual jealousies of her unworthy husband, and pined away, like her deserted lover, in sad and bitter recollections of the happy promise of their youth. Ithocles, in the mean time, had pursued the course of ambition with a bold and commanding spirit, and had obtained the highest honours of his country, too much occupied in the pursuit to think of the misery to which he had condemned the sister who was left to his protection. At last, however, in the midst of his proud career, he is seized with a sudden passion for Calantha, the heiress of the sovereign, and, after many struggles, is reduced to ask the intercession and advice of his

unhappy sister, who was much in favour with the princess. The following is the scene in which he makes this request;—and to those who have learned, from the preceding passages, the lofty and unbending temper of the suppliant, and the rooted and bitter anguish of her whom he addresses, it cannot fail to appear one of the most striking in the whole compass of dramatic composition.

Ith. Sit nearer, sister, to me;—nearer yet:
We had one father, in one womb took life,
Were brought up twins together,—yet have liv'd
At distance, like two strangers. I could wish
That the first pillow, whereon I was cradled,
Had prov'd to me a grave.
Pen. You had been happy:
Then had you never known that sin of life
Which blots all following glories with a vengeance,
For forfeiting the last will of the dead,
From whom you had your being.
Ith. Sad Penthea!
Thou canst not be too cruel; my rash spleen
Hath with a violent hand pluck'd from thy bosom
A love-blest heart, to grind it into dust—
For which mine's now a-breaking.
Pen. Not yet, heaven,
I do beseech thee! first, let some wild fires
Scorch, not consume it! may the heat be cherish'd
With desires infinite, but hopes impossible!
Ith. Wrong'd soul, thy prayers are heard.
Pen. Here, lo, I breathe,
A miserable creature, led to ruin
By an unnatural brother!
Ith. I consume
In languishing affections for that trespass;
Yet cannot die.
Pen. The handmaid to the wages,
The untroubled but of country toil, drinks streams
With leaping kids and with the bleating lambs,
And so allays her thirst secure; whilst I
Quench my hot sighs with fleetings of my tears.
Ith. The labourer doth eat his coarsest bread,
Earn'd with his sweat, and lies him down to sleep;
Whilst every bit I touch turns in digestion
To gall, as bitter as Penthea's curse.
Put me to any penance for my tyranny,
And I will call thee merciful.
Pen. Pray kill me,
Rid me from living with a jealous husband,

Then

Then we will join in friendship, be again
Brother and sister—Kill me, pray ; nay, will ye?
Ith. How doth thy lord esteem thee?
Pen. Such an one
As only you have made me ; a faith-breaker,
A spotted whore : forgive me ; I am one
In act,—not in desires, the gods must witness.
Ith. Thou dost bely thyself.
Pen. I do not, Ithocles ;
For she that's wife to Orgilus, and lives
In known adultery with Bassanes,
Is, at the best, a whore. Wilt kill me now?
Ith. After my victories abroad, at home
I meet despair ; ingratitude of nature
Hath made my actions monstrous ; and thou shalt stand
A deity, my sister, and be worshipp'd
For thy resolved martyrdom : wrong'd maids
And married wives shall to thy hallow'd shrine
Offer their orisons, and sacrifice
Pure turtles, crown'd with myrtle, if thy pity
Unto a yielding brother's pressure, tend
One finger but to ease it.
Pen. Oh, no more.
Ith. Death waits to waft me to the Stygian banks,
And free me from this chaos of my bondage ;
And till thou wilt forgive, I must endure.
Pen. Who is the saint you serve?
Ith. Friendship or nearness
Of birth to any but my sister, durst not
Have mov'd that question, as a secret, sister,
I dare not murmur to myself.
Pen. Let me
(By your new protestations I conjure ye!)
Partake her name.
Ith. Her name?—'tis—'tis—I dare not.
Pen. All your respects are forg'd.
Ith. They are not.—Peace!—
Calantha 'tis ;—the princess, the king's daughter,
Sole heir of Sparta.—Me, most miserable!—
Do I now love thee? For my injuries
Revenge thyself with bravery, and gossip
My treasons to the king's ears. Do!—Calantha
Knows it not yet, nor Prophilus, my nearest.
Pen. Suppose you were contracted to her, would it not
Split even your very soul to see her father
Snatch her out of your arms against her will,
And force her on the prince of Argos?
Ith. Trouble not

The fountains of mine eyes with thine own story;
I sweat in blood for't.
Pen. We are reconcil'd.—
Alas, sir, being children, but two branches
Of one stock, 'tis not fit we should divide:
Have comfort, you may find it.
Ith. Yes, in thee;
Only in thee, Penthea mine!
Pen. If sorrows
Have not too much dull'd my infected brain,
I'll cheer invention for an active strain.
Ith. Mad man! why have I wrong'd a maid so excellent?'
I. 273—277.

We cannot resist the temptation of adding a part of the scene in which this sad ambassadress acquits herself of the task she had undertaken. There is a tone of heart-struck sorrow and female gentleness and purity about it that is singularly engaging, and contrasts strangely with the atrocious indecencies with which the author has polluted his paper in other parts of the same play.—The princess says,

Cal. Being alone, Penthea, you have granted
The opportunity you sought, and might
At all times have commanded.
Pen. 'Tis a benefit
Which I shall owe your goodness even in death for:
My glass of life, sweet princess, hath few minutes
Remaining to run down; the sands are spent;
For by an inward messenger I feel
The summons of departure short and certain.
Cal. You feed too much your melancholy.
Pen. Glories
Of human greatness are but pleasing dreams,
And shadows soon decaying. On the stage
Of my mortality, my youth hath acted
Some scenes of vanity, drawn out at length
By varied pleasures, sweetened in the mixture,
But tragical in issue. Beauty, pomp,
With every sensuality our giddiness
Doth frame an idol, are unconstant friends,
When any troubled passion makes us halt
On the unguarded castle of the mind.
Cal. Contemn not your condition, for the proof
Of bare opinion only: to what end
Reach all these moral texts?
Pen. To place before ye
A perfect mirror, wherein you may see
How weary I am of a lingering life
Who count the best a misery.

Cal.

Cal. Indeed
You have no little cause; yet none so great
As to distrust a remedy.
Pen. That remedy
Must be a winding-sheet, a fold of lead,
And some untrod-on corner of the earth.—
Not to detain your expectation, princess,
I have an humble suit.
Cal. Speak; and enjoy it.
Pen. Vouchsafe, then, to be my executrix,
And take that trouble on you to dispose
Such legacies, as I bequeath impartially;
I have not much to give, the pains are easy,
Heav'n will reward your piety, and thank it
When I am dead; for sure I must not live:
I hope I cannot.

After leaving her fame, her youth, &c. in some very pretty but fantastical verses, she proceeds—

'*Pen.* 'Tis long agone, since first I lost my heart;
Long have I liv'd without it, else for certain
I should have given that too; but instead
Of it, to great Calantha, Sparta's heir,
By service bound, and by affection vow'd,
I do bequeath in holiest rites of love
Mine only brother, Ithocles.
'*Cal.* What say'st thou?
'*Pen.* I must leave the world
To revel in Elysium, and 'tis just
To wish my brother some advantage here;
Yet by my best hopes, Ithocles is ignorant
Of this pursuit.
'*Cal.* You have forgot, Penthea,
How still I have a father.
'*Pen.* But remember
I am a sister, though to me this brother
Hath been, you know, unkind: Oh, most unkind!' I. 291-3.

We pass, now, to another branch of the story. Penthea dies distracted; and Orgilus appears to be reconciled to Ithocles, who had sought his friendship with much zeal and condescension. The former, however, though of a generous and lofty nature, could not forgive the cruel injuries, which had just been consummated by the death of the heart-broken Penthea. He trains her brother, therefore, to the chamber where the departed mourner still sits, veiled, in the chair where she died, and where, we are almost ashamed to say, Mr Ford has made her lover prepare a sort of man-trap in an adjoining chair, in order to place his oppressor altogether at his mercy. This childish,

needless, and paltry contrivance, gives a mean and ludicrous air to the whole scene; which is written, however, with such force and spirit, as to deserve well to be extracted. After Ithocles has ascertained the fact of his sister's death, he says—

——' Mine only sister!
Another is not left me.
' *Org.* Take that chair,
I'll seat me here in this: between us sits
The object of our sorrows; some few tears
We'll part among us; I perhaps can mix
One lamentable story to prepare them.—
There, there! sit there, my lord.
' *Ith.* Yes, as you please.
[*Sits down, and is caught in the engine.*
What means this treachery?
' *Org.* Caught? you are caught,
Young master: 'tis thy throne of coronation,
Thou fool of greatness. See, I take this veil off:
Survey a beauty withered by the flames
Of an insulting Phaeton, her brother.
' *Ith.* Thou mean'st to kill me basely?
' *Org.* I foreknew
The last act of her life, and trained thee hither
To sacrifice a tyrant to a turtle.
You dreamt of kingdoms, did ye? how to bosom
The delicacies of a youngling princess,
How with this nod to grace that subtle courtier,
How with that frown to make this noble tremble,
And so forth; whilst Penthea's groans and tortures,
Her agonies, her miseries, afflictions,
Ne'er touched upon your thought? As for *my* injuries,
Alas! they were beneath your royal pity;
But yet they lived, thou proud man, to confound thee.
Behold thy fate: this steel! [*Draws his sword.*
' *Ith.* Strike home! A courage
As keen as thy revenge shall give it welcome.
But pr'ythee faint not; if the wound close up,
Tent it with double force, and search it deeply.
Thou look'st that I should whine, and beg compassion,
As loath to leave the vainness of my glories:
A statelier resolution arms my confidence,
To cozen thee of honour; neither could I,
With equal trial of unequal fortune,
By hazard of a duel; 'twere a bravery
Too mighty for a slave intending murder:
On to the execution, and inherit
A conflict with thy horrors!

' Org.

'*Org.* By Apollo,
Thou talk'st a goodly language! for requital
I will report thee to thy mistress richly.
And take this peace along; some few short minutes
Determin'd, my resolves shall quickly follow
Thy wrathful ghost; then, if we tug for mastery,
Penthea's sacred eyes shall lend new courage.
Give me thy hand: be healthful in thy parting
From lost mortality. Thus, thus I free it. [*Stabs him.*
'*Ith.* Yet, yet I scorn to shrink.
'*Org.* Keep up thy spirit:
I will be gentle even in blood; to linger
Pain, which I strive to cure, were to be cruel.
'*Ith.* Nimble in vengeance, I forgive thee. Follow
Safety, with best success: Oh, may it prosper!
Penthea, by thy side thy brother bleeds;
The earnest of his wrongs to thy forc'd faith.
Thoughts of ambition, or delicious banquet,
With beauty, youth, and love, together perish
In my last breath, which on the sacred altar
Of a long look'd for peace—now—move—to heaven. [*Dies.*
'*Org.* Farewell, fair spring of manhood; henceforth welcome
Best expectation of a noble sufferance.
I'll look the bodies safe, till what must follow
Shall be approved.—Sweet twins shine stars for ever!'
I. 317-320.

The concluding scenes of this powerful and original drama, are marked with the same painful strength of colouring, and rather more than the same extravagancies. Calantha, dancing at a court-ball, is told, successively, of the death of her father, of Penthea, and of Ithocles her betrothed husband; but dances on with seeming indifference and composure, till the entertainment is closed. She then, with great apparent coolness, condemns Orgilus to death, who chuses to die in the Roman fashion, by opening the veins of his arms; and this strange and disgusting operation is performed on the open stage with much solemnity. To show how much better our author's execution is than his conception of such passages, we shall insert this singular scene, the strength and spirit of which would almost redeem the unhappy choice of the catastrophe. After his arms are bared, and *pieces of tape tied round each*, as the stage directions accurately informs us, Orgilus speaks thus.

—' If a proneness,
Or custom in my nature, from my cradle,
Had been inclined to fierce and eager bloodshed,
A coward guilt, hid in a coward quaking,
Might have betrayed me to ignoble flight,

And

And vagabond pursuit of dreadful safety:
But look upon my steadiness, and scorn not
The sickness of my fortune; which, since Bassanes
Was husband to Penthea, had lain bed-rid.
We trifle time in words: thus I show cunning
In opening of a vein too full, too lively.
[*Opens a vein in his arm.*
' *Bass.* It sparkles like a lusty wine new broached;
The vessel must be sound from which it issues.
But pr'ythee, look not pale; have at ye!
This pastime
Appears majestical: some high-tun'd poem
Hereafter shall deliver to posterity
The writer's glory, and his subject's triumph.
How is't, man? Droop not yet!
' *Org.* I feel no palsies.
On a pair-royal do I wait in death;
My sovereign as his liegeman; on my mistress,
As a devoted servant; and on Ithocles,
As if no brave, yet no unworthy enemy:
Nor did I use an engine to entrap
His life, out of a slavish fear to combat
Youth, strength, or cunning; but for that I durst not
Engage the goodness of a cause on fortune,
By which his name might have outfac'd my vengeance.
When feeble man is bending to his mother,
The dust he was first framed on, thus he totters.
[*Falling.*
' *Bass.* Life's fountain is dried up.
' *Org.* So falls the standard
Of my prerogative in being a creature.
A mist hangs o'er mine eyes; the sun's bright splendour
Is clouded in an everlasting shadow.
Welcome thou ice, that sit'st about my heart,
No heat can ever thaw thee. [*Dies.*' I. 328-30.

In the concluding scene, Calantha arranges all the offices of her kingdom with the same majestic composure with which she had judged and sentenced Orgilus on the first intelligence of her lover's death. But, after all those high duties are fulfilled, she turns suddenly to the altar on which his body had been deposited, and breaks out into the following grand and most moving speech; almost immediately after which, she leans down on the altar, and expires.

' *Cal.* Forgive me.—Now I turn to thee, thou shadow
Of my contracted lord! bear witness all,
I put my mother's wedding-ring upon
His finger; 'twas my father's last bequest.
[*Places a ring on the finger of* Ithocles.

Thus

Thus I new-marry him, whose wife I am;
Death shall not separate us. Oh, my lords,
I but deceiv'd your eyes with antic gesture,
When one news straight came huddling on another,
Of death, and death, and death, still I danc'd forward;
But it struck home!—and here!—and in an instant!
Be such mere women, who, with shrieks and outcries,
Can vow a present end to all their sorrows,
Yet live to vow new pleasures, and outlive them:
They are the silent griefs which cut the heartstrings;
Let me die smiling.' I. 333–34.

There are passages of equal power and beauty in the plays called 'Love's Sacrifice,' 'The Lover's Melancholy,' and in 'Fancies, Chaste and Noble.' In Perkin Warbeck, there is a more uniform and sustained elevation of style. But we pass all those over, to give our readers a word or two from 'The Witch of Edmonton,' a drama founded upon the recent execution of a miserable old woman for that fashionable offence; and in which the devil, in the shape of a black dog, is a principal performer. The greater part of the play, in which Ford was assisted by Dekkar and Rowley, is of course utterly absurd and contemptible, though not without its value as a memorial of the strange superstition of the age; but it contains some scenes of great interest and beauty, though written in a lower and more familiar tone than most of those we have already exhibited. As a specimen of the range of the author's talents, we shall present our readers with one of these. Frank Thorney had privately married a woman of inferior rank, and is afterwards strongly urged by his father and his own inclination, to take a second wife, in the person of a rich yeoman's daughter whose affections were fixed upon him. After taking this unjustifiable step, he is naturally troubled with certain inward compunctions, which manifest themselves in his exterior, and excite the apprehensions of his innocent bride. It is her dialogue with him that we are now to extract; and we think, the picture that it affords of unassuming innocence and singleness of heart, is drawn with great truth, and even elegance. She begins with asking him why he changes countenance so suddenly. He answers—

'Who, I? For nothing.

Sus. Dear, say not so: a spirit of your constancy
Cannot endure this change for nothing. I've observ'd
Strange variations in you.

Frank. In me?

Sus. In you, Sir.
Awake, you seem to dream, and in your sleep

You

You utter sudden and distracted accents,
Like one at enmity with peace. Dear loving husband,
If I may dare to challenge any interest
In you, give me thee fully: you may trust
My breast as safely as your own.

Frank. With what?
You half amaze me; pr'ythee—

Sus. Come, you shall not;
Indeed you shall not shut me from partaking
The least dislike that grieves you. I'm all your's.

Frank. And I all thine.

Sus. You are not, if you keep
The least grief from me: but I find th[illegible]use;
It grew from me.

Frank. From you?

Sus. From so[illegible]te
In me or my behaviour: you're [illegible]
In the concealment. 'Las, Sir, [illegible]m young,
Silly and plain; more strange to[illegible]ose contents
A wife should offer. Say but in what I fail,
I'll study satisfaction.

Frank. Come; in nothing.

Sus. I know I do: knew I as well in what,
You should not long be sullen. Pr'ythee, love,
If I have been immodest or too bold,
Speak't in a frown; if peevishly too nice,
Shew't in a smile. Thy liking is a glass
By which I'll habit my behaviour.

Frank. Wherefore
Dost weep now?

Sus. You, sweet, have the power
To make me passionate as an April day.
Now smile, then weep; now pale, then crimson red.
You are the powerful moon of my blood's sea,
To make it ebb or flow into my face,
As your looks change.

Frank. Change thy conceit, I pr'ythee:
Thou'rt all perfection: Diana herself
Swells in thy thoughts and moderates thy beauty.
Within thy left eye amorous Cupid sits
Feathering love shafts, whose golden heads he dips
In thy chaste breast; in the other lies
Blushing Adonis scarfed in modesties;
And still as wanton Cupid blows love-fires,
Adonis quenches out unchaste desires.

Sus. Come, come: these golden strings of flattery
Shall not tie up my speech, Sir; I must know
The ground of your disturbance.

Frank.

Frank. Then look here;
For here, here is the fen in which this hydra
Of discontent grows rank.
Sus. Heaven shield it! Where?
Frank. In mine own bosom: here the cause has root;
The poisoned leeches twist about my heart,
And will, I hope, confound me.
Sus. You speak riddles.' II. 437-440.

The unfortunate bigamist afterwards resolves to desert this innocent creature: but, in the act of their parting, is moved by the devil, who rubs against him in the shape of a dog, to murder her. We are t[illegible]ted to give the greater part of this scene, just to show how [illegible] beauty of diction and natural expression of character may [illegible] with the most revolting and degrading absurdities. [illegible] unhappy bridegroom says—

' Why would [illegible]? we have no other business
Now but to part[illegible]
Sus. And will not tha[illegible] sweet-heart, ask a long time?
Methinks it is the hardest piece of work
That e'er I took in hand.
Frank. Fie, fie! why look,
I'll make it plain and easy to you. Farewell. [*Kisses her.*
Sus. Ah, 'las! I'm not half perfect in it yet.
I must have it read o'er an hundred times.
Pray you take some pains, I confess my dulness.
Frank. Come, again and again, farewell. [*Kisses her.*] Yet wilt return?
All questions of my journey, my stay, employment,
And revisitation, fully I have answered all.
There's nothing now behind but—nothing.
Sus. And that nothing's more hard than any thing,
Than all the every things. But this request—
Frank. What is't?
Sus. That I may bring you thro' one pasture more,
Up to yon knot of trees: amongst those shadows
I'll vanish from you, they shall teach me how.
Frank. Why 'tis granted; come, walk then.
Sus. Nay, not too fast:
They say, slow things have best perfection;
The gentle show'r wets to fertility,
The churlish storm makes mischief with his bounty.
Frank. Now, your request
Is out: yet will you leave me?
Sus. What? so churlishly?
You'll make me stay for ever,
Rather than part with such a sound from you.
Frank. Why, you almost anger me.—'Pray you be gone.
You have no company, and 'tis very early;
Some hurt may betide you homewards.

Sus.

Sus. Tush! I fear none:
To leave you is the greatest I can suffer.
Frank. So, I shall have more trouble.

Here the dog rubs against him; and, after some more talk, he stabs her.

Sus. Why then I thank you;
You have done lovingly, leaving yourself,
That you would thus bestow me on another.
Thou art my husband, Death; I embrace thee
With all the love I have. Forget the stain
Of my unwitting sin: and then I come
A crystal virgin to thee. My soul's purity
Shall, with bold wings, ascend the doors of mercy;
For innocence is ever her companion.
Frank. Not yet mortal? I would not linger you.
Or leave you a tongue to blab. [*Stabs her again.*
Sus. Now heaven reward you ne'er the worse for me!
I did not think that death had been so sweet,
Nor I so apt to love him. I could ne'er die better,
Had I stay'd forty years for preparation:
For I'm in charity with all the world.
Let me for once be thine example, heaven;
Do to this man as I, forgive him freely,
And may he better die, and sweeter live. [*Dies.*' II. 452-455.

We cannot afford any more space for Mr Ford; and what we have said, and what we have shown of him, will probably be thought enough, both by those who are disposed to scoff, and those who are inclined to admire. It is but fair, however, to intimate, that a thorough perusal of his works will afford more exercise to the former disposition than to the latter. His faults are glaring and abundant; but we have not thought it necessary to produce any specimens of them, because they are exactly the sort of faults which every one acquainted with the drama of that age reckons upon finding. Nobody doubts of the existence of such faults: but there are many who doubt of the existence of any counterbalancing beauties; and therefore it seemed worth while to say a word or two in their explanation. There is a great treasure of poetry, we think, still to be brought to light in the neglected writers of the age to which this author belongs; and poetry of a kind which, if purified and improved, as the happier specimens show that it is capable of being, would be far more delightful to the generality of English readers than any other species of poetry. We shall readily be excused for our tediousness by those who are of this opinion; and should not have been forgiven, even if we had not been tedious, by those who look upon it as a heresy.

ART.

Art. II. *Fifth Report of the Directors of the African Institution, read at the Annual General Meeting on the 27th March 1811. To which is added, an Appendix, and a List of Subscribers.* 8vo. pp. 151. Hatchard, London. 1811.

We gladly resume the very interesting subject of this report, in order to bring down to the present day that history of the proceedings relative to Africa and the slave-trade, which has occupied, we believe, not the least important part of this Journal from its commencement. Since this topic was last before us, a year ago, we rejoice to find, that no inconsiderable progress has been made; and that much of what we then anxiously expected, has been done, both in and out of Parliament, for the destruction of the infernal traffic which so long disgraced our age and nation. Those who conceived a mere prohibitory enactment sufficient to extirpate the evil,—or who looked merely to having it denounced,—and, provided the law ceased to sanction it, cared little whether or not it continued to exist,—will perhaps shun the further prosecution of this subject, and complain of our pages being devoted to the Abolition, long after the abolition act had sealed the triumph of our cause. But we shall stand excused in the eyes of those who, looking always to the thing itself, rather than the name and appearance, complained, not merely that the slave-trade was legal, but that it was actually carried on by British subjects—and on account of British settlements;—and wished, not merely for the honour of their country, but for the interests of mankind, that such a commerce should be destroyed, in whose hands soever it might be vested. Men of this description,—and we trust their numbers are not small,—will not lose sight of this important subject, until they are satisfied that the abolition act is made effectual to accomplish its purposes. They will watch over its execution with as much anxiety as they showed in assisting its progress through the Legislature. They will even extend their enlightened and humane endeavours, to obtain the cooperation of other nations, in a measure so honourable to our own; and will not rest satisfied, until the great continent, which the slave-trade had ravaged and benighted, shall be admitted to a fair chance of running with other countries the race of civility and improvement. It is to such persons that we chiefly address the present article.

And, first of all, we must express the satisfaction which we reap from perceiving, in the managers of the African Institution, such sound and judicious views of the proper objects of

their

their attention. It has always appeared to us quite manifest, that the most practicable, as well as most important object, to which they could direct their efforts, was the execution of the abolition acts;—and that, in this pursuit, there was no difficulty which due diligence, and competent abilities and funds, might not reasonably hope to overcome;—while the more splendid, but vague and deceitful object, of introducing, by direct operations, civilization into Africa, seemed only in a very limited degree to be within the reach of any resources which an institution of this kind can be supposed to possess. Without the smallest wish to damp their ardour in the prosecution of this less attainable object,—and even admitting that somewhat may be accomplished in this line also, as by encouraging voyages of discovery, and promoting the mechanical arts among the natives,—it nevertheless would only be raising vain hopes, and withdrawing men's minds from the most useful and most practical part of the question, were we to hesitate in repeating, that the proper, as well as the principal object of the Institution, is the enforcement of the abolition laws;—and that this, which they themselves readily admit to be the first in the order of time, is also the first in importance, and, beyond all comparison, the most attainable of the objects of their exertions. 'The civilization and improvement of Africa' (they very properly observe), 'are indeed the great ends which the African Institution proposed to pursue. But what rational expectation can be formed of any material progress in the attainment of those ends, while the slave-trade continues to flourish? This traffic stands opposed to all improvement. The passions which it excites and nourishes, and the acts of fraud, rapine and blood to which alone it owes its success, have a direct tendency to brutalize the human character, and to obstruct every peaceful and beneficial pursuit. Any advance in civilization is hopeless, where neither property nor person is secure for a moment.'

As this is the sort of language which was familiar to our ears before 1806 and 1807, when the abolition acts passed, we may be asked, how it should still be applicable to the case; and whether, in spite of those wholesome statutes, the slave traffic continued to exist; or, having been checked for a time, is since revived? In part, at least, we are compelled to answer these questions affirmatively. Though much was undoubtedly effected by the acts of abolition, a large branch of the slave traffic was in a short time turned into contraband; and the resources of the trader having in a year or two rallied, they were enabled, by various shifts and devices, to cover their illicit practices with such

such success, that it is much to be feared they are indebted for detection only to the unwearied industry of the African Institution and their connexions.' We had occasion to touch on this subject, when alluding to the debate in the Session before the last; but it would appear, that the instances of detection since that time have been still more remarkable; and that long after Parliament had expressed so unanimous and strong an indignation 'at such daring violations of the law,' and pledged itself to check them by more adequate penalties, the slave-dealers pursued their course of wickedness, with as little regard to the declared sense of the Legislature, as they showed towards the law itself. It appears, that, during the whole of last year, the coast swarmed with slave-traders, under Portugueze and Spanish colours, which were proved in many instances to be British or American property, and most probably belonged to subjects of those countries even where positive proof could not be obtained. The decision in the case of the Amedie, having subjected American slave-vessels to British capture, it became as necessary to conceal American property as British; and the flags of our allies in the Peninsula have unfortunately furnished the cover required. The records of the Vice-Admiralty Courts abound with instances of this description. In that of Sierra Leone, about twenty slave-vessels under those colours were condemned during the last year, on proof of American or British ownership, or of having sailed from a British port. Nor has a single appeal from these sentences been prosecuted in the Supreme Court. The Judge of the Sierra Leone Court observes, in a letter on this subject, that 'the profits of those contraband voyages are so high, that if they save one cargo out of three, they will still make money.' But it will afford a more satisfactory idea of the shifts to which those traders have recourse, if we state the particulars of a case which lately came before the Admiralty Court of this country. The following are the circumstances of the affair; which was repeatedly alluded to in the discussions in both Houses of Parliament last session.

'Two ships under Spanish colours, the Gallicia and Palafox, were met by his Majesty's frigate the Amelia, commanded by the Hon Captain Irby, on their voyage from a port in Spanish America, to the coast of Africa, for slaves. Captain Irby, seeing reason to suspect that the adventure was really on British account, detained the vessels, and brought them into Plymouth. There, on the usual preparatory examinations having been instituted, the master, mate, and supercargo all swore so positively and unequivocally, that the ships and their cargoes were Spanish property, that the Judge of the Admiralty felt himself obliged, notwithstanding some very suspicious circumstances, to decree their liberation, on bail being given to abide the result of the farther proof which was ordered.

'The supercargo, in particular, who called himself Don Jorge Madre Silva, [illegible] that he was a native Spaniard, and not a subject of Great Britain.

'It was discovered, however, by means of two of the crew, that *all these depositions, thus solemnly and judicially made, were false.* One of the ships was ascertained to have cleared out from England, by the name of the Queen Charlotte, and to be still the property of British merchants resident in London. The other had cleared out from Kingston in Jamaica, under the name of the Mohawk. Both vessels had undergone a fictitious sale at Carthagena to a Spaniard, and had there changed their original names for the Gallicia and Palafox: and the supercargo, who had sworn to his Spanish birth, proved to be an Englishman, who had sailed from the river Thames in the Queen Charlotte, and was then known by the name of George Woodbine, which, when translated into Spanish, formed the appellation by which he was afterwards distinguished, Don Jorge Madre Silva.

'When these facts came to the knowledge of the Directors, they applied to his Majesty's government, to prevent the liberation of the vessels, even if unobjectionable bail should be offered, as the whole complexion of the transaction was now most materially altered. His Majesty's government immediately ordered the vessels to be detained; on which the claimants, aware of the risk they should incur by abiding the result of a trial, *abandoned* the prosecution of their claim, and the property has since been condemned.' p. 31-33.

It became then a matter of necessity to raise the penalties of the Abolition laws. There was undoubted evidence, that no pecuniary infliction could stop a commerce which gave such profits as to counterbalance all the risks of detection. A speculator, who was secure of large profits if one adventure in three escaped,—and of enormous gains if he escaped detection altogether,—was not likely to be scared by the chance of total failure. But, such a calculation would never induce him to risk his life, or his liberty; for, if the law made the offence a felony, however successful the speculation might be, on a profit and loss account, a single detection must be attended with absolute ruin, as well as infamy. Accordingly, there appeared to be so strong a feeling in Parliament in favour of some such measure, that when Mr Brougham gave notice, in the debate on his motion in June 1810, of a bill declaring the traffic felony, no opposition whatever was threatened; and on the contrary, the proposal appeared to meet with universal concurrence. He accordingly brought in a bill to this effect during the last Session; and Lord Grenville having, with his wonted zeal in this cause, conducted it in the Lords, it was carried through every one of its stages, in both Houses, without the slightest opposition from any quarter; and received the Royal assent on the 14th of May.

In

In conformity with the plan which we have always adopted, we shall now state the heads of this bill, which is now passed into a law. All trading in slaves, in whatever part of the world, is made felony in British subjects; and trading in slaves, by whatever persons, is made a felony, within the British dominions, including the colonies, factories and settlements belonging to the Crown. The punishment is transportation, for a term not exceeding fourteen years; or confinement to hard labour for a term not less than three, nor greater than five years, at the discretion of the Court. We have used the word *trading*, as the general description; but the statute enumerates the various acts which shall be considered as felonious. These are not merely a direct concern in the buying and selling of slaves, or the carriage of them for sale, but the employing or hiring any vessel for such purposes,—the fitting out such vessel,—and the sailing in her as master, mate, supercargo, or surgeon, knowing her destination:—and under the description of accessaries to these felonies, come unquestionably those persons who are concerned in preparing the cargo for such guilty voyages, or otherwise enabling the vessel to be fitted out upon this destination, knowing its felonious nature. It is unnecessary to specify who may be punished as accessaries after the fact; this flows immediately from the description of the principal offence.

Among the accessaries, however, to this offence, there is one class which, partly from views of policy, and partly from a humane consideration of the circumstances in which they may have stood, the act has exempted from the punishment denounced against the crime of slave-trading. These are, the petty officers, seamen, and servants, entering on board of slave-ships, knowing them to be such, and the underwriters and brokers of policies of insurance upon slave voyages. These persons are made liable, not to the pains and penalties of felony, but only to be punished as for a misdemeanour, by imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years. It is further enacted, that if any petty officer, sailor, or servant liable to the penalty, shall, within three months after his arrival in any British port, give information, on oath, before any competent magistrate, against any persons punishable as felons under this act, for fitting out slave-ships, or navigating them in the capacity of master, mate, supercargo, or surgeon; or shall, within three months after his arrival in any foreign port, give the like information to the King's envoys, agents, &c. such person shall not be punishable even as for a misdemeanour; and the King's ministers, &c. are required to receive his deposition, and to transmit it to the government at home, and to the British cruizers near their residence.

 The

The remaining branches of the act, consist of certain exceptions in favour of transactions not intended to be punished as slave-trading, and of slave-trading itself within certain limits of time. The transference of slaves from one British colony to another, is excepted from the penal enactments of the statute; and particular dates are fixed, from which this act shall take effect in different parts of the world. It will probably happen, to those who attentively consider this part of the act, to approve of the latter, and to doubt respecting the former of these two exceptions. Nothing can be more just and considerate, than the care which is shown of entrapping persons in distant parts, before due notice shall reach them, of the change that has taken place in the law. This is a precaution but too frequently neglected in the great multitude of penal enactments with which our statute-book abounds; and instances have not been wanting, of the pains of a capital felony attaching on offences, at periods when it was physically impossible that the knowledge of the change in the law should have reached the delinquent.* But it may admit of some doubt, whether the carriage of slaves from one British colony to another, should have been protected from all penalty. The reason is certainly to be found in the principle upon which the new statute has been constructed, viz. that of merely punishing as crimes those acts to which the former statutes attached pecuniary penalties;—and not all at once treating as felonies, or highly criminal misdemeanours, those acts which were formerly countenanced by the law: And perhaps, upon the whole, this is a sufficient reason for the exception under consideration. Nevertheless, we cannot avoid looking at the consequences which must result, from allowing a free commerce in slaves between the different parts of the British West Indies. A door is thus left open for evading the law;—for it may not be very easy to detect a vessel coming in reality from Guiana, or Guadaloupe, to Jamaica, and pretending to come from Trinidad or Dominica;—and the one of those voyages is now made a felony, while the other is liable to no penalty whatever.

But, independent of this consideration, there are obvious reasons for preventing the free transference of slaves from one island to another. If the African slave-trade is at length completely subdued, and the new lands can no longer be supplied with hands, it is natural to conclude, that some islands, or districts, will betake themselves to breeding, for the supply of

* Thus, to take a recent instance, Lord Ellenborough's act (43. Geo. III 58.), only allows *six days* notice for the whole of England and Ireland. It was passed on the 24th of June; and its capital penalties attach on certain things done in England and Ireland from the 7th of July following.

of the rest;—and thus we shall see a West Indian slave-trade established between Jamaica, for example, and Trinidad,—in many of its features but too nearly resembling the traffic that has been abolished. Even if no such regular and systematic trade springs up, it seems wholly inconsistent with the spirit of the present laws, to permit the infliction of so much real misery, as must attend the sale of slaves belonging to one colony into another at a vast distance, differing in climate, and in all the circumstances of its cultivation;—to send them, for instance, from the comparatively easy life of Creole slaves, on a coffee plantation in one of the old islands, to clear the unwholesome woods, and break up the new soil in Trinidad.

Such transferences of negroes too, are, in our humble apprehension, highly objectionable after the slave-trade has been abolished and declared to be felonious, on two distinct grounds, and independently of the objections already urged. In the first place, the permission of these acts cannot fail to diminish the horror which ought by all means to be attached to slave-trading,—and which, in fact, it is one great object of the new law to connect with that nefarious traffic. When men see acts so nearly resembling each other, as the carriage of negroes from Africa to Jamaica, and the carriage of negroes from Jamaica to Trinidad, viewed by the law in so very different lights, that the one is made felony, and the other, if not encouraged, yet protected from all penalty, it is next to impossible that the former offence should excite all the horror which the law aims at inspiring. In the second place, the permission in question militates against that which, since the abolition, ought to be the cardinal aim of West Indian legislation, the bettering the condition of the slaves, and preparing them, by gradual progress, for the acquisition of personal rights and privileges. One of the first steps in this progress should naturally be, to attach the slaves to the soil, and convert by degrees involuntary into voluntary labour. It may indeed be urged, that if no such permission is given, no provision is made for excess of negro population by breeding. But this proves too much; for it leads to a repeal of the whole enactments against exporting slaves to foreign colonies, as soon as the total black population of the West Indies shall be excessive. And further, we should be disposed to answer this objection, by proposing, that if the slave population of any one colony became excessive, such as chose to change their residence might be allowed to go, carrying their manumission with them, or at least being indented as hired labourers for a certain term, with their freedom in reversion. Upon the whole, we certainly do incline towards

the removal of this exception, not only in Sir A. Pigott's act, and in the Abolition act, but also in Mr Brougham's act;—and that the next step which is taken should be, to cut off this last remaining branch of the traffic in human flesh, by the same methods which have been applied to the other parts of it. We are, however, very far from blaming the abolitionists for leaving this in its present state. They have wisely avoided a contention with more prejudices and interests than it was absolutely necessary to encounter at once. They have, indeed, from the beginning, proved themselves worthy of conducting so great a cause, by their patience and moderation; and if there is any quality of which they hold out to all reformers a peculiarly bright example, it is that skilful temperance in securing their object by caution and delay, if possible still more admirable, and certainly less to be expected, than the unconquerable perseverance with which that object has been pursued.

It is impossible here to dismiss the last victory of the abolitionists, without once more expressing our veneration for the distinguished personages by whose efforts this great triumph has been obtained: And, perhaps, in contemplating this history, our minds are too much called away from the zeal and talents which it displays,—and dazzled, as it were, by the marvellous spectacle of a good cause, not aided, but opposed by every motive of interest, and long thwarted, or, at least, coldly supported by the government—attended in the end with a fullness of success, quite unexampled in the history of controversy or of improvements. Let any one reflect on the state of the Abolition question in 1795, when it was despaired of by almost all its friends; or in 1799, when Mr Pitt was busied in acquiring new colonies, to which the British slave traffic might be extended; or even in 1805, when, after a transient gleam of hope, Mr Pitt, who, the year before, had, for the first time, carried the bill in one House, was *again* defeated by his underlings, and professed that he *could* not make them support him when he fought for humanity and justice. And then, let him carry his eye to the majorities by which the Abolition acts of 1806 and 1807 were hurried through the two Houses of Parliament, by an honest and enlightened ministry,—with the concurrence of one single member of the Royal Family,—he will almost think it is the illusion of a dream. But how much more astonished will he be, when he sees, within three or four years more, that even all debating on the subject is at an end,—that the slave traders can no longer find a voice to support them,—that the idea of a vote is out of the question,—that resolutions are unanimously passed by both Houses, stigmatizing a traffic which

which used to be victoriously supported and encouraged, as a crime of the deepest die—and that laws are made with the same unanimity, and without a whisper of opposition, denouncing the severest punishments to all who shall persist in the pursuit. This is a change of opinion which, we may safely assert, no man could have predicted, or even fancied, but a few years ago. And yet all men saw the causes which have brought it about; for, to whom were the talents, the persuasive eloquence, and the scarcely human perseverance of Wilberforce unknown?—and by whom could the powers of his coadjutors in the country be doubted—amongst whom we should do a deed of injustice, if we named any more than one—Clarkson? And, finally, was there any reason to fear, that the honest exertions of a free press would propagate the truth, and ultimately arm it with power, in spite of the hollow support or open enmity of ministers, the undisguised discountenance of courts, and the declared repugnance of princes? If we gladly allude to these things, for the purpose of once more tendering our felicitations to Mr Wilberforce and his fellow-labourers, we have another motive too for dwelling upon them.—We would hold up the history of the abolition as the most instructive of lessons to all reformers, whether of the criminal law, or of the constitution of Parliament, or of abuses in the practice of the government;—to all (for the description of persons is the same) who, desiring the happiness of their fellow creatures, and knowing that civil liberty and public prosperity must fall by the same blow, are willing to devote their days, regardless of toil, and ridicule, and risks, to combat ignorance and corruption, and all the other means by which tyrants either trample upon freedom or beguile men into slavery. This example ought always to be before our eyes—but it is in an especial manner fitted for our contemplation, towards the commencement of a new reign, when the constitution prescribes an additional share of jealousy and vigilance, and requires the people to be more than usually on their guard, without any consideration of persons; but on a presumption that, even the best of princes, being a man endued with power, is, from the moment of his elevation, liable to abuse it.

Before quitting this part of the subject, we have a remark or two to offer, though they be of comparatively trifling importance, upon the different language used by the African Institution and the abolitionists in Parliament, when alluding to the origin of the measures supported by them, as parts of their common cause. When we turn to Lord Grenville's able and eloquent speech, delivered on moving the second reading of the

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late bill, we should be led, were we otherwise ignorant of the question, to suppose that the abolition act had been as exclusively a measure of that distinguished person and his political friends, as any common bill invented by an individual, or cooked up at the treasury. Possibly we may be misled by the reporter; but such is the kind of language put into the noble mover's mouth. We then turn to the Fifth Report of the African Institution, and we find that every thing originates with the directors of that highly useful and enlightened association,—but they are somewhat at fault in their dates; and, accordingly, upon looking to the proceedings in Parliament, even as quoted by themselves, measures appear to have originated in that high assembly, several months before they were invented by the African Board. The effect of this is whimsical enough. Thus, in detailing the measures adopted, the Session before the last, after stating the revival of the slave trade, the directors inform us, that 'as soon as they had ascertained this point to their 'satisfaction, *it was* resolved to bring the matter before Par-'liament.' The date of this resolve is not given; but the next sentence brings us near it. 'The last Session was too far ad-'vanced to admit of their obtaining any legislative enactment 'for the repression of the evil. All that could be done, there-'fore, was to engage the attention of government to the sub-'ject by an address, and to induce both Houses of Parliament 'to pledge themselves to the adoption of such further legisla-'tive provisions,' &c. We then turn to the Parliamentary journals, and find that, not at a late period, but at the beginning of the Session, before the Mutiny bill was brought in, motions had been made in both Houses for the production of papers relating to the foreign slave trade—in the House of Lords by Lord Holland, and in the Commons by Mr Brougham. This was the 12th March, and the papers were granted;*—upon these papers, other motions were afterwards grounded by the same persons. But we must step now from the Legislature to the Institution, in order to learn the origin of those motions. It seems they were not grounded on the papers, but arose from the information obtained by the directors, that a contraband slave trade existed; yet it is strange enough, that the *whole* of Lord Holland's and the greater part of Mr Brougham's motion related to the foreign slave trade, and the papers previously obtained; and that the discussions were chiefly on that subject.† The report having thus laid the origin of the motions

* Cobbet's Parliamentary Debates, xvi. 12.

† Ib. xvii. 658, 747.

tions in their proper place, continues the same *venue* for that of the bill. 'No sooner had the present Session of Parliament commenced, than the directors resumed the consideration of the measures which *it might be expedient to propose* to the legislature on the subject of the slave trade. *After mature deliberation*, it was resolved that a bill should be introduced, which, without anticipating or interfering with any ulterior measures of regulation, might mark the trafficking in slaves as a crime, and affix to that crime a suitable punishment. The general nature of the measure may be collected from the *following resolutions of the directors*.' But we must now step back again to the Board of Parliament, and see whether this '*mature deliberation*' on what measures '*it might be expedient to propose to the Legislature*,' was not somewhat of the latest—so *mature* indeed, as to come several months after the same measures had been announced to the Legislature in a very formal manner. In fact, we find,* that Mr Brougham (June 15, 1810, long before the deliberations commenced) argued at great length in favour of making the slave trade a felony, and 'pledged himself† to bring in a bill to that effect early in the ensuing session.' We then find this proposal, discussed by the different speakers who took a part in the debate, warmly approved of by Mr Stephen, Mr W. Smith and others, and entertained by Mr Canning, though with a recommendation of caution, in a measure so grave as the introduction of a new felony; but, in general, so well received by the House, that the mover is made to state in his reply,‡ 'that with respect to the measure, on which he had given notice, for making the traffic in slaves a felony' (the self-same *measure* which the African Directors, six months afterwards, discover, upon *mature deliberation*, that it would be *expedient to propose to the Legislature*) 'he was confirmed in his sentiments by all that had passed that night, as well as by every consultation he had had with the most enlightened and able persons in the House.' Probably our readers may be disposed to agree with us in thinking that the unanimous resolution which the House came to at the conclusion of this discussion, to consider, 'early next Session, of such measures as might tend to prevent such daring violations of the law,' bore some reference to the bill, of which notice had thus been given. However, at the end of six months from this time, the Directors resume their consideration of measures; they maturely deliberate; and '*it is resolved*,' that a bill should

* Cobbet's Parliamentary Debates, xvii. 658.
† Ib. 674. ‡ Ib. xvii. 689.

should be introduced. The report then goes on to state, that 'a bill founded on these resolutions has been brought into the 'House of Commons;' but by some accident it omits to mention that this bill was brought in by Mr Brougham, and that, in moving for leave, he proceeded upon his notice of last Session. All these circumstances do certainly lead to a belief that the bill originated in the House of Commons last Session—and that how valuable soever the assistance may have been which the African Institution afforded in preparing and carrying it through, yet that the measure itself was not the result of their 'mature deliberations,' but would have been submitted to Parliament, in pursuance of the notice of June 1810, in whatever recommendation these deliberations had terminated. We could not allow so important a point in the history of the Abolition to remain involved in obscurity; and this must be our excuse for having detained the reader so long upon those details.*

We now come to the subject of the foreign slave trade. The report, after justly congratulating the friends of the Abolition, upon the unanimity with which Parliament now regards that great cause, proceeds to notice the important decisions which have, in the course of the last year, been pronounced in the Prize courts, relative to slave ships under foreign flags. Of one of these we have given a full account, the case of the Amedie, in the Prize Appeal Court. The rule laid down in that case was, as our readers may recollect, that no claim of property in a slave ship or her cargo, captured, can be admitted by the law of nations, the slave trade being contrary to that law; that the only way in which such a claim can be supported, is, by a proof that the slave trade is tolerated by the municipal law of the ship's nation; and consequently, that if the ship belongs to a nation which has abolished the traffic, she cannot be restored. This principle, which in fact called the whole British navy to the execution of the American, as well as the English abolition laws, had the immediate effect of driving the American flag entirely out of the slave trade. But a shift was resorted to, which at first seemed beyond the scope of the decision in the case of the Amedie. The American cleared out for some port in the Spanish or Portuguese dominions, where the slave traffic unhappily is still tolerated, and, after executing fictitious bills of sale, obtained false papers, as invoices, passes, clearances, &c. and a new flag, under cover of which they pursued their slave trading adventures—with the same cargo and crew on board,

* See also the 32d No. of this Journal, published July 1810, where the measure is discussed in speaking of the debate of 15th June.

board, and even the same masters; converted nominally into supercargoes, and pretending to act under new masters, but really continuing to command and direct in every respect. It was doubted whether the principle, in the case of the Amedie, authorised our courts of prize to entertain the question of real or colourable property and flag. It was even apprehended, that no such inquiry could be gone into, and that a *prima facie* ownership and national character, such as conferred a right to trade in slaves, within the principle of the former case, precluded any further investigation. Under this impression, a number of American vessels, found slave trading under cover of the Spanish and Portuguese flags, had been released by the captors; —when the case of the Fortuna, decided on the 12th of March last, by Sir William Scott, in the High Court of Admiralty, (and the judgment has not been appealed from) clearly settled this important point. It was a vessel which had sailed from New York under American colours, bearing the name of William and Mary, in July 1810—then called at Madeira and obtained Portuguese colours, a new name, new papers, and a new master, after the execution of a bill of sale. The original fitting up and cargo was evidently for the slave trade. There were clear proofs that the sale was fictitious; and that the new master, as well as owner, was nominal—while the former master, as supercargo, continued wholly to manage the concerns of both vessel and voyage. The original cargo continued during the new voyage, which was terminated by capture off Funchal. The vessel being brought in for adjudication under these circumstances, was condemned under the authority of the case of the Amedie, after full discussion. We cannot refuse ourselves the pleasure of transcribing a part of Sir W. Scott's judgment in this case, both because of its importance, and from a desire to adorn these pages with the masterly composition of that learned and eloquent judge.

'In the present case, it is not, I think, competent for the claimant to object that the captor had no right to institute an inquiry whether the ship was Portuguese or American. The captor instituted no such inquiry: he alleged her simply to be prize, and proceeded against her generally as such. If, in the course of that general inquiry, it turns out that she is shown to be clearly American, he has a complete right to avail himself of any benefit that may legally result from the capture of an American ship found in the circumstances that are attributed to this ship at the time of her capture. If she is liable to confiscation on any ground arising from those circumstances so discovered, he is not to be told that the discovery has been produced in a way of which he has no right to take the advantage.

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'An American ship, *quasi* American, is entitled, upon proof, to immediate restitution; but she may forfeit, as other neutral ships may, that title, by various acts of misconduct—by violations of belligerent rights most clearly and universally. But though the prize law looks primarily to violations of belligerent rights as grounds of confiscation in vessels not actually belonging to the enemy, it has extended itself a good deal beyond considerations of that description only. It has been established by recent decisions of the Supreme Court, that the Court of Prize, though properly a court purely of the law of nations, has a right to notice the municipal law of this country in the case of a British vessel which, in the course of a prize proceeding, appears to have been trading in violation of that law, and to reject a claim for her on that account. That principle has been incorporated into the prize law of this country within the last twenty years, and seems now fully incorporated. A late decision, in the case of the Amedie, seems to have gone the length of establishing a principle, that any trade contrary to the general law of nations, although not tending to, or accompanied with any infraction of the belligerent rights of that country, whose tribunals are called upon to consider it, may subject the vessel employed in that trade to confiscation. The Amedie was an American ship employed in carrying on the slave trade; a trade which this country, since its own abandonment of it, has deemed repugnant to the law of nations, to justice and humanity, though without presuming so to consider and treat it, where it occurs in the practice of the subjects of a state which continues to tolerate and protect it by its own municipal regulations: but it puts upon the parties who are found in the occupations of that trade the burthen of showing that it was so tolerated and protected; and, on failure of producing such proof, proceeds to condemnation, as it did in the case of that vessel. How far that judgment has been universally concurred in and approved, is not for me to inquire. If there be those who disapprove it, I am certainly not at liberty to include myself in that number, because the decisions of that Court bind authoritatively the judicial conscience of this; its decisions must be conformed to, and its principles practically adopted. The principle laid down in that case appears to be, that the slave trade carried on by a vessel belonging to a subject of the United States is a trade which, being unprotected by the domestic regulations of their legislature and government, subjects the vessel engaged in it to a sentence of condemnation. If the ship should therefore turn out to be an American actually so employed; and it matters not, in my opinion, in what stage of the employment, whether in the inception, or the prosecution, or the consummation of it; the case of the Amedie will bind the conscience of this Court to the effect of compelling it to pronounce a sentence of confiscation.' p. 17—20.

'The branch of the slave trade which we have now been considering, naturally gives rise to two remarks;—one upon the

share of the Americans in it, and another upon the subserviency of our Spanish and Portuguese allies to it. It is to be hoped, that the late measures in Parliament may be followed by the government of the United States. The slave trade was first declared illicit by that government; and the Americans have justly valued themselves on the honour of setting us the example. It is but natural then to expect, that they will not suffer themselves to be outdone by us, and will adopt the law declaring the traffic to be felonious. The allusion to this subject, in the President's message of last November, as far it goes, encourages this hope. 'Among the commercial abuses' (he says) 'still 'committed under the American flag, (and leaving in force my 'former references to that subject), it appears that American citizens are instrumental in carrying on a traffic in enslaved Africans, equally in violation of the laws of humanity, and in 'defiance of those of their own country. The same just and benevolent motives which produced the interdiction in force against 'this criminal conduct, will doubtless be felt by Congress, in 'devising *farther* means of suppressing the evil.' p. 27, 28.

With respect to our allies of the Peninsula, our expectations are less sanguine. The interests of Brazil and Cuba are still believed to be so inseparably connected with the slave traffic, that, however well-disposed the governments in Europe may be, or even the government of Rio Janeiro, it seems doubtful if they have the power of introducing so great a change in a short time. The ignorance of the inhabitants of the South American settlements is so great upon this subject, that it appears, from the accounts recently received, that the question of the abolition had literally never been heard of in the Brazils, until the English newspapers arrived there, with reports of the debate of June 1810, which created much discussion among the slave-owners. In this state of things, suppose the Prince Regent (of Portugal), or the Cortez at Cadiz, were to abolish the traffic, it may reasonably be doubted, whether any thing more than the loss of their own authority in the colonies would result from the measure. But that some arrangements tending to limit the trade, and especially to exclude all foreigners from a share in it—something in Spain and Portugal similar to Sir A. Pigott's bill in this country—appears by no means beyond the reach of our influence in the councils of Lisbon and Cadiz; nor, if wisely introduced, does it appear beyond the powers of those councils in their American dominions. The cession of Bissao, too, has been frequently mentioned as very desirable, inasmuch as it would free, from all licit slave trade, a very great extent of coast, in which that is the only foreign settlement. This extent is stated by the Directors at between 2000 and 3000 miles.

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It is necessary here to add, that something has been done—but most imperfectly—by our government, towards effecting the above objects with the Portuguese government. An article is inserted in the treaty ratified last February, in which, after a plausible declaration of the Prince Regent (of Portugal) against the traffic, and a profession that he is resolved to cooperate with England 'in the cause of humanity and justice, by adopting 'the most efficacious means for bringing about a gradual aboli- 'tion of the slave trade throughout the whole of his dominions;' he agrees not to permit his subjects to carry it on in parts of Africa not belonging to him, and 'in which that trade has 'been discontinued and abandoned by the other powers and 'states of Europe which formerly traded there.' It is pretty evident, that this description applies to no place at all; for there is no part of the coast where Holland, France or Spain have not traded; and neither of those nations has abolished the traffic. There then follows a distinct reservation of the right to trade in slaves in all the Portuguese dominions, and in many parts where the Portuguese territorial rights are disputed, and where they never have traded in slaves: So that, partly from its obscurity, and partly, we fear, from design, on the side of our ally at least, this fine sounding article turns out to be mere vapouring,—of no more substantial use to the cause, than the efforts of certain statesmen who formerly used to patronize it. The Directors state, that they have received satisfactory assurances from the government on this point; and that they have been informed, that the real understanding of the contracting parties is, to confine the Portuguese slave trade to their own territories. When an explanatory article shall be added to this effect, we shall believe that such was the '*real understanding*' of the Portuguese government; and, what is of far more importance, when that addition is made, our Prize Courts will be enabled to proceed upon such an *understanding* of the treaty, but not before.

The chief attention of the Directors, as we have already observed, has been directed towards the execution of the Abolition acts. Not only have they largely contributed their aid to the recommendation of the measures adopted by the Legislature, but they have unceasingly watched over the detection of breaches of the law. In consequence of their representations, (aided, no doubt, by the addresses of the two Houses), a greater naval force has been despatched to the coast,—information has been circulated with the greatest activity among officers of the navy, leading to a seizure of slave-traders,—abstracts of the acts of abolition, the Orders in Council founded on them, and the decisions in the Prize Courts, already cited, together with instruc-

tions, pointing out the circumstances indicative of a slave voyage, and justifying a search and detention, have been printed and widely disseminated among all the British cruizers. These exertions have not been fruitless. Four slave ships have already been brought into ports of the Channel for adjudication; and three of them are now condemned. During little more than half a year, they estimate, that from thirty to forty such condemnations have taken place in the Vice-admiralty Courts; and, where British ownership has been detected, it is the determination of the Directors to take care that the owners shall be sued for the penalties. Now that these penalties are of a higher nature, the interference of the Institution will be still more necessary; and it is to their zeal, vigilance and ability, that we must chiefly look for the prosecution and conviction of such as may be blind enough, in the pursuit of gain, to commit what the law of England now regards and punishes as a felony.

Respecting the ulterior objects of this most useful and enlightened Institution, the present Report contains less matter of congratulation to the friends of humanity than the former ones. This is owing to the partial revival of the slave trade, and its baneful influence on the natives of Africa, as well as to the necessity imposed by it, upon the Directors, of directing their attention almost exclusively towards this fundamental object of their establishment. Nevertheless, proper regard has been had to the promotion of agriculture, by transmitting useful plants and seeds to Africa, where many of those formerly sent, particularly the sunn, or hemp of Bengal, are found to thrive as well as in their native soil. A list of the seeds, with the directions for their culture and the use of the produce, is contained in the Appendix; and great and merited praise is bestowed on Dr Roxburgh of Calcutta, for his unwearied cooperation with the Directors in these endeavours. We likewise rejoice to see, that the foundation is laid of a good system of education. Between two and three hundred children are already usefully instructed at Sierra Leone; and the Directors of the new Institution for promoting Mr Lancaster's system (who for the most part belong to the African Institution also) have very liberally undertaken the expense and trouble of instructing two African youths in Mr Lancaster's method, and maintaining them, until they may be sufficiently expert to be sent back by the African Board, to carry this admirable invention into their own country. We shall close the African part of the subject with extracting a passage or two from the letters of a person in one of the chief offices on the African coast. They are dated Senegal, and written during the latter part of last year, and the beginning of the present.

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'The uncertainty of our retaining the settlements of Senegal and Goree, renders a reform of sentiments in the inhabitants, with regard to the slave trade, little to be expected. They have from early age considered it as a rightful occupation; and the abundant harvest they gathered in this cruel and barbarous traffic, is too fresh in their memories to be easily effaced, to a repetition of which they look forward with considerable anxiety.'—

'The inhabitants in the neighbourhood of this settlement are a fine race of people: they are considered the finest negroes on the coast. They are well inclined towards Europeans, and perfect security exists for travellers who journey in their country; through which they may pass unarmed.

'The journey by land to Goree, for which persons proceed to Dakar, the land nearest that island, is performed daily; and equal facility is found in other directions. Amongst the inhabitants, travellers experience hospitality and kind behaviour. I am perfectly convinced, if these settlements were to become entirely British, it would add materially towards the total abolition of the slave trade. But as long as the inhabitants of these settlements, and those on the mainland, entertain any idea of a return of the traffic, no great exertion can be expected; the former, from the hope of reaping their customary profit; the latter, from the insecurity of their situation, which will become very precarious whenever the French regain this possession.

'The wars, which formerly were frequent, and always attended by considerable numbers being taken and sold to traders, are now very rare; and, when they occur, the parties content themselves with pillaging cattle and a few captives, who are kept by the victors until they are redeemed by the relatives, for whom they give bullocks, corn, tobacco, or such commodities as they can procure.

'Even among the Moors, kidnapping is almost extinct. A few instances occurred lately, which was occasioned by some persons residing here pressing them to pay some debts which they had contracted before the English took possession of the settlement. All the children thus taken have been recovered and restored to their parents.

'To use an old adage, "if there were no receivers, there would be no thieves;" which is perfectly applicable to the case with regard to the slave trade in this part of Africa. The slavery amongst themselves is merely nominal; the master and servant are nearly equal: they work together, eat and drink out of the same bowl, and sleep under the same roof.

'I beg leave to say, that I think a few Moravian missionaries would be of infinite service in each of these settlements; in the first instance, to give some instruction to the numerous population, and the visitors from the mainland.' p. 103—106.

This was written in July. In December and February last, we meet with such complaints as follow;

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'My former letters will have acquainted you, that many vessels of this description are on the coast; and the intelligence you have received from leeward will also have informed you of the still greater number in that quarter. I hope some measures have been decided upon to stop their progress, *in undoing all the good which would have resulted from the honourable exertions and sacrifices of the British nation.*'—

'I doubt not, Sir, before this time, that the African Institution has been able to induce Government and the Legislature to take some active and decided steps in favour of the African cause; *for, until the traffic of their persons is stopped, it is in vain to hope to urge them to industry or civilization, where the safety of person and property is so uncertain.*'—

'In all probability, other vessels will be equally successful, as, unfortunately, the wars excited in the upper part of that river afford the means of furnishing them with slaves in abundance.

'I am convinced you will join with me in lamenting the insufficiency of my authority to check this dreadful evil. I wait with considerable impatience for your next letters, which I hope will inform me of something having been done to check the alarming increase of slave-dealing on this part of the coast.' p. 106, 107.

Before concluding this article, we must call the attention of our readers to the notice which Parliament seems at length disposed to take of the enormous abuses prevailing in the management of slaves in the West Indies. To those who were previously unacquainted with the dreadful effects of the negro system in debasing the human character, the proceedings to which we allude have proved a very painful source of information; and we doubt whether even the most experienced observer of our colonial affairs was prepared for the horrors which have recently been brought to light. The execution of Mr Hodge for the repeated murder of his slaves, with circumstances of savage cruelty too shocking to be here described, and the acquittal of Mr Huggins, after the clearest evidence of a conduct scarcely less atrocious, are facts which speak, however apparently unlike, the same language. Hodge had gone on for a length of time in the open and undisguised practice of those crimes. The acts for which he suffered were committed some years before. He was secure from punishment, (and, had he not been unpopular, would even have escaped disgrace), until he threatened to fight a Judge; he was, in consequence of this indiscretion, brought to trial for unnatural murders, the bare idea of which we cannot entertain without shuddering; and the same jury which convicted him of those atrocities, recommended him to mercy. The governor (Mr Elliott) only succeeded in having the sentence of the law executed, by a display, in person, of great address and firmness. Nor could he secure the public tranquillity,

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without calling out the militia of the island; and, after all, this act of tardy, disputed, scarcely tolerated justice, is held up, on the one side, as a triumph, in which we cannot sufficiently rejoice, and, on the other, as a proof that the West Indians can do right of themselves, without our interference! Huggins was acquitted; though the proofs were flagrant (nor did he attempt to deny, but justified) that he had, in the market place of Nevis, in open day, and in the presence of several magistrates, flogged nineteen of his slaves with the most brutal severity, giving to some 165 and 187 lashes, to others 212 and 242, and to one woman 291; employing, in one instance, the brother of his unhappy victim as the minister of his ferocious anger. For this enormity he was severely censured, by a vote of the assembly of Nevis, and, at their instance, brought to trial; but besides being acquitted, on his plea of justification, the printer who inserted that vote in the newspaper of a neighbouring island, was convicted of a libel, and severely imprisoned. 'The problem' (says Governor Elliott in expressing his amazement at such *judicial* proceedings) 'is, I fear, only to be solved, by confirming 'the melancholy statement I have made, in the outset of this 'despatch, of the unworthy and inadequate materials which 'constitute those tribunals, so improperly styled courts of justice, in several of the West Indian islands.'

We believe no man will hesitate in adopting the sentiments expressed in the late debates upon these subjects, that if the legislatures and judicatures of the colonies will not, or cannot, of themselves, correct such crying evils, it becomes the British Parliament to apply the remedy. The almost unanimous rejection of the motion for giving to Trinidad what is ridiculously called a British constitution and a trial by jury, but what, in reality, is the grossest corruption of both those blessings, may serve as an earnest of the disposition which the House of Commons feels upon this question; and we have little doubt that another session will not pass, without such further measures being adopted as may appear necessary to compel (we ask no more) the West Indian Whites to act as if negroes were their fellow-creatures.

We trust there are few of our readers who do not sympathize in these feelings. Can they, then, or can we, in common consistency, avoid going one step further, and expressing a wish to see other abuses abolished which are committed under the sanction of courts far nearer home—upon men who have, to say the least of it, as well-grounded claims to our fellow-feelings? Need we add, that, having been occupied with the flogging of negroes—(we are now alluding to the flogging of soldiers in the British army, and of seamen in our fleets)—would it be any

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thing less than wretched hypocrisy in us to shut our eyes to this near enormity, while they are yet streaming with the more distant view of negro punishments? The illustrious President of the African Institution appears to be fully aware of the necessary connexion of the two subjects; for he has set the example to British Colonels, of putting down in his regiment this odious, unnecessary, nay, hurtful mode of punishment. * Let us reflect what Huggins's defence was. He did not deny that he had given his slaves near three hundred lashes; but he pretended that they had been guilty of disobedience, and even mutiny; and that this punishment was necessary and just. Is there any better defence for a court-martial which flogs a sailor round the fleet, or gives a soldier 1000 lashes at different times, sometimes four or five hundred at once, and then allows him to be half cured, that he may be able to endure the remainder of his torture? When we blame Huggins, it is not because the guilt of his slaves is denied, or that any one pretends they ought to escape punishment. We revolt at the nature of the infliction — And he who would allow a court-martial to award it, though he denies that power to Huggins, must have no objection to the cruelty of the act, and must be prepared also to allow every other species of torture as a judicial punishment.

Art. III. *A Vindication of Mr Fox's History of the early part of the Reign of James the Second.* By Samuel Heywood, Serjeant-at-law. 4to. pp. 421. London, Johnson & Co. 1811.

Though Mr Fox's history was, of course, as much open to animadversion and rebuke as any other book, the task, we think, would have become any other person better than Mr Rose. The whole of Mr Fox's life was spent in opposing the profligacy, and exposing the ignorance of his own court. In the first half of his political career, while Lord North was losing America, and in the latter half, while Mr Pitt was ruining

 Europe,

* See general orders of the Duke of Gloucester to the third regiment of Foot Guards, in the month of May. An order issued by the Duke of York since his restoration to the station of Commander-in-Chief, and since the debate on flogging in the House of Commons, deserves to be mentioned with the highest praise. It requires all commandants of corps to pay particular attention to the education of the boys in their regiments, and discourages the punishment of flogging as applied to them. We trust this humane and politic principle will be extended to all classes of the service.

Europe, the creatures of the government were eternally exposed to the attacks of this discerning, dauntless, and most powerful speaker. Folly and corruption never had a more terrible enemy in the English House of Commons—one whom it was so impossible to bribe, so hopeless to elude, and so difficult to answer. Now, it so happened, that during the whole of this period, the historical critic of Mr Fox was employed in subordinate offices of government;—that the detail of taxes passed through his hands;—that he amassed a large fortune by those occupations;—and that, both in the measures which he supported, and in the friends from whose patronage he received his emoluments, he was completely and perpetually opposed to Mr Fox.

Again, it must be remembered, that very great people have very long memories for the injuries which they receive, or which they think they receive. No speculation was so good, therefore, as to vilify the memory of Mr Fox,—nothing so delicious as to lower him in the public estimation,—no service so likely to be well rewarded—so eminently grateful to those, of whose favour Mr Rose had so often tasted the sweets, and of the value of whose patronage he must, from long experience, have been so thoroughly aware.

We are almost inclined to think that we might at one time have worked ourselves up to suspect Mr Rose of being actuated by some of these motives;—not because we have any reason to think worse of that gentleman than of most of his political associates, but merely because it seemed to us so very probable that he should have been so influenced. Our suspicions, however, were entirely removed, by the frequency and violence of his own protestations. He vows so solemnly that he has no bad motive in writing his critique, that we find it impossible to withhold our belief in his purity. But Mr Rose does not trust to his protestations alone. He is not satisfied with assurances that he did not write his book from any bad motive; but he informs us that his motive was excellent,—and is even obliging enough to tell us what that motive was. The Earl of Marchmont, it seems, was Mr Rose's friend. To Mr Rose he left his manuscripts; and, among these manuscripts, was a narrative written by Sir Patrick Hume, an ancestor of the Earl of Marchmont; and one of the leaders in Argyle's rebellion. Of Sir Patrick Hume Mr Rose conceives (a little erroneously to be sure, but he assures us he does conceive) Mr Fox to have spoken disrespectfully; and the case comes out, therefore, as clearly as possible, as follows.

Sir Patrick was the progenitor, and Mr Rose was the friend and sole executor of the Earl of Marchmont; and therefore, says Mr Rose, I consider it as a *sacred* duty to vindicate the

the character of Sir Patrick, and, for that purpose, to publish a long and elaborate critique upon all the doctrines and statements contained in Mr Fox's history! This appears to us about as satisfactory an explanation of Mr Rose's authorship, as the exclamation of the traveller was of the name of Stoney Stratford, 'No wonder,' said he, after a very bad night's rest, 'that they call this place Stoney Stratford, for I have been 'bitten to death by fleas!'

Before Mr Rose gave way to this intense value for Sir Patrick, and resolved to write a book, he should have inquired what accurate men there were about in society; and if he had once received the slightest notice of the existence of Mr Samuel Heywood, serjeant-at-law, we are convinced he would have transfused into his own will and testament the feelings he derived from that of Lord Marchmont, and devolved upon another executor the sacred and dangerous duty of vindicating Sir Patrick Hume.

The life of Mr Rose has been principally employed in the painful, yet perhaps necessary, duty of increasing the burthens of his fellow creatures. It has been a life of detail, onerous to the subject—onerous and lucrative to himself. It would be unfair to expect from one, thus occupied, any great depth of thought, or any remarkable graces of composition; but we have a fair right to look for habits of patient research, and scrupulous accuracy. We might naturally expect industry in collecting facts, and fidelity of quotation; and hope, in the absence of commanding genius, to receive a compensation from the more humble and ordinary qualities of the mind. How far this is the case, our subsequent remarks will enable the reader to judge. We shall not extend them to any great length, as we have before treated on the same subject in our review of Mr Rose's work. Our great object at present is, to abridge the observations of Serjeant Heywood. For Serjeant Heywood, though a most respectable, honest, and enlightened man, really does require an abridger. He has not the talent of saying what he has to say quickly; nor is he aware that brevity is in writing, what charity is to all other virtues. Righteousness is worth nothing without the one, nor authorship without the other. But whoever will forgive this little defect, will find in all his productions great learning, immaculate honesty, and the most scrupulous accuracy. Whatever detections of Mr Rose's inaccuracies are made in this Review, are to be entirely given to him: and we confess ourselves quite astonished at the number and extent of these inaccuracies.

'Among the modes of destroying persons (says Mr Fox, 'p. 14.)

p. 14.) in such a situation (*i. e.* Monarchs deposed), there can be little doubt but that adopted by Cromwell, and his adherents, *is the least dishonourable.* Edward II, Richard II, Henry VI, Edward V, had, none of them, long survived their deposal. But this was the first instance, in our history at least, when of such an act it could be truly said it was not done in a corner.'

What Mr Rose can find in this sentiment to quarrel with, we are utterly at a loss to conceive. If a human being is to be put to death unjustly, is it no mitigation of such a lot, that the death should be public? Is any thing better calculated to prevent secret torture and cruelty? And would Mr Rose, in mercy to Charles, have preferred that red hot iron should have been secretly thrust into his entrails?—or that he should have disappeared as Pichegru and Toussaint have disappeared in our times? The periods of the Edwards and Henrys were, it is true, barbarous periods: But this is the very argument Mr Fox uses. All these murders, he contends, were immoral and bad; but that where the *manner* was the least objectionable, was the murder of Charles the First,—because it was public. And can any human being doubt, in the first place, that these crimes would be marked by less intense cruelty if they were public, and, secondly, that they would become less frequent, where the perpetrators incurred responsibility, than if they were committed by an uncertain hand in secresy and concealment? There never was, in short, not only a more innocent, but a more obvious sentiment; and to object to it in the manner which Mr Rose has done, is surely to love Sir Patrick Hume too much,—if there can be any excess in so very commendable a passion in the breast of a sole executor.

Mr Fox proceeds to observe, that 'he who has discussed 'this subject with foreigners, must have observed, that the act 'of the execution of Charles, even in the minds of those who 'condemn it, excites more admiration than disgust.' If the sentiment is bad, let those who feel it answer for it. Mr Fox only asserts the fact, and explains, without justifying it. The only question (as concerns Mr Fox) is, whether such is, or is not, the feeling of foreigners; and whether that feeling (if it exists) is rightly explained? We have no doubt either of the fact or of the explanation. The conduct of Cromwell, and his associates, was not to be excused in the main act; but, in the manner, it was magnanimous. And among the servile nations of the Continent, it must naturally excite a feeling of joy and wonder, that the power of the people had for once been felt, and so memorable a lesson read to those whom *they* must naturally consider as the great oppressors of mankind.

The

The most unjustifiable point of Mr Rose's accusation, however, is still to come. 'If such high praise,' says that gentleman, 'was, 'in the judgment of Mr Fox, due to Cromwell for the publicity of the proceedings against the King, how would he have 'found language sufficiently commendatory to express his admiration of the magnanimity of those who brought Lewis the 'Sixteenth to an open trial?' Mr Rose accuses Mr Fox, then, of approving the execution of Lewis the Sixteenth: But, on the 20th December 1792, Mr Fox said, in the House of Commons, *in the presence of Mr Rose*,

'The proceedings with respect to the royal family of France, are 'so far from being magnanimity, justice or mercy, that they are 'directly the reverse; they are injustice, cruelty, and pusillanimity.' And afterwards declared his wish for an addre his Majesty, to which he would add an expression, 'of our abhorrence 'of the proceedings against the royal family of France, in which, I 'have no doubt, we shall be supported by the whole country. If 'there can be any means suggested that will be better adapted to 'produce the unanimous concurrence of this House, and of all the 'country, with respect to the measure now under consideration in 'Paris, I should be obliged to any person for his better suggestion 'upon the subject.' Then, after stating that such address, especially if the Lords joined in it, must have a decisive influence in France, he added, 'I have said thus much, in order to contradict 'one of the most cruel misrepresentations of what I have before 'said in our late debates; and that my language may not be interpreted from the manner in which other gentlemen have chosen to 'answer it. I have spoken the genuine sentiments of my heart, 'and I anxiously wish the House to come to some resolution upon 'the subject.' And on the following day, when a copy of instructions sent to Earl Gower, signifying that he should leave Paris, was laid before the House of Commons, Mr Fox said, 'He had heard it 'said, that the proceedings against the King of France are unnecessary. He would go a great deal farther, and say, he believed 'them to be highly unjust; and not only repugnant to all the common feelings of mankind, but also contrary to all the fundamental 'principles of law.' p. 20—21.

On Monday, the 28th January, he said,

'With regard to that part of the communication from his Majesty, which related to the late detestable scene exhibited in a 'neighbouring country, he could not suppose there were two opinions in that House; he knew they were all ready to declare their 'abhorrence of that abominable proceeding.' p. 21.

Two days afterwards, in the debate on the message, Mr Fox pronounced the condemnation and execution of the King to be

—'an act as disgraceful as any that history recorded: and whatever opinions he might at any time have expressed in private con-

 'versation,

'versation, he had expressed none certainly in that House on the 'justice of bringing kings to trial: revenge being unjustifiable, and 'punishment useless, where it could not operate either by way of 'prevention or example; he did not view with less detestation the 'injustice and inhumanity that had been committed towards that un-'happy monarch. Not only were the rules of criminal justice, rules 'that more than any other ought to be strictly observed, violated 'with respect to him; not only was he tried and condemned with-'out any existing law, to which he was personally amenable, and 'even contrary to laws that did actually exist; but the degrading 'circumstances of his imprisonment, the unnecessary and insulting 'asperity with which he had been treated, *the total want of republi-'can magnanimity in the whole transaction,* (for even in that House 'it could be no offence to say, that there might be such a thing as 'magnanimity in a republic) added every aggravation to the in-'humanity and injustice'

That Mr Fox had held this language in the House of Commons, Mr Rose knew perfectly well, when he accused that gentleman of approving the murder of the King of France. Whatever be the faults imputed to Mr Fox, duplicity and hypocrisy were never among the number; and no human being ever doubted but that Mr Fox, in this instance, spoke his real sentiments: But the love of Sir Patrick Hume is an overwhelming passion; and no man who gives way to it, can ever say into what excesses he may be hurried.

Non simul cuiquam conceditur, amare et sapere.

The next point upon which Serjeant Heywood attacks Mr Rose, is that of General Monk. Mr Fox says of Monk, 'that 'he acquiesced in the insults so meanly put upon the illustrious 'corpse of Blake, under whose auspices and command he had 'performed the most creditable services of his life.' This story, Mr Rose says, rests upon the authority of Neale, in his History of the Puritans. This is the first of many blunders made by Mr Rose upon this particular topic: For Anthony Wood, in his Fasti Oxonienses, enumerating Blake among the bachelors, says, 'His body was taken up, and, with others, '*buried in a pit in St Margaret's Church-yard* adjoining, near 'to the back door of one of the prebendaries of Westminster, '*in which place it now remaineth,* enjoying no other monument 'but what it reared by its valour, which time itself can hardly 'efface.' But the difficulty is to find how the denial of Mr Rose affects Mr Fox's assertion. Mr Rose admits, that Blake's body was dug up by an order of the King; and does not deny that it was done with the acquiescence of Monk. But if this be the case, Mr Fox's position, that Blake was insulted, and that Monk acquiesced in the insult, is clearly made out. Nor has Mr Rose the shadow of an authority for saying that the corpse of Blake

was reinterred *with great decorum.* Kennet is silent upon the subject. We have already given Serjeant Heywood's quotation from Anthony Wood; and this statement, for the present, rests entirely upon the assertion of Mr Rose; and upon that basis will remain, to all eternity.

Mr Rose, who, we must say on all occasions through the whole of his book, makes the greatest parade of his accuracy, states, that the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton and Blake were taken up at the same time. Whereas the fact is, that those of Cromwell and Ireton were taken up on the 26th of January, and that of Blake on the 10th of September, nearly nine months afterwards. It may appear frivolous to notice such errors as these; but they lead to very strong suspicions in a critic of history, and of historians: They show that those habits of punctuality, on the faith of which he demands implicit confidence from his readers, really do not exist; they prove that such a writer will be exact only when he thinks the occasion of importance; and, as he himself is the only judge of that importance, it is necessary to examine his proofs in every instance, and impossible to trust him any where.

Mr Rose remarks, that, in the weekly paper entitled Mercurius Rusticus, No. 1, where an account is given of the disinterment of Cromwell and Ireton, not a syllable is said respecting the corpse of Blake. This is very true; but the reason (which does not seem to have occurred to Mr Rose) is, that Blake's corpse was *not touched till six months afterwards.* This is really a little too much. That Mr Rose should quit his usual pursuits, erect himself into an historical critic, perch upon the body of the dead lion, impugn the accuracy of one of the greatest, as well as most accurate men of his time, - and himself be guilty of such gross and unpardonable negligence, looks so very much like an insensibility to shame, that we should be loath to characterize his conduct by the severe epithets which it appears to merit, and which, we are quite certain, Sir Patrick, the defendee, would have been the first to bestow upon it.

The next passage in Mr Fox's work, objected to, is that which charges Monk, at the trial of Argyle, 'with having produced letters of friendship and confidence to take away the life of a nobleman, the zeal and cordiality of whose cooperation with him, proved by such documents, was the chief ground of his execution.' This accusation, says Mr Rose, rests upon the sole authority of Bishop Burnet; and yet no sooner has he said this, than he tells us, Mr *Laing* considers the bishop's authority to be confirmed by Cunningham and Baillie, both contemporary writers. Into Cunningham or Baillie, Mr Rose never looks to see whether or not they do really confirm the

authority

authority of the bishop; and so gross is his negligence, that the very misprint from Mr Laing's work is copied, and page 431 of Baillie is cited instead of 451. If Mr Rose had really taken the trouble of referring to these books, all doubt of the meanness and guilt of Monk must have been instantly removed. 'Monk was moved (says Baillie) *to send down four or five of Argyle's letters to himself and others, promising his full compliance with them, that the King should not reprieve him.*' Baillie's Letters, p. 451. 'He endeavoured to make his defence,' (says Cunningham); '*but, chiefly by the discoveries of Monk*, was condemned 'of high treason, and lost his head.' Cunningham's History, i. p. 13.

Would it have been more than common decency required, if Mr Rose, who had been apprised of the existence of these authorities, had had recourse to them, before he impugned the accuracy of Mr Fox? Or is it possible to read, without some portion of contempt, this slovenly and indolent corrector of supposed inaccuracies in a man, not only so much greater than himself in his general nature, but a man who, as it turns out, excels Mr Rose in his own little arts of looking, searching and comparing; and is as much his superior in the retail qualities which small people arrogate to themselves, as he was in every commanding faculty to the rest of his fellow creatures?

Mr Rose searches Thurloe's State Papers; but Serjeant Heywood searches them after Mr Rose: and, by a series of the plainest references, proves the extreme probability there is that Argyle did receive letters which might materially have affected his life.*

To Monk's duplicity of conduct may be principally attributed the destruction of his friends, who were prevented, by their confidence in him, from taking measures to secure themselves: He selected those among them whom he thought fit for trial—sat as a commissioner upon their trial--and interfered not to save the lives even of those with whom he had lived in habits of the greatest kindness.

'I cannot' says a witness of the most unquestionable authority, 'I cannot forget *one passage that I saw.* Monk and his wife, before they were moved to the Tower, while they were yet prisoners at Lambeth House, came one evening to the garden, and caused them to be brought down, only to stare at them. Which was such a barbarism, for that man who had betrayed so many poor men to death and misery, that never hurt him, but had honoured him, and trusted their lives and interests with him, to glut his bloody eyes with beholding them in their bondage, as no story can parallel the inhumanity of.' p. 83. Hutchinson's Memoirs, 378.

This, however, is the man whom Mr Fox, at the distance of a century and a half, may not mark with infamy, without incurring,

curring, from the candour of Mr Rose, the imputation of republican principles;—as if attachment to monarchy could have justified, in Monk, the coldness, cruelty and treachery of his character,—as if the historian became the advocate, or the enemy of any form of government, by praising the good, or blaming the bad men which it might happen to produce. Serjeant Heywood sums up the whole article as follows

'Having examined and commented upon the evidence produced by Mr Rose, than which 'it is hardly possible,' he says, 'to conceive that stronger could be formed in any case, to establish a negative,' we now safely assert, that Mr Fox had fully informed himself upon the subject before he wrote, and was amply justified in the condemnation of Monk, and the consequent severe censures upon him. It has been already demonstrated, that the character of Monk had been truly given, when of him, he said, 'the army had fallen into the hands of one, than whom a baser could not be found in its lowest ranks.' The transactions between him and Argyle for a certain period of time, was such as must naturally, if not necessarily, have led them into an epistolary correspondence; and it was in exact conformity with Monk's character and conduct to the regicides, that he should betray the letters written to him, in order to destroy a man whom he had, in the latter part of his command in Scotland, both feared and hated. If the fact of the production of these letters had stood merely on the testimony of Bishop Burnet, we have seen that nothing has been produced by Mr Rose and Dr Campbell to impeach it; on the contrary, an inquiry into the authorities and documents they have cited, strongly confirm it. But, as before observed, it is a surprising instance of Mr Rose's indolence, that he should state the question to depend now, as it did in Dr Campbell's time, on the Bishop's authority solely But that authority is, in itself, no light one. Burnet was almost eighteen years of age at the time of Argyle's trial; he was never an unobserving spectator of public events; he was probably at Edinburgh, and, for some years afterwards, remained in Scotland, with ample means of information respecting events which had taken place so recently. Baillie seems also to have been upon the spot, and expressly confirms the testimony of Burnet. To these must be added Cunningham, who, writing as a person perfectly acquainted with the circumstances of the transaction, says, it was owing to the interference of Monk, who had been his great friend in Oliver's time, that he was sent back to Scotland, and brought to trial; and that he was condemned chiefly by his discoveries. We may now ask where is the improbability of this story, when related of such a man? and what ground there is for not giving credit to a fact attested by three witnesses of veracity, each writing at a distance, and separate from each other? In this instance Bishop Burnet is so confirmed, that no reasonable being, who will attend to the subject, can doubt of the fact he relates being true; and we shall hereafter prove, that the general imputation

putation against his accuracy, made by Mr Rose, is totally without foundation. If facts so proved are not to be credited, historians may lay aside their pens, and every man must content himself with the scanty pittance of knowledge he may be able to collect for himself, in the very limited sphere of his own immediate observation.' p. 86—88.

This, we think, is conclusive enough: but we are happy to be enabled, out of our own store, to set this part of the question finally to rest, by an authority which Mr Rose himself will probably admit to be decisive.—Sir George Mackenzie, the great Tory lawyer of Scotland in that day, and Lord Advocate to Charles II., through the greater part of his reign, was the leading counsel for Argyle on the trial alluded to.—In 1678, this learned person, who was then Lord Advocate to Charles, published an elaborate treatise on the criminal law of Scotland; in which, when treating of Probation, or Evidence, he observes, that missive letters, not written, but only signed by the party, should not be received in evidence; and immediately adds, 'And yet, *the Marquess of Argyle was convict of treason*, UPON 'LETTERS WRITTEN BY HIM TO GENERAL MONK; these letters 'being only subscribed by him, and not holograph, and the 'subscription being proved *per comparationem literarum*; which 'were very hard in other cases,' &c. *Mackenzie's Criminals*, first edit. p. 524. Part II. tit. 25. § 3. Now, this, we conceive, is neither more nor less than a solemn professional report of the case,—and leaves just as little room for doubt as to the fact, as if the original record of the trial had been recovered.

Mr Rose next objects to Mr Fox's assertion, that 'the King kept from his Cabal Ministry the real state of his connexion with France—and from some of them the secret of what he was pleased to call his religion;' and Mr Fox doubts whether to attribute this conduct to the habitual treachery of Charles, or to an apprehension, that his ministers might demand for themselves some share of the French money; which he was unwilling to give them. In answer to this conjecture, Mr Rose quotes Barillon's Letters to Lewis XIV, to show that Charles's ministers were fully apprised of his money transactions with France. The letters so quoted were, however, written *seven years after the Cabal Ministry were in power*—for Barillon did not come to England as ambassador till 1677—and these letters were not written till after that period. Poor Sir Patrick—It was for thee and thy defence this book was written!!!!

Mr Fox has said, that from some of the Ministers of the Cabal the secret of Charles's religion was concealed. It was known to Arlington, admitted by Mr Rose to be a concealed Catholic; it was known to Clifford an avowed Catholic: Mr

Rose

Rose admits it not to have been known to Buckingham, though he explains the reserve, with respect to him, in a different way. He has not, however, attempted to prove that Lauderdale or Ashley were consulted;—on the contrary, in Colbert's Letter of the 25th August 1670, cited by Mr Rose, it is stated that Charles had proposed the *traité simulé*, which should be a repetition of the former one in all things, except the article relative to the King's declaring himself a Catholic, and that the *Protestant Ministers*, Buckingham, Ashley Cooper, and Lauderdale, should be brought to be parties to it:—Can there be a stronger proof (asks Serjeant Heywood) that they were ignorant of the same treaty made the year before, and remaining then in force? Historical research is certainly not the peculiar taleint of Mr Rose; and as for the official accuracy of which he is so apt to boast, we would have Mr Rose to remember, that the term *official accuracy* has of late days become one of very ambiguous import. Mr Rose, we can see, would imply by it the highest possible accuracy—as we see *office pens* advertised in the window of a shop, by way of excellence. The public reports of those, however, who have been appointed to look into the manner in which public offices are conducted, by *no* means justify this usage of the term;—and we are not without apprehensions, that Dutch politeness, Carthaginian faith, Bœotian genius—and official accuracy, may be terms equally current in the world; and that Mr Rose may, without intending it, have contributed to make this valuable addition to the mass of our ironical phraseology.

Speaking of the early part of James's reign, Mr Fox says, it is by no means certain that he had yet thoughts of obtaining for his religion any thing more than a complete toleration; and if Mr Rose had understood the meaning of the French word *etablissement*, one of his many incorrect corrections of Mr Fox might have been spared. A system of religion is said to be established when it is enacted and endowed by Parliament; but a toleration (as Serjeant Heywood observes) is established, when it is recognized and protected by the supreme power. And in the letters of *Barillon*, to which Mr Rose refers for the justification of his attack upon Mr Fox, it is quite manifest that it is in this latter sense that the word *etablissement* is used; and that the object in view was, not the substitution of the Catholic religion for the Established Church, but merely its toleration. In the first letter cited by Mr Rose, James says, that 'he knew well he should never be in safety unless *liberty of conscience* for them should be fully established in England.' The letter of the 24th of April is quoted by Mr Rose, as if the French King had written, the *establishment of the Catholic religion*, whereas the

real

real words are, the *establishment of the free exercise of the Catholic religion.* The world are so inveterately resolved to believe, that a man who has no brilliant talents must be accurate, that Mr Rose, in referring to authorities, has a great and decided advantage. He is, however, in point of fact, as lax and incorrect as a poet; and it is absolutely necessary, in spite of every parade of line, and page, and number, to follow him in the most minute particular. The Serjeant, like a bloodhound of the old breed, is always upon his track; and always looks if there are any such passages in the page quoted, and if the passages are accurately quoted, or accurately translated. Nor will he by any means be content with *official accuracy*, nor submit to be treated, in historical questions, as if he were hearing financial statements in the House of Commons.

Barillon writes, in another letter to Lewis XIV.—' What ' your Majesty has most besides at heart, that is to say, for the ' establishment of a free exercise of the Catholic religion.' On the 9th of May, *Lewis* writes to *Barillon*, that he is persuaded Charles will employ all his authority to establish the *free exercise* of the Catholic religion: he mentions also, in the same letter, the Parliament consenting to the *free exercise of our religion.* On the 15th June, he writes to Barillon—' There now remains ' only *to obtain the repeal of the penal laws in favour of the Catho-' lics, and the free exercise of our religion in all his states.*' Immediately after Monmouth's execution, when his views of success must have been as lofty as they ever could have been, Lewis writes—' It will be easy to the King of England, and as useful ' for the security of his reign as for the repose of his conscience, ' to reestablish *the exercise* of the Catholic religion.' In a letter of Barillon, July 16th, Sunderland is made to say, that the King would always be exposed to the indiscreet zeal of those who would enflame the people against the Catholic religion, so *long as it should not be more fully established.* The French expression is, *tant qu'elle ne sera pas plus pleinement etabli;* and this Mr Rose has had the modesty to translate, *till it shall be completely established*, and to mark the passage with italics, as of the greatest importance to his argument. These false quotations and translations being detected, and those passages of early writers, from which Mr Fox had made up his opinion, brought to light, it is not possible to doubt, but that the object of James, before Monmouth's defeat, was not the destruction of the Protestant, but the toleration of the Catholic religion; and, after the execution of Monmouth, Mr Fox admits, that he became more bold and sanguine upon the subject of religion.

We do not consider those observations of Serjeant Heywood t

to be the most fortunate in his book, where he attempts to show the republican tendency of Mr Rose's principles. Of any disposition to principles of this nature, we most heartily acquit that right honourable Gentleman. He has too much knowledge of mankind to believe their happiness can be promoted in the stormy and tempestuous regions of republicanism; and, besides this, that system of slender pay, and deficient perquisites, to which the subordinate agents of government are confined in republics, is much too painful, to be thought of for a single instant.

We are afraid of becoming tedious by the enumeration of blunders into which Mr Rose has fallen, and which Serjeant Heywood has detected. But the burthen of this sole executor's song is accuracy—his own official accuracy—and the little dependence which is to be placed on the accuracy of Mr Fox. We will venture to assert, that, in the whole of his work, he has not detected Mr Fox in *one single error.* Whether Serjeant Heywood has been more fortunate with respect to Mr Rose, might be determined, perhaps with sufficient certainty, by our previous extracts from his remarks. But for some indulgent readers, these may not seem enough: and we must proceed in the task, till we have settled Mr Rose's pretensions to accuracy upon a still firmer foundation. And if we be thought minutely severe, let it be remembered that Mr Rose is himself an accuser; and if there is justice upon earth, every man has a right to pull stolen goods out of the pocket of him who cries, '*Stop thief!*'

In the story which Mr Rose states of the seat in Parliament sold for five pounds, (Journal of the Commons, vol. V.), he is wrong, both in the sum and the volume. The sum is four pounds; and it is told, not in the fifth volume, but the first. Mr Rose states, that a perpetual excise was granted to the Crown, in lieu of the profits of the Court of Wards; and adds, that the question in favour of the Crown was carried by a majority of two. The real fact is, that the half only of an excise upon certain articles was granted to government in lieu of these profits; and this grant was *carried without a division.* An attempt was made to grant the other half, and this *was negatived by a majority of two.* The Journals are open; Mr Rose reads them;—he is officially accurate: What can the meaning be of these most extraordinary mistakes?

Mr Rose says, that, in 1679, the writ *de heretico comburendo* had been a dead letter for more than a century. It would have been extremely agreeable to Mr Bartholomew Legate, if this had been the case; for, in 1612, he was burnt at Smithfield for being an Arian. Mr Wightman would probably have participated in the satisfaction of Mr Legate; as he was burnt also, the same year, at Lichfield, for the same offence. With the

the same correctness, this scourge of historians makes the Duke of Lauderdale, who died in 1682, a confidential adviser of James II. after his accession in 1689. In page 13. he quotes as written by Mr Fox, that which was written by Lord Holland. This, however, is a familiar practice with him. Ten pages afterwards, in Mr Fox's History, he makes the same mistake. 'Mr *Fox* added '—whereas it was *Lord Holland* that added. The same mistake again in p. 147. of his own book; and after this, he makes Mr Fox the person who selected the appendix of Barillon's papers; whereas it is particularly stated in the Preface to the History, that this Appendix was selected by Mr Laing.

Mr Rose affirms, that compassing to levy war against the King was made high treason by the statute of 25. Edward the Third; and, in support of this affirmation, he cites Coke and Blackstone. His stern antagonist, a professional man, is convinced he has read neither. The former says, '*a compassing to levy war is no treason,*' (Inst. 3. p. 9.); and Blackstone, 'a bare conspiracy to levy war does not amount to this species of treason,' (Com. iv. p. 82.) This really does look as if the Serjeant had made out his assertion.

Of the bill introduced in 1685, for the preservation of the person of James II, Mr Rose observes—' Mr Fox has not told ' us for which of our modern statutes this bill was used as a ' model; and it will be difficult for any one to show such an in- ' stance.' It might have been thought, that no prudent man would have made such a challenge, without a tolerable certainty of the ground upon which it was made. Serjeant Heywood answers the challenge, by citing the 36. Geo. III. c. 7, which is a mere copy of the act of James.

In the fifth section of Mr Rose's work is contained his grand attack upon Mr Fox for his abuse of Sir Patrick Hume; and his observations upon this point admit of a fourfold answer. 1st, Mr Fox does not use the words quoted by Mr Rose; 2dly, He makes no mention whatever of Sir Patrick Hume in the passage cited by Mr Rose; 3dly, Sir Patrick Hume is attacked by nobody in that History; 4thly, If he had been so attacked, he would have deserved it. The passage from Mr Fox is this.

" In recounting the failure of his expedition, it is impossible for him not to touch upon what *he deemed* the misconduct of his friends; and this is the subject upon which, of all others, his temper must have been most irritable. A certain description of friends (the words describing them are omitted) were all of them, without exception, his greatest enemies, both to betray and destroy him; —— and —— and (the names again omitted) were the greatest cause of his rout, and his being taken, though not designedly he acknowledges, but by ignorance, cowardice and faction. This sentence had scarce escaped him, when, notwithstanding the qualifying words with which his

his candour had acquitted *the last mentioned persons of intentional treachery*, it appeared too harsh to his gentle nature; and, declaring himself displeased with the hard epithets he had used, he desires that they may be put out of any account that is to be given of these transactions." *Heywood*, p. 365, 366.

Argyle names neither the description of friends who were his greatest enemies, nor the two individuals who were the principal cause of the failure of his scheme. Mr Fox leaves the blanks as he finds them. *But* two notes are added by the editor, which Mr Rose might have observed are marked with an *E*. In the latter of them, we are told, that Mr Fox observes, in *a private letter*, 'Cochrane and Hume certainly filled up the two principal blanks.' But is this communication of a private letter, any part of Mr Fox's history? And would it not have been equally fair in Mr Rose, to have commented upon any private conversation of Mr Fox, and then to have called it his history? Or, if Mr Fox had filled up the blanks in the body of his history, does it follow, that he adopts Argyle's censure, because he shows against whom it is levelled? Mr Rose has described the charge against Sir Patrick Hume to be, of faction, cowardice, and *treachery*. Mr Rose has more than once altered the terms of a proposition, before he has proceeded to answer it; and in this instance, the charge of treachery against Sir Patrick Hume is not made, either in Argyle's letter, Mr Fox's text, or the editor's note, or any where, but in the imagination of Mr Rose. The sum of it all is, that Mr Rose first supposes the relation of Argyle's opinion to be the expression of the relator's opinion; that Mr Fox adopts Argyle's insinuations because he explains them;—then he looks upon a quotation from a private letter, made by the editor, to be the same as if included in a work intended for publication by the author;—then he remembers that he is the sole executor of Sir Patrick's grandson, whose blank is so filled up,—and goes on blundering and blubbering,—grateful and inaccurate,—teeming with false quotations and friendly recollections, to the conclusion of his book.—*Multa gemens ignominiam.*

Mr Rose came into possession of the Earl of Marchmont's papers, containing, among other things, the narrative of Sir Patrick Hume. He is very severe upon Mr Fox, for not having been more diligent in searching for original papers; and observes, that if any application had been made to him (Mr Rose), this narrative should have been at Mr Fox's service. We should be glad to know, if Mr Rose saw a person tumbled into a ditch, whether he would wait for a regular application till he pulled him out? Or, if he happened to espy the lost piece

of silver for which the good woman was diligently sweeping the house, would he wait for formal interrogation before he imparted his discovery, and suffer the lady to sweep on till the question had been put to him in the most solemn forms of politeness? The established practice, we admit, is to apply, and to apply vigorously and incessantly—for sinecure places and pensions—or they cannot be had. This is true enough. But did any human being ever think of carrying this practice into literature, and compelling another to make interest for papers essential to the good conduct of his undertaking? We are perfectly astonished at Mr Rose's conduct in this particular; and should have thought, that the ordinary exercise of his good-nature would have led him to a very different way of acting.

'*On the whole, and upon the most attentive consideration of every thing which has been written upon the subject*, there does 'not appear to have been any intention of applying torture in 'the case of the Earl of Argyle.' *Rose*, p. 182. If this *every thing* had included the following extract from *Barillon*, the above cited, and very disgraceful, inaccuracy of Mr Rose would have been spared. 'The Earl of Argyle has been executed at 'Edinburgh, and has left a full confession in writing, in which 'he discovers all those who have assisted him with money, and 'have aided his designs. *This has saved him from the torture.*' And Argyle, in his letter to Mrs Smith, confesses he has made discoveries. In his very inaccurate history of torture in the southern part of this island, Mr Rose says, that except in the case of Felton,—in the attempt to introduce the civil law in Henry VI.'s reign,—and in some cases of treason in Mary's reign, torture was never attempted in this country. The fact however is, that in the reign of Henry VIII, Anne Askew was tortured by the Chancellor himself. Simson was tortured in 1558; Francis Throgmorton in 1571; Charles Baillie, and Banastre, the Duke of Norfolk's servant, were tortured in 1581; Campier, the Jesuit, was put upon the rack, and Dr Astlow is supposed to have been racked, in 1558. So much for Mr Rose as the historian of punishments. We have seen him, a few pages before, at the stake,—where he makes quite as bad a figure as he does now upon the rack. Precipitation and error are his foibles. If he were to write the history of sieges, he would forget the siege of Troy;—if he were making a list of poets, he would leave out Virgil:—Cæsar would not appear in his catalogue of generals;—and Newton be overlooked in his collection of eminent mathematicians.

In some cases, Mr Rose is to be met only with flat denial. Mr Fox *does not* call the soldiers who were defending James a-

gainst

gainst Argyle, *authorised assassins*;—but he uses that expression against the soldiers who were murdering the peasants, and committing every sort of licentious cruelty in the twelve counties given up to military execution; and this, Mr Rose must have known, by using the most ordinary diligence in the perusal of the text,—and would have known it in any other history than that of Mr Fox.

'Mr Rose, in his concluding paragraph, boasts of his speaking "impersonally,"—and he hopes it will be allowed justly, when he makes a general observation respecting the proper province of history. But the last sentence evidently shows, that though he might be speaking justly, he was not speaking *impersonally*, if by that word is meant, without reference to any person. His words are, 'But history cannot connect itself with party, without forfeiting its 'name; without departing from the truth, the dignity, and the 'usefulness of its functions.' After the remarks he has made in some of his preceding pages, and the apology he has offered for Mr Fox, in his last preceding paragraph, for having been mistaken in his view of some leading points, there can be no difficulty in concluding, that this general observation is meant to be applied to the Historical Work. The charge intended to be insinuated must be, that, in Mr Fox's hands, history has forfeited the name, by being connected with party; and has departed from the truth, the dignity, and the usefulness of its functions. It were to be wished that Mr Rose had explained himself more fully; for, after assuming that the application of this observation is too obvious to be mistaken, there still remains some difficulty with respect to its meaning. If it is confined to such publications as are written under the title of histories, but are intended to serve the purposes of a party, and truth is sacrificed, and facts perverted to defend and give currency to their tenets, we do not dispute its propriety; but, if that is the character which Mr Rose would give to Mr Fox's labours, he has not treated him with candour, or even common justice. Mr Rose has never in any one instance intimated that Mr Fox has wilfully departed from truth, or strayed from the proper province of history, for the purpose of indulging his private or party feelings. But if Mr Rose intends that the observation should be applied to all histories, the authors of which have felt strongly the influence of political connexions and principles, what must become of most of the histories of England? Is the title of historian to be denied to Mr Hume? and in what class are to be placed Echard, Kennet, Rapin, Dalrymple, or Macpherson? In this point of view, the principle laid down is too broad. A person, though connected with party, may write an impartial history of events which occurred a century before; and, till this last sentence, Mr Rose has not ventured to intimate that Mr Fox has not done so. On the contrary, he has declared his approbation of a great portion of the work; and his attempts to

discover

discover material errors in the remainder, have uniformly failed in every particular. If it might be assumed that there existed in the book no faults, besides those which the scrutinizing eye of Mr Rose has discovered, it might be justly deemed the most perfect work that ever came from the press; for not a single deviation from the strictest duty of a historian has been pointed out; while instances of candour and impartiality present themselves in almost every page; and Mr Rose himself has acknowledged and applauded many of them ' p. 422—424.

These extracts from both books are sufficient to show the nature of Serjeant Heywood's examination of Mr Rose,—the boldness of this latter gentleman's assertions,—and the extreme inaccuracy of the researches upon which these assertions are founded. If any credit could be gained from such a book as Mr Rose has published, it could be gained from accuracy alone. Whatever the execution of his book had been, the world would have remembered the infinite disparity of the two authors, and the long political opposition in which they lived—if that indeed can be called opposition, where the thunderbolt strikes, and the clay yields. They would have remembered also that Hector was dead; and that every cowardly Grecian could now thrust his spear into the hero's body: But still, if Mr Rose had really succeeded in exposing the inaccuracy of Mr Fox,—if he could have fairly shown that authorities were overlooked, or slightly examined, or wilfully perverted,—the incipient feelings to which such a controversy had given birth must have yielded to the evidence of facts; and Mr Fox, however qualified in other particulars, must have appeared totally defective in that laborious industry and scrupulous good faith so indispensable to every historian. But he absolutely comes out of the contest not worse even in a single tooth or nail—unvilified even by a wrong date—without one misnomer proved upon him—immaculate in his years and days of the month—blameless to the most musty and limited pedant that ever yellowed himself amidst rolls and records.

But how fares it with his critic? He rests his credit with the world as a man of labour: and he turns out to be a careless inspector of proofs, and an historical sloven. The species of talent which he pretends to is humble,—and he possesses it not. He has not done that which all men may do, and which every man ought to do, who rebukes his superiors for not doing it. His claims, too, it should be remembered, to these everyday qualities are by no means enforced with gentleness and humility. He is a braggadocio of minuteness—a swaggering chronologer—a man bristling up with small facts—prurient with dates—wantoning in obsolete evidence—loftily dull, and haughty in his drudgery;

drudgery;—and yet all this is pretence. Drawing is no very unusual power in animals; but he cannot draw:—he is not even the ox which he is so fond of being. In attempting to vilify Mr Fox, he has only shown us that there was no labour from which that great man shrunk, and that no object connected with his history was too minute for his investigation. He has thoroughly convinced us that Mr Fox was as industrious, and as accurate, as if these were the only qualities upon which he had ever rested his hope of fortune or of fame. Such, indeed, are the customary results when little people sit down to debase the characters of great men, and to exalt themselves upon the ruins of what they have pulled down. They only provoke a spirit of inquiry, which places every thing in its true light and magnitude,—shows those who appear little to be still less, and displays new and unexpected excellence in others who were before known to excel. These are the usual consequences of such attacks. The fame of Mr Fox has stood this, and will stand much ruder shocks.

Non hiemes illam, non flabra neque imbres
Convellunt; immota manet, multosque per annos
Multa virûm volvens durando sæcula vincit.

ART. IV. *Historical Sketches of the South of India, in an Attempt to trace the History of Mysûr, from the Origin of the Hindû Government of that State, to the Extinction of the Mohamedan Dynasty in 1799; founded chiefly on Indian Authorities, collected by the Author, while officiating for several years as Political Resident at the Court of Mysur.* By Lieutenant-Colonel Mark Wilks. 4to. Longman. London, 1810.

THE valour and fanaticism of the early Moslems were transferred to the inhabitants of the countries subdued by their arms. After the temporal authority of the Chief of the Faithful had ceased to be regarded, the descendants of those who had beheld the throne of Cyrus and the religion of Zoroaster subverted, hastened to employ their swords to extend the dominion of the Coran. Tartars and Persians were equally alive to the duty of making proselytes. A paradise of voluptuous bliss promised an eternal retreat to their military missionaries; and the long accumulated treasures of India, could they reach them by conquest, offered a delicious anticipation of the joys which permanently awaited them.

Neither history nor tradition point to any period in the state of antient India, at which it had assumed the form of one compact

 but

but extensive empire. The dominions of its many sovereigns appear scarcely to have been of greater magnitude than many modern zemindaries. When, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the tide of Mohamedan conquest rolled from the Indus to the Ganges, the Hindu princes, whose dominions lay contiguous, opposed the most heroic efforts, and displayed the most signal self-devotion, in the defence of their subjects, their kingdoms and their gods; whilst those at a distance from the scene of action were probably ignorant of the danger which menaced, at no remote period, their thrones and their altars.

When, towards the close of the thirteenth century, Firoz the Second ascended the throne of Delhi, the northern provinces were already accustomed to the Mohamedan yoke. The milder manners and more civilized habits of the conquered people had begun to tame the ferocity of their conquerors; whilst their superior qualifications for business rendered their assistance indispensable, and assured them that degree of ascendancy which they have accordingly retained under every change of masters. But the immense treasures, the magnificent structures, and the exuberant population, which had struck with astonishment the first invaders, had now disappeared. Rapine, fanaticism and the sword, had executed their task; yet rumour spoke loudly of the riches which existed in the south, where the Mohamedan arms had not yet penetrated; and in the year 1292, Aladdin, the nephew, son-in-law, and successor of Sultan Firoz, planned an expedition into the Decan.

The object of this predatory attack was Devaghiri, which Major Wilford has proved to be the Tagara of Ptolemy. By rapid marches, assisted by a concurrence of favourable circumstances, Aladdin reached the city, and made himself master of it, before its king Rāmadeva was aware of his approach. The accidents which occasioned the defeat of the Hindû army, and the surrender of the citadel, were productive of a ransom so prodigious, as to render the conquest of the Decan an object of the first magnitude at the Court of Delhi. The policy of Rāmadeva averted, for a time, the destruction which awaited his family; but the ruin spread around him, and, after his death, involved his son, together with the kings of Varuncul and the Carnatic. But the permanent establishment of the Mohamedan rule to the north of the river Crisna, may be dated from the year 1326. In that year, Ferishta represents the Sultan M[illegible]ed Togluc Shah as having reduced Dhursamand (D[illegible] a), the capital of the Carnatic; Maber (the western coast [illegible] Peninsula); and the whole country of the Carnatic from [illegible] to sea. His exploits to the south were only productive of plunder

plunder; but the country north of the Crisnā became the seat of a permanent Mohamedan government, which threw off its subjection to the throne of Delhi, during the long and unhappy reign of Mohammed himself.

In 1347, another Aladdin erected an independent kingdom, of which the capital was Calberga, the limits of which he extended over all the countries which, till then, remained in subjection to the empire of Delhi, in the *Decan.* * The dynasty of Sultans of which he was the founder, assumed, like him, the title of Bhamani. The last of them died a fugitive about the year 1526, his dominions having been previously seized by princes, whose territories were composed of portions detached from his own empire. Of these states, the most southerly were, 1. Vijayapur, separated from the empire of Calberga in 1450, by Adil Shah. His successors bore the same appellation, and continued to reign, till that country was subjected by Aurungzeb in 1685; 2. Golconda, in which the governor assumed independence in 1512, and the title of Cuttub Shah. His successors were also deprived of their dominions by Aurungzeb, and those countries again annexed for a time to the throne of Delhi. The memoirs of these Princes, composed by the historian Ferishta, to the year 1609, himself a native of the Decan, have been faithfully translated by that able orientalist Captain Scott, and furnish an interesting picture of the luxury, the vices and the weakness which characterize all Mohamedan courts, when the energy of the founder has given way to the listless inactivity of a hereditary despot.

* The word *Decan*, in Sanscrit *Dex-in*, signifies south. For the amusement of the philologer, we insert a few remarkable analogies between the languages of the east and west, which it suggests. The Hindus have denominated the cardinal points from their relative position with respect to a person contemplating the rising sun. Thus, the word signifying *east*, is derived from *puras*, before, either in time or place (Latin, *prius.*) The *west*, from *poschat*, in Latin *post*. *Dexin*, the south, signifies also the right hand. It is derived from the root *dex*, to be quick. The sign of the comparative in Sanscrit is '*ter*;' hence *dexter*, the right hand, means, in Sanscrit, the quicker (hand). *Sinis*, in Sanscrit, signifies slow; with the comparative it forms *sinis-ter*, the slower (hand). A secondary signification in Sanscrit of *sinis*, is the planet Saturn, from the slowness with which he performs his revolution. He is represented by mythologists as an old man, bent down with years; hence the Latin '*senex*.' The malignancy of his aspect, according to astrologers, affords the secondary signification of the word '*sinister*.'

Our readers will in due time perceive the reasons of this detail. The civil and military institutions, the judicial and financial arrangements of those courts, were formed on the model of those adopted by the Mohamedan empire of Delhi. Nearly six centuries have elapsed, since the Hindus have been accustomed to those institutions and arrangements; which have not only superseded, but condemned to oblivion the system of justice and taxation congenial with the antient habits and prevalent superstition of the natives. We must now turn our attention to countries in different circumstances.

South of the Crisnâ extend the regions whose history Colonel Wilks professes only to sketch. But we must not suffer ourselves to be deceived by the modest phraseology of this respectable writer. His sketches comprise a valuable mass of information, at once curious and important, enlivened by delineations of national manners, and enriched with philosophical discussion and profound remark. Disdaining the task of the vulgar annalist, our author considers his facts only as materials for reflection; and, whether he presents them himself, or suggests reflections to his readers, the perusal of his work will be found equally instructive.

The history of those countries, if Mysur be considered as the prominent part, naturally divides itself into three heads. 1. Their situation before the fall of the empire of Vijayanagar, which, with a reference to Mysur, we may place in 1610. 2. Their situation during the period when Mysur was governed by its native princes, or until the year 1760, comprising a period of 150 years. 3. During the Mohamedan usurpation under Hyder Ali and Tippu, or until the year 1799. The latter belongs exclusively to the second volume of this valuable work. On the two first, we subjoin a few remarks, principally with a view of affording a succinct but comprehensive outline of the most remarkable facts, and of stating our doubts, where we have not the good fortune to coincide with the opinions advanced by Colonel Wilks.

The Crisnâ, named from her dark coloured waters, rises in the lofty mountains that skirt the maritime country of Concan, on the western side of the peninsula, and flowing with a south-easterly course through regions alternately fertile and populous, or covered with impenetrable forests, joins the ocean, augmented by a variety of tributary streams, in the Circar of Guntoor, nearly in lat. 16. Nature has strongly marked the regions which stretch from this river to the southern point of India. Two ranges of lofty mountains, extending from north to south, enclose a table land elevated from 3000 to 5000 feet above the level

level of the sea, between which and those mountains lye the plains of Coromandel and Malabar.

In the eventful history before us, we contemplate the downfall of empires, the introduction of novel institutions, the extirpation of religious dogmata. One thing only remains fixed, the languages of the natives. We think this phenomenon deserving of more attention than it has hitherto received from the philosophic observer. 1st, The elevated central region, of which Mysur forms a part, constitutes the antient Carnatic, or, as it is termed in the Purānas, Carnāta. We know it to have been long the seat of a flourishing empire, and that in times not very remote. In this instance, then, it is not surprising that the inhabitants should retain their peculiar language, and written character. 2d, The Calinga language and country stretching from the borders of Orissa to the neighbourhood of Madras, indicates the limits of an antient kingdom, unknown to history. Amidst all the changes in her government however, her subdivision into different states, and the repeated intrusion of strangers, Calinga has preserved her language, and the written character peculiar to it. 3d, Drāvida extends from the southern frontier of Calinga to Cape Comorin. The language of this country, named Tamul, is coextensive with it. Mr Colebrooke, with great probability, thinks its name connected with the sacred river Tāmraparni, which waters the land of Trināvali. The southern extremity of the peninsula derives its name of Comāri, which is cited by Ptolemy, from a celebrated temple of the goddess Isā, in her character of Comāri, or the virgin. This temple is frequently mentioned in the Purānas. The rites of this goddess have a striking analogy with those of the Taurican Diana, a virgin goddess, whose temple occupied the southern promontory of the Taurican Chersonesus. 4th, On the western coast from Comorin to Nileswaram, the language and written character of Malabar is prevalent. 5th, The country of Tulava extends from thence to the neighbourhood of Goa, and retains in our maps the appellation of Canara, which it never possessed in the language of the natives. All these languages consist of three fourths of Sanscrit words, from which they appear almost equally to have receded; though in different directions. To what circumstance, in their political situation, manners, or literature, then, must we impute the stability of these dialects, after deviating to a certain point, so as to defy the concurrent operations of changes in government and religion, introduction of strangers, and time itself? The permanency of these languages, with their peculiar written characters, seems to us only to be

be accounted for, by supposing that they mark the limits of empires which subsisted during a long series of years, and attained a certain progress in refinement.

The Puranas, in their legendary style, faintly mark the affiliations of remote nations. Yayati, king of the central regions, displeased with his four eldest sons, dismisses them to distant countries. Addressing himself to the second, he says, ' Thy residence, O Turvasu, shall be in a land of robbers, of carnivorous men; thou shalt be the king of an uncivilized people. Where the decencies of life are unknown, and men practise openly the actions of beasts; amongst the Mlecch'ha (barbarians) shalt thou reside.' Turvasu travelled to the south, and from him in the eighth generation descended four brothers; 1st, Pandia; 2d, Chola; 3d, Kerala; and 4th, Cola; who gave their names to four kingdoms at the extremity of the peninsula. The capital of Pandia was the southern Mathurā (Madura) called by Ptolemy Madura Pandionis, to distinguish it from Madura Deorum: Chola is the antient name of Tanjor; and Kerala that of Malabar.

Although the religion of the Vedas was probably the most general, in all the countries of the peninsula, other systems had at certain periods an extensive sway. 1st, The Jaïna, or followers of Jina, who reject the authority of the Veda and Purāna, and may probably be the Mlecch'ha alluded to in the imprecation of Yayati. The sovereigns of Carnāta, until the twelfth century, professed the doctrines of Jina. 2d, The Bauddha had certainly temples in the peninsula; although we have reason to imagine that it was from Siam their religion was imported into Ceylon, where it superseded the Brahminical rites. 3d, A commercial intercourse subsisted between Arabia and the opposite coast of the peninsula, which the Arabians termed Maber: The Mohamedan religion was introduced through this channel, before it was spread by conquest in the North. 4th, A numerous colony of Jews practised at Cochin their national rites, and followed their characteristic occupations. 5th, A knowledge of the true religion had also made some progress on the peninsula; although it was the Nestorian doctrine, which was professed and taught at an early period of Christianity.

The antient history of the Indian peninsula has hitherto been involved in profound obscurity. To the historian Ferishta, the transactions of infidels appeared little deserving of scrutiny; and of his brief notices, there is reason at least to doubt the accuracy of a part. It is to the liberal spirit of enlightened curiosity in an English officer, that we are likely to owe its elucidation. Colonel Mackenzie,

Mackenzie of the Madras establishment has devoted a considerable portion of his life and fortune to collecting from all parts the inscriptions and written documents still extant in the peninsula of India; and the result forms a collection, which, when arranged and translated, will probably leave little to desire in this department of literature.

When the Mohamedan arms first appeared on the banks of the Crisnā, Belal Raï ruled the countries of Carnātā, Drāvida and Tulava, in the city of Dwārā Samudra, of which the ruins still appear 105 miles N. W. of Seringapatnam. This city was taken and plundered, in two predatory incursions, by the commanders of the Mohamedan forces in 1310 and 1311. According to the information above alluded to, the Rajah then removed the seat of his government to Tonuru, near Seringapatnam; and his family continued to reign over the southern part of the peninsula, until finally dispossessed in 1387, by the sovereigns of Vijayanagar. The foundation of this last mentioned city also is thus accounted for in these recently discovered documents. Buca and Harihar, two officers of Rudradeva, king of Varuncul, flying from the sack of that capital by the Mohamedans, commenced the foundation of Vijayanagar in 1336.

With unfeigned respect for the learning of the gentleman who has collected and translated these inscriptions, we think the authority of Ferishta is not rashly to be neglected, respecting the foundation of this celebrated city. He states that Belal Raja, alarmed at the progress of the Mohamedan arms, determined to remove his seat of government to a stronger position, nearer the scene of action; and with this view founded on the frontiers of his dominions, a city which he named Vijaya from one of his sons. If this historian be in an error, he is at least consistent in it; for in the reign of Mahomed Shah Bhameni, that is, about 20 years after the building of the city, we find the king of Vijayanagar claiming the fortresses of Raïchar and Mudkul, as antient possessions of his family. Besides, he does not consider Dwārā Samudra as the capital of this family, but of a tributary prince; which corresponds with the information procured by Dr Buchanan at Yādavapuri or Tonuru, by which that city appears to have been the capital of the sovereigns of the Carnatic in the eleventh century. We would by no means oppose the testimony of Ferishta as of equal authority with the original documents comprised in Col. Mackenzie's collection. We see some reason to imagine, however, that in order to render these of utility commensurate with the munificent intentions of the collector, they must be intrusted for translation to learned natives, under the inspection of some gentlemen

men conversant with the antient language of India. We will content ourselves with one proof, that this caution is not altogether superfluous. 'Valmeek's description of the forests of Dunda Carsonium,' says my friend Major Mackenzie, 'appears to apply to the wild state of the Decan, in the time of Rāma.' Now, in these two words, it is difficult to recognise the well known forest of Dundaca, with the word 'Aranya,' or forest, added to it.

But whether we suppose the antient sovereigns of Carnāta to have transferred their seat of government to Vijayanagar, or a new dynasty to have established its authority on the ruins of the old, it is certain, that this city soon attained a high degree of splendour and magnificence. The authority of its princes extended over the Carnatic, and at last seems to have embraced the whole peninsula, south of the Crisnā. The flourishing state of the Vijayanagar kingdom, and the enterprising character of its rulers, excited the envy and alarmed the fears of the Mohamedan princes whose states lay contiguous. They engaged in a confederacy which proved fatal to Rāma Rājāh, who fell in battle in 1564. His capital was plundered by the victors, and depopulated by the consequences. 'His successor,' says Colonel Wilks, 'deserting the seat of his ancestors, established at Penconda, the ruins of a once powerful dynasty, which continued to cast a lingering look at its former greatness; until, retiring from thence to the eastern position of Chandraghurri, the last branch whose sovereign title was acknowledged, he was expelled from this his last fortress in 1646.'

Whilst the seat of government was fixed at Vijayanagar, the provinces were ruled by viceroys, who remitted the revenues to the royal treasury. Seringapatnam was the seat of one of those governors; a city of which our author refers the origin to times comparatively recent. But his authorities in this point must, we think, have been erroneous. The temple of Sri Runga was, from early times, a celebrated place of pilgrimage. In the 21st chapter of the Siva Purāna, we find an account of the route of a pilgrim, through this part of the Decān. 'After venerating Mahācāla at the city of Ujjaini, he proceeded to Cānchi (Conjeveram), and thence to the sacred waters of the Cāveri. Here he bathed in the holy stream, and visited the temple where Visnu reposes in the form of Sri Runga. From thence, his route lay to the southern Mathurā; to the bridge (between Ceylon and the Continent) where the Lingham Rāmaswara is worshipped by innumerable votaries. He afterwards performed his ablutions in the Tāmraparni, and thence ascending the lofty Malaya, he travelled to the place where Isā is adored with the epithet

epithet of Virgo (Comári), on the shore of the southern ocean.'

Nothing, however, is more probable, than that a new temple to the Sri Runga may have been erected in 1454, and a fort constructed in its vicinity, which afterwards became the seat of the provincial viceroy. At this period, the ancestors of the present Rajah of Mysûr enjoyed, with the title of Udiar, possession of the lands on which the fort was erected in 1524, and called Mysûr, a contraction of Mahesāsuri, an epithet of the goddess Isā (Isis.) The term of Udiar, as well as Polygar (which Colonel Wilks confines to the chiefs of colonies settled in the southern districts, by the Vijayanagar government, and generally of Calinga extraction), would undoubtedly be rendered, in the language of Upper India, by the term 'Zemindar,' or landholder.

During the decline of the Vijayanagar dynasty, after the battle of Telicotta, in 1564, these udiars endeavoured to evade the payment of their revenues to government, and gradually to enlarge the bounds of their possessions. In this attempt, the most successful were the udiars of Mysur. Rāj Udiar, who succeeded in 1576 to the family property, was nominated to the charge of the government, by the dying viceroy, in 1610. He then removed his residence from Mysûr to Seringapatnam; and abjuring the peculiar tenets of the sect in which he had been educated, adopted the more popular profession of the Vaïsnava doctrines. Independently of the territories subjected to his sway, by the then limited authority of the viceroy, in the course of his long, active, and successful reign, many neighbouring districts were added to his dominions, during this period of political anarchy. From 1610 to 1760, during a period of 150 years, nine princes of the same family succeeded each other on the throne of Mysûr; of whom the last was deprived of the regal authority by Hyder Ali, the commander of his forces.

The history of the Hindû sovereigns of Mysûr, consists of little more than the steps by which their petty possessions gradually swelled into the size and rank of a considerable kingdom. If it be necessary to advert to the great military operations, of which, during their reigns, the Decan was the theatre, it must be only to explain the causes which facilitated the acquisition of such extensive territories. On the fall of the Vijayanagar empire, the provincial officers, and the commandants of the numerous strongholds in the north, endeavoured, with more or less success, to establish their independence. A variety of small states started into existence, inconsiderable with respect to territory, but strong in the possession of fastnesses fortified by nature and art, and constantly apprehensive of attack from the great Mo-

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[illegible] empires of Vijayapur and Golconda. Notwithstanding the voluptuous indolence of the rulers of these empires, these obstacles to the conquest of Mysûr were gradually disappearing; and most of the considerable fortresses, even to the centre of Carnāta, had, in the middle of the seventeenth century, opened their gates to the armies of Vijayapur; whilst Golconda gradually extended her possessions on the eastern coast. But a period was put to the further conquests of these states, by two formidable adversaries, whose increasing power threatened a common destruction to both. The Mahratta Sevaji, with equal boldness and address, possessed himself of many of their southern conquests; whilst the Emperor Aurungzeb approached from Delhi, with an immense army, to reduce the whole of Decan to subjection. The states of Vijayápur and Golconda fell before the arms of the Moguls; and the southern states of the peninsula would doubtless have followed, had not this fate been averted by the employment which the Mahrattas, now become a formidable nation, afforded to the conqueror. To the imperial delegates at Sera and at Arcot, Mysûr appeared only as the object of a predatory incursion. In the year 1717, and reign of Raffia al Dirjat, the Nuab Nizam al Muluc obtained possession of the Mogul conquests in the Decan, which from that period virtually ceased to form a part of the empire. But the attention of this artful statesman was too much occupied in securing the extensive territories he had thus dismembered, to admit of views of distant acquisitions. On his death, in 1748, the contest for the succession between his son and grandson broke out; and the wars for the succession of the Nuab of Arcot, between Chunda Saheb and Mohamed Ali, in which the English and French performed the principal parts, protracted the perturbed state of the peninsula, until Hyder Ali established his ascendancy in Mysûr, and dispossessed the native sovereigns of their authority.

Protected by the jealousies and the dissensions of more powerful states, a series of able princes in Mysûr enlarged and improved their dominions, at the expense of their weaker neighbours, who had, like them, profited by the fall of the Vijayanagar empire, to become independent. The son of one of the most enterprising of the Mysûr kings was born deaf and dumb. He succeeded to the throne in 1714; and the royal authority was unavoidably exercised by his chief military and civil servants, the Dalawa, or Commander, and Sarva Adhicar, or General Superintendant. But the authority, once lost, could never be regained; and the attempts of his successors to resume the functions of royalty, only terminated in their own destruction.

tion. The ministers who governed in the reign of Crishna Rāj, who ascended the throne in 1734, when only five years of age, were two brothers, named Devarāj and Nundarāj. Under the protection of the latter, Hyder Ali rose from the situation of an obscure volunteer, to the command of a party of cavalry. He accompanied Nundarāj in his inglorious campaign against Trichinopoly. In 1755, he was appointed commander of Dindigul, and soon amassed considerable treasures. His influence at court rapidly increased. Nundarāj owed to his exertions the suppression of a dangerous mutiny. The Raja beheld him, as yet, only as his protector from the violence of Nundarāj; and all orders of men began to look up to him for the restoration of public prosperity. At this juncture, the fort and district of Bangalor were conferred on him as a personal jaghir. A second Mahratta invasion, in 1759, occasioned his appointment to the chief command of the field army. His conduct of the war, and adjustment of the terms of peace, added to his already high reputation; and his patron alone, Nundarāj, stood between him and the royal authority. He determined to remove him. The displeasure of the Rājāh, and the discontents of the troops, supplied Hyder with an easy method of effecting his purpose. But the court soon discovered, that one tyrant had been substituted for another. In 1760, when his forces were serving on distant expeditions, an attempt was made to secure his person; but Hyder found means to escape, and fled to his jaghir of Bangalor, which he soon placed in a respectable posture of defence. There he collected his force, and recruited his finances, preparatory to the measures which were soon to invest him with the functions of royalty. The arts by which he again attached the displaced minister, Nundarāj, to his fortunes, and contrived to sow distrust amongst the troops who remained faithful to their master, evince that intuitive perception of character, and that total neglect of moral principle, which are probably necessary to render usurpation successful.

'Every thing being ready for the execution of his plan, early in the month of May 1761, he arrived at Chendgall, on the south bank of the Cāveri, opposite the centre of the island of Seringapatnam; where, affecting to deprecate further hostility, he appeared to be entirely absorbed in negotiations with the Rājā's minister; the remnant of whose cavalry, chiefly Māhrātta, and still amounting to between five and six thousand, were encamped, with a corps of infantry on the island, south of the fort, and partly under the guns. Hyder, on the opposite bank of the river, which was then fordable, made every evening a show of exercising his troops till after sunset. On the eighth day of this tacit armistice, instead of dismissing them as usual, he made a sudden dash across the river, as if for the performance

formance of an evolution of the parade, and carried destruction into the enemy's camp by complete surprise, capturing the whole of their heavy equipments, and most of their horses. This enterprise completed the ruin of Kunda Row's field force; and Hyder, with the air of a conqueror already assured of his object, encamped, more in the style of a triumph than a military operation, across the island, on the ground now occupied by Sheher Gunjam.'

The humiliating proposals transmitted by the Rājā, and assented to by Hyder, were,

'1st, That districts to the amount of three lacs of rupees, should be reserved for the Rājā's personal expenses, and one lac for Nundorāj. 2d, That Hyder should assume the management of the remainder of the country, and charge himself with the responsibility of defraying the arrears, and providing for the pay of the army, and public charges of every description.'

The seclusion of the Rājā, the dismission of Nundarāj to an involuntary retirement, and the punishment of those who had opposed his ambitious designs, completed the usurpation of Hyder. In a subsequent volume, we shall trace the successive augmentations of territory, and the bold and successful policy which marked his reign; the tyranny and imprudence of his successor, and the restoration, to a considerable portion of their possessions, of the family of the Hindû sovereigns, after an interval of 38 years.

This work throws considerable light on the antiquities of the Decan. The history of the Hindû dynasty of Mysor, is at once new and interesting. But, were it possible to object to lucid statement and perspicuous narrative, we should have questioned the necessity of the greater part of the 8th, 9th and 10th chapters. The facts related had already been told, and, abating for prolixity, well told, in the pages of Mr Orme. We certainly have no objections to fighting again the battles of Lawrence, of Clive, and of Coote, on the fields of Trichinopoly and of Arcot; where brilliant military talents were exerted to overcome the deficiency of resources, and the disadvantage of numbers. But as these operations were only connected with the history of Mysûr, by the presence of an useless body of Mysûrean auxiliaries, we are not quite satisfied of the necessity of so ample a detail. In his account of the origin of Hyder's family, and of the progressive rise of this successful adventurer, our author has exhibited an interesting piece of biography. The writer of this article translated, from the Persian manuscript of a native of Hyderabad, an account of Hyder's life, which was afterwards published in the Asiatic Annual Register. It differs in many important particulars from that contained in this work; but the political resident at Mysûr had undoubtedly access to more au-

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thentic materials, than the anonymous author of the manuscript could be supposed to possess.

In a history, abounding in general views, and detailing the events which occurred during the successive reigns of a Hindû and Mohamedan dynasty, we shall certainly be disappointed, unless we are favoured with a comparative view of the effects of their different maxims, institutions and government, on the welfare of the nation subjected to their sway. For our own part, we are certainly inclined to hold, that the genius of the Hindû institutions, civil and religious, was calculated to produce a mild and patriarchal simplicity of government and manners, highly conducive to the prosperity of its subjects; whilst the Mohamedan rule has only been beneficial, when, receding from the genius of their own institutions, the Sultans have adopted or connived at the permanent regularity, the hereditary succession, and that attention to the promotion of agriculture, and the convenience of travellers, observed in the practice, and prescribed by the laws of the conquered people. We fear, however, that we shall not obtain the sanction of Colonel Wilks to the truth of a conclusion, which, in our opinion, rests on the concurrence of Mohamedan writers, in representing each portion of Hindûstan, successively subdued, in a state of higher prosperity, affluence and population, than it had afterwards attained. Let us examine this question, with a view to the Decan itself.

It is impossible to peruse the account given by Ferishta, of the capture of Devaghiri (the modern city of Dewhetabad), after making every allowance for exaggeration, without supposing the amount of gold and silver, obtained by Aladdin as ransom, to have been immense. Yet its sovereign, Rāmadeva, was the king of a very limited territory. Malwa, Gundwana, Golconda, Candesa and Carnāta, were all independent and contiguous kingdoms. But let us consider the produce of a more extensive predatory incursion, by Malec Naib, general of Aladdin, in 1311. It is thus related by Ferishta, from whom we translate. 'Continuing to advance, for the extermination of the infidels, after a march of three months, they engaged and took prisoner Belāladeva, king of the Carnātic, and plundered his country, destroying the temples, and seizing on all the images which were of gold. Malec Naib erected a small mosque, in which he celebrated the name of Mohamed, and read the Khutta, in the name of Sultan Aladdin. At the time in which I write, (1609), this mosque is still in existence. It is situated in the land of infidels, near the grove of Sitā, and the bridge of Rāmēswara. Those infidels have respected a house consecrated to God, and have preserved it. Some ascribe this to a

 'prophecy

'prophecy contained in their books, that the whole of India 'will be subjected to the dominion of Mohamedan princes. 'After Malec Naib had possessed himself of the treasures of all 'the kings of that country, and was preparing to return, the 'night before his march a quarrel arose among some Brah-'mans, who sought refuge in his camp, respecting money taken 'from the buried treasures of the nobility. A Mohamedan 'overheard them, and lodged information with the Cutwal. 'The Brâhmans were seized, and carried before Malec Naib. 'On the application of the torture, they refunded what they 'had taken; and discovered not only that treasure, but six 'other places of deposit in the woods. Malec Naib drew im-'mense sums from these deposits, and began his march towards 'Maber, (Malabar). Having also destroyed the temples there, 'and collected large sums, and valuable jewels, he returned to 'Delhi in the year of the Hegyra 711, (A.D. 1311). He presented 'to Aladdin 312 elephants, 24,000 horses, 96,000 maunds of 'gold, and innumerable diamonds and pearls. Aladdin, upon 'seeing this treasure, which eclipsed the celebrated treasury of 'Perviz (Chosroes Perviz, king of Persia), at Badaverd, was 'delighted, and threw open the gates of his exchequer. He 'gave each of the Omra ten maunds, (a maund is about 80 lib. 'avoirdupois); to others, as shaikhs and learned men, he gave 'one maund, or half a maund, according to their character. 'The remainder, whether coined or uncoined, he caused to be 'melted, and deposited in his treasury. None of the authors 'who have treated of that period make any mention of silver 'being brought from the peninsula by Malec Naib; whence it 'has been conjectured, that it was held in little estimation.' Whatever exaggeration there may be, on the part of the authorities to whom Ferishta refers, and who probably wrote near the period, we are authorised to conclude, that the plunder brought from the Decan by Malec Naib, was such as that country could not have supplied at any subsequent time. But gold is not a production of India. Those riches must have been procured in exchange for commodities; and their probable amount, consequently, enables us to appreciate the commercial prosperity of those countries.

We have seen that Vijayanagar was founded in the year 1336. In the following century, Shahrukh, son of Tamerlane, reigned in the city of Herat, over the most extensive empire then existing in Asia. His court was remarkable for its splendour and magnificence. This prince sent an ambassador to the Rajah of Vijayanagar; and Khondemir has inserted his observations on that country, in the Habibabsir, whence they were translated by the

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writer of this article, and published in the Asiatic Register. The embassador is at a loss to express the astonishment excited in him, by the riches and prosperity which he there witnessed. Vijayanagar," then only a century old, greatly exceeded in splendour and size the capital of Persia. The immense population of the Decan, when compared with that of his native country, Abdul Rezac attributes to the military not being paid by assignments of land, but receiving their pay regularly once in four months, from the treasury. There can indeed be little doubt of the pernicious effects of the Mohamedan system of paying the troops by jaghirs and tunkhas, and thus subjecting the cultivators to military oppression; but, in addition to this circumstance, he might have included the perfect security afforded to commerce, by the vigilant police, and strict administration of justice, which he had previously remarked. We might cite the expensive works for the retention and distribution of the waters, in countries of which the cultivation depends on artificial irrigation, erected by Hindu princes, and suffered to fall into decay by their Mohamedan successors. We might cite the territorial assessment effected by the sovereign of Vijayanagar, still referred to by the inhabitants of Carnāta, as an equitable standard of the comparative value of lands. But we hasten to the consideration of another and more interesting topic discussed by Colonel Wilks.

His fifth chapter comprises a learned and able disquisition on the landed property of India. He quotes Strabo and Diodorus; and examines the state of landed tenures in Judea; in Egypt during the administration of Joseph; and in Sparta when the laws were framed by Lycurgus. The government of Bengal had contented themselves with interrogating the most intelligent natives, and with consulting financial documents.

A measure of great political importance has long been partially adopted at Madras, with a view of rendering the settlement of the territorial revenue general and permanent, as in Bengal. Colonel Wilks conceives it to be not only unjust and oppressive in its principle, but likely to prove detrimental in its effects. The authority which his opinion is justly entitled to, induces us to call the attention of our reader to the nature, extent, and application of the arguments he adduces. We shall be obliged also to take a concise view of the origin, progress, and present state of the long litigated question of Zemindari rights, in which we shall avoid as much as possible the use of technical terms.

Before we commence, however, we think it right to show, that we are not altogether unqualified for engaging in this discussion, by vindicating ourselves from the charge of having ad-

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vanced two facts 'incompatible and incredible,' for such are the epithets which Colonel Wilks has applied to our statement. We cited the authority of the Muntukheb al lebab, a history of great reputation, and of Shah Nevaz Khan, an esteemed biographer, to prove that; in the financial system of the Emperor Acbar, one half of the crop was exacted as the share of government, if paid in kind, but that this might be commuted for one fourth of the estimated value, if paid in money. The works on which we founded our statement are both considered as high authorities in India; but if the facts be incompatible, no authority indeed will be of much consequence. Is it too much, however, to expect that, before we discredit writers of established reputation, that incompatibility be pointed out? Now, the only ground for disbelieving their statements, arises from the apparent improbability of encouraging money-payments by so high a premium. But whoever will appretiate the expense, waste and dilapidation accruing from the receipt of revenue in kind, may not be disposed to consider the fact incredible, or to reject the testimony of competent witnesses treating the history of their own country, and on a subject, in which Shah Nevaz Khan at least, was intimately conversant.

Of the antient existence of Bengal as a separate kingdom, with the precise limits assigned to it at present, there is no other evidence than its distinct language, and peculiar written character. At the time of the war of the Mahābārat, it constituted three kingdoms. Afterwards, it formed a part of the empire of Magadha or Behar; from which, however, it was dismembered before the Mohamedan invasion. By what laws it was governed during the sway of its native princes, neither history nor tradition has recorded. It may indeed be conjectured, that since these were Hindûs as well as their subjects, the institutes of Menu must have furnished the basis of their jurisprudence. The digest of Hindû law by Mr Colebrooke, shows, however, that other systems, for which divine authority was also pleaded, claimed obedience from Hindus. For our present purpose, it is sufficient to observe, that, for many centuries, all knowledge of those laws has been effaced from the memory of the natives; and to trace their existence, has been the task of profound investigation, and literary research.

At the commencement of the 13th century, Bengal was subjected to the throne of Delhi, and continued a province of that empire until the year 1338, or during a period of 140 years. At this period, Malec Fakhireddin, an officer of Cader Khan, the viceroy of Bengal, assassinated his master, and revolted from the Patan empire. Under the new dynasty of Mohamedan princes, Bengal continued to be governed as an independent kingdom, until the

the death of Sultan Shemseddin II. in 1386, when a Hindu zemindar, named Raja Cansa, subjected it to his dominion, and transmitted the sovereignty to his son, after a reign of seven years. 'But God,' adds the pious Ferishta, 'averted the mischief this might have occasioned,' by converting his son to the true faith.' In the year 1538, the Emperor Humayun re-annexed it to the throne of Delhi. But on the death of the Emperor Selim in 1552, Soliman Gárâni rendered himself independent in Bengal. He was succeeded by his sons, the last of whom fell in battle against the army of the Emperor Acbar in 1575. So that Bengal continued an independent Mohamedan state, during nearly 237 years. From that period, it remained annexed to the Mohamedan empire of Delhi, until the acquisition of the Dewani by the English East India Company, constituting in all a period of nearly 600 years, during which it was ruled by Mohamedan sovereigns; an interval more than sufficient to obliterate all traces of the laws and institutions, which preceded the conquest, from the minds of the natives.

Those laws, however, did not entirely cease to operate. For although the Mohamedan courts did not allow their validity, they paid great attention to local customs, in questions of succession; and many of these were no doubt founded on the antient laws. But without any minute investigation of the principles adopted by the Mohamedan government, in the administration of Bengal, a very superficial view of the actual state of that country, when it came into possession of the English, is sufficient to show that they had not proved injurious. The unexampled state of prosperity which Bengal had attained, demonstrated, that however defective the Mohamedan institutions might be found in theory; whatever circumstances might render them ineligible for the new government to adopt, the country had risen to affluence in consequence, or in spite of them. The first object was to ascertain the relative situation of the different classes of new subjects thus unexpectedly submitted to their control. The act of Parliament which enjoined that the natives should be protected in their rights, 'according to the laws and constitution of India,' meant unquestionably such rights as existed when the India Company obtained possession. The obvious intention was to maintain the state of society which then existed; and it certainly never entered into the imagination of any person, at home or abroad, that it was necessary to revert to laws, institutions and rights, which a lapse of six centuries had obliterated from the minds of the natives.

It was found, that almost the whole revenue collected by the Mohamedan government was derived from an assessment on the land:

land: That this territorial assessment professed to be fixed in principle, but was exceedingly variable in amount: That the amount was annually adjusted between the officers of government and a class of men called zemindars, (literally landholders), and was more or less each year, in proportion to the quantity of land in cultivation: That these men possessed certain hereditary rights, their succession being regulated by the custom of the family; but that a confirmation of their title, by a new sunnud or grant from the crown, after each demise, was requisite to its validity: That they collected from the peasants the rent paid to government, after deducting a proportion equal to about one tenth, unless this was allowed them in lands; and that these lands, or that deduction, was allowed them, even when deprived of the management of their zemindaries, unless in cases of disaffection to government: That, anterior to the English possession, the whole of the subahs of Bengal and Bahar were subdivided into zemindary jurisdictions, insomuch that not a foot of land existed in either, which did not constitute a portion of some zemindari: That the sovereign was in the habit of granting to individuals, in perpetual property, small portions of lands, by deeds of various denomination and tenor, either with or without a quit-rent; these continuing to constitute, however, a part of the zemindari as before; and a proportionate reduction was allowed to the zemindar, at the annual adjustment of his accounts, for the lands thus dismembered: That the zemindar himself, for charitable or religious purposes, or even from motives of favour, affection, or interest, was in the habit of excluding certain portions of his zemindari from the territorial assessment; but these alienations, when discovered, were generally resumed, though sometimes confirmed by government: That the government only interfered between the zemindar and the occupants of the lands, by compelling both parties to fulfil their engagments: That the proprietors of houses and gardens held the ground by a patta, or lease, from the zemindar; the greatest proportion of the cultivators of the soil held their ground also in virtue of pattas or leases, the tenor of which was various, many for a twelvemonth, and others for a period of years; but there still remained a numerous class of cultivators, who, although they had no pattas, possessed a prescriptive right of occupancy, whilst they continued to pay their just proportion of the annual assessment.

The most remote period to which the amount of that annual assessment could be traced, was to that adjusted and levied by Rājāh Tudor Mull, in the reign of the Emperor Akbar, and termed the Asil Tumar Jumma; copies of which are still extant.

extant. The principles which regulated it, adverted to the circumstances and nature of the crop, as well as of the cultivator. From historical evidence, and the testimony of intelligent natives, we submit the following statement as representing the shares into which the crop of rice would be divided, according to that assessment, at the present time, when the peasant had not received tucavi or an advance of money; had not had recourse to artificial irrigation at his own expense; and paid the dues of government, not in kind, but in money.

	Rupees.
Suppose the produce of a portion of land to sell for -	100
Deduct three fourths to the cultivator, for the wages of labour, repair of implements, and profits of stock - - - - - - -	75
	25
Deduct charges of collection, estimated at one tenth	2½
	22½
Deduct the allowance of the zemindar, according to the practice of the more recent Mohamedan governments; for, in the settlement of Acbar, they were not employed in their present capacity -	2½
There remains to the sovereign	20

But whether the original principle was adhered to, or neglected, the amount levied in the administration of the Nabob Aliverdi Khan, greatly exceeded the produce of the Asil Tumar Jumma. Yet the prosperity of the country bore testimony to the moderation of the exactions. Two centuries had elapsed since the settlement of Tudor Mull. The variations in the numerical amount may justly be attributed to the extension of cultivation, and, above all, to a fall in the value of money. At the former period, the discovery of the American mines had scarcely affected the circulation of India. At the latter, the nations of Europe had long carried on an extensive commerce with Bengal, principally by means of importations of bullion.

An experience of twenty years was not necessary to prove to the government of Bengal, that the financial system which had flourished under their predecessors, was not likely to prove successful with them. The summary justice, the complicated system of checks, the intimate local knowledge which had assisted it before, were all wanting. The decline of the revenues naturally attracted the attention of the most intelligent Company's servants to an investigation of the cause and the remedy; and

the rights of zemindars became a subject of interesting, but not acrimonious discussion: Lord Teignmouth and the late Mr Grant were the most intelligent and the best informed of those who took a part in it.

Mr Grant contended, that the sovereign was the sole proprietor of the soil throughout India: That the native officers, at the period when the company obtained possession, had fraudulently suppressed or destroyed the revenue accounts: That by imposing erroneous statements on the credulity of the English, they had, in collusion with the zemindars and their agents, intercepted the real dues of the state: That the remedy for this rapidly increasing abuse was, to demand from the latter the amount at which they were actually assessed, previously to the Company's obtaining the Dewani; and, on refusal, to commit their districts to the charge of English gentlemen, instructed to superintend the formation of a new valuation founded on minute local investigation: That the zemindars thus dispossessed should retain nothing but their nancar, or one tenth of the neat rental, which was all to which they had any right by the 'laws and constitution of India;'—the necessity of obtaining a new sunnud after the death of each incumbent, abundantly demonstrating, that they could not be considered as landed proprietors. In fact, they were merely officers of government, of whom, in the settlement of Tudor Mull, no mention is made, though they have been unwisely suffered to convert their official trusts into hereditary jurisdictions, by succeeding Mohamedan rulers.

On the other hand, it was maintained, that the claims of its subjects should be weighed deliberately, and even indulgently, by a just and wise administration: That the zemindars exercised no rights now, of which they were not in possession before the subversion of the Mohamedan government: That for a new government to institute an inquiry into the origin of rights established antecedently to their own, would be a task at once unpopular, invidious and unjust. Besides, such an inquiry would lead to no satisfactory result. Many of the zemindars were unquestionably the descendants and representatives of petty independent princes; others had undoubtedly acquired their zemindaries recently; and the origin of others it would be difficult to trace: But, all had been placed on the same footing by the Mohamedan rulers. Would it be becoming then in an English government to annihilate rights respected by a dynasty of Tartars? Besides, the zemindars were, in fact, the nobility of the country, and formed an useful and ornamental link in the chain of society, which, without them, would be reduced to the prince and the peasant. The

The cultivators universally considered them as the proprietors of the soil; they were attached to the families which had so long been their protectors; and, if even their dispossession could be proved to be compatible with strict justice, still it would certainly be considered by the people in general, as a [illegible]

[illegible] could correctly be considered as a standard;—an assessment which had never been realized, and which had at the time excited the greatest discontent. If compared with any other standard, no material diminution would be found to exist. But instead of convulsing the country by encroaching on rights sanctioned by prescription, and supported by public opinion, the politic mode of improving the revenue, is by rendering it the interest of the zemindars to extend cultivation.

"It is a pleasing reflection, that the arguments prevailed which appeared to partake most of liberality and justice. But a permanent settlement of the territorial assessment was recommended by considerations of great weight and moment. 1st, To ascertain annually the precise extension or diminution in the quantity of cultivated land, implied a degree of local knowledge, which the English gentleman in charge of an extensive district could never possess. Scarcely had he leisure to become conversant with one station, before, in the routine of the service, he was removed to a higher, or returned to Europe. 2d, With the highest deference for the honour and integrity of the Company's servants, was it wise to expose them annually to the enormous temptation of profiting by the settlement of the revenues, when this might be effected with scarcely a possibility of detection? The revenue officers who preceded them, during the Mohamedan government, though notoriously more corrupt, were checked by the local knowledge of their employers, and by the existence of minute and detailed accounts which had since irrecoverably perished. 3d, Above all, was it rational to expect an increase of cultivation, whilst the zemindars, who alone possess capital applicable to agricultural improvements, can only expect to receive one tenth of the profit arising from its advance, whilst nine tenths must be paid to the government? 4th, If by limiting the demands of the sovereign in the form of territorial assessment, a zemindari can be rendered a valuable property, it will also become a saleable one; and henceforth, the balances accruing annually, may be liquidated by the sale of a proportionate quantity of the lands, which will probably trans-

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for the management into more industrious hands, and in this respect also prove conducive to the general prosperity.

Such were the facts, and such, to the best of our recollection, a few of the principal arguments adduced in the course of this interesting discussion. It terminated in the zemindars being declared hereditary proprietors of their respective zemindaries, now become estates. The property of the soil in Bengal could never once be supposed to rest with any other class of men than either the sovereign or the zemindar. Yet sales of land were as common there as in Europe; but they only transferred the rights assigned to the seller or his ancestors, by the sovereign or the zemindar. The respective rights of the sovereign, the zemindar and the tenant, as actually exercised during the later Mohamedan governments, admitted of no dispute. The controversialists were too intimately acquainted with facts, to differ as to the practice. But in whom was vested the property of the soil? On this abstract question the most opposite deductions were made from the same premises. To us, it appears correct to affirm, that if it be not always frivolous to talk of rights under a government absolutely despotic, the property was vested in the sovereign, limited by certain hereditary rights of the zemindars. We must not conclude, from the silence of the Ayin Acbari, that the origin of this class of men was posterior to that period; for it is historically certain, that the descendants of the independent princes who ruled in India, before its subjection to the Moslems, where they were not extirpated or driven from their dominions, became the zemindars of their former principalities. When, in consequence of their families becoming extinct,—of real or supposed disaffection to the government,—or of failure in liquidating the balances due to the state, they lost possession, their territories were transferred to others, either entire or divided, by new grants from the crown. We fully admit, that the settlement of Tudor Mull in the reign of Acbar, was not concluded with the zemindars, but with the tenants. But this operation, founded on minute investigation, and in many instances on actual measurement, was exactly the measure recommended by Mr Grant; which required, in order to succeed, the temporary suspension at least of the zemindar's jurisdiction. The history of Upper India affords, at all periods, decisive proofs of the existence of this class of men. The permanent settlement of the Bengal revenues conferred no privileges on the zemindar with respect to the tenants, which he did not previously possess. These were anxiously protected in all the rights they could claim, whether by grants from the crown, from the zemindar, from approved local customs, or, lastly,

lastly, from occupancy. The state encroached on no rights but its own. In setting limits to a fluctuating assessment, and in assuring a hereditary succession, the zemindar derived important privileges from the liberality of the sovereign; but not at the expense of his subjects. The Madras government was directed to carry the same measure into execution in the Peninsula. After this prolix digression, we now return to Colonel Wilks.

All we had read or heard of the countries south of the Crisnā, previously to the publication of Dr Buchanan's travels, had convinced us that the state of society differed widely from that which prevails in the upper parts of Hindustan. The perusal of that instructive publication abundantly confirmed our suspicions. It might, indeed, have been conjectured *a priori*, that countries which had only passed transiently through the Mohamedan rule, would have retained, with little variation, the institutions and customs prevalent amongst their ancestors. The valuable information communicated on this subject by Colonel Wilks, is altogether decisive. We can find only two grounds of objection; 1st, That he appears to consider the state of society, which he represents, as prevalent universally throughout Hindustan; 2d, That he has omitted to state, in sufficient detail, the nature of the situation of that class of men whom he names Udiar or Polygar, which is essential to a correct view of the subject.

We collect from Colonel Wilks's statements, that in the countries south of the Crisnā, the sovereign collects the annual assessment through his own officers, directly from the cultivator, without the intermediate agency of any class of men corresponding with the zemindars of the north. That this was the case when the Institutes of Menu were composed, seems altogether indisputable. We have already intimated, that the petty principalities of antient India did not exceed many modern zemindaries in extent. The property of the soil, therefore, must be sought either in the sovereign, or in the occupant. Colonel Wilks appears inclined to refer it universally to the latter; although, where the exactions of the state became too oppressive, the proprietors preferred the dereliction of their claims to sustaining the weight of enormous taxation thus heaped upon them. 'We shall accordingly find,' he observes, 'that in the central 'regions, the existence, and, with it, the remembrance, of 'private property in land, has been nearly obliterated; while, 'throughout the lower countries, it can every where be distinctly 'proved, and in many places in as perfect a state, and as fondly 'cherished, as in any part of Europe.' The following is the criterion

terion of property adopted by Colonel Wilks. 'The inference 'appears to be irresistible, that the fact, of land being saleable, ascertains the existence of property, and that the 'right to sell identifies the proprietor.' We have already remarked, that lands held by lease from the zemindar were transferable, by sale, during the remainder of the lease; but the sale here meant is of a permanent indefeasible property, subject to no other condition than defraying the dues of the state. This, according to Menu, was the sixth part of the crop; a fact of which our author never met with a common Hindu farmer, of ordinary capacity, who was ignorant. 'I dissent absolutely from the opinions of those who describe the Indian 'husbandman as destitute of knowledge, observation, and understanding. I have uniformly found them the most observant and intelligent of all the classes with whom I have conversed, and fond of discussing the rationale of all the operations of their husbandry.' The truth of this observation will certainly not be disputed by any who have had an opportunity of judging for themselves, and who, like Colonel Wilks, are conversant with the native dialects. Going successively over the low countries of the Peninsula, he finds that 'the hereditary right to landed property in Canara and Malabar, was, and continues to be, indefeasible, even by the longest prescriptive occupancy. The heir may, at any distance of time, reclaim his patrimony, on paying the expense of such permanent improvements as may have been made in the estate.'

'Private property, in Malabar and Travancor, is distinguished by the emphatical word Junmum, a term bearing the express signification of birthright. The various gradations of mortgage, temporary transfer, and conditional possession, which are all requisite before a deed of complete and final sale can be effected, mark a stronger reluctance to alienation, and a more anxious attachment to landed property, than can be found in the institutions of any other people antient or modern: and the high selling price of twenty years purchase, reckoning on the clear rent, or proprietor's share, in a country where the legal interest of money is more than double that of Britain, testifies the undiminished preservation of this sentiment to the present day.'

In Dravida, the only country remaining to be noticed, a considerable proportion of the lands is also held by perpetual proprietors.

The impression we have received from the foregoing statements is, that in Tulava, the whole of the lands consist of private property; but that, in Malabar and Dravida, although it is not uncommon, yet it is far from universal. In all these countries,

countries, there is abundance of waste lands, independent of the pastures annexed to each village. But the land of these proprietors, in common with others, is subject to the fluctuating land-tax; and not, as property conferred by the sovereign in Upper Hindustan, to a permanent quit-rent only.

The government of Madras being directed to conclude a permanent settlement of the revenues with the zemindars of the Decan, and not finding any description of persons at all corresponding with this class of men in Hindustan, were naturally very much embarrassed. We can only conjecture, how the Marquis of Cornwallis, and the eminent persons who composed his Council, would have applied their own principles to this new state of things. We may venture to assert with some confidence, that the proprietors would have been secured in all the rights they previously enjoyed; that is, in permanent possession, and in the undisturbed transfer and hereditary transmission of their lands. The considerable proprietors (for such there are) would have been considered as zemindars, and their land-tax fixed in perpetuity. New zemindars would in all probability have been appointed with convenient limits; but we cannot perceive in what respect this would have interfered with the rights of the smaller proprietor, to whom it must be a matter of indifference, whether he pays his revenue to an agent of government, or to a hereditary proprietor. The latter is universally preferred by the Bengal peasantry, from deep-rooted attachment to the family of those whom they consider as their lords and protectors. The situation of the new zemindars on the coast, would only differ from those in Bengal in this, that a greater proportion of their lands would be let in perpetuity; but there would remain a sufficient employment for their skill and capital, in the improvement of those which were waste. The courts of both countries are at all times open to the complaints of cultivators for over-exactions; an evil, at any rate, more to be apprehended from an officer of government casually employed by the English resident, than from a zemindar possessing a permanent interest in the prosperity of his tenants, and naturally anxious to acquire popularity amongst them for himself and his successors.

Such, however, does not appear to be the view taken of the subject by the Madras government. 'Early in 1806, orders 'were issued to the collectors to make the requisite preparatory 'arrangements for dividing the country into estates, for the 'purpose of being sold to persons to be denominated zemindars.' So far as this measure only went to interpose a zemindar between the sovereign or his officers, and the cultivators,

tors, we are not aware of any ground of complaint; whilst the latter were protected in their respective rights, whether proprietary or otherwise. But another measure, of which we profess ourselves altogether unable to comprehend the principle, consisted in a proposal from government to those proprietors, to *purchase* their own lands as zemindars. We apprehend that no precedent for this occurs in the proceedings of the Bengal government, which formed the permanent settlement. This singular proposal was very naturally refused; and the difficulties which occurred in carrying the settlement into effect at Madras, had, when Colonel Wilks wrote, suspended the further prosecution of that measure.

'Happily,' says our author, 'in a large portion of the territory subject to the government of Fort St George, the question is still open to consideration; the rights which still exist, are ripe for confirmation; and those which have been partially or wholly usurped or destroyed, may yet be restored. Instead of creating, by the most absurd of all misnomers, a few nominal proprietors, who, without further usurpation, can by no possible exertion of power be rendered either more or less than farmers, or contractors of revenue, the British government may still restore property, and its concomitant blessings, to the great mass of its subjects.'

In the above passage it is manifestly assumed (as we think) without necessity, that the appointment of a zemindar involves an encroachment on the rights of the proprietors. But some argument should be adduced to prove this. Can it be correctly affirmed, that the zemindar can never be more than a contractor of revenue, in a country abounding with lands altogether waste and unproductive? Could the capital of an opulent purchaser, be employed in a manner more conducive to the general advantage, than in covering the desert with rich harvests? Does the security he will enjoy, of being subjected to no additional assessment, hold forth no inducement to attempt this beneficial operation? But the waste, says Colonel Wilks, is the property of the township. We well know, that every village has a definite extent of pasture land annexed to it, for the conveniency of the villagers. But does this intelligent and benevolent writer so far forget himself, in the warmth of his argument in favour of proprietary rights, as to condemn to perpetual sterility the extensive wastes, in every part of that country, which belong to no township? We have only to peruse Dr Buchanan's Journal to perceive, that in most parts of his route, he traversed extensive tracts remote from the habitation of man, and certainly forming no part of village pastures. The limits of these, indeed, are in general well defined, and perfectly known; and are sufficiently extensive for the purposes to which they are applied;

applied; but beyond them lye lands which require an expenditure of capital to render them productive; and this cannot be procured in any other manner, than by adopting the measure he condemns so severely.

The practical result of our author's observations is, that what he terms the antient constitution of India, should be revived,—

'By declaring the fixed and moderate revenue that each township shall pay, and leaving the interior distribution to themselves; interfering only on appeal from their own little magistrate, either in matters of revenue, or of landed or of personal property. Under such a system, varying only from their antient constitution in substituting for the tax on industry, involved in the exaction of a proportion of the crop, a fixed money payment, which is also of great antiquity in India; the waste would quickly be covered with luxuriant crops, because every extension of culture would be a clear gain to the proprietor.'

This, indeed, is the inestimable advantage of a fixed assessment; to which, however, we find our author objecting, in the following page. The important question really is, whether this settlement shall be concluded with persons possessed of the capital necessary to render waste lands productive, or with the small proprietors, who are destitute of it, though unquestionably entitled to be protected in the enjoyment of what they actually possess. Besides, Colonel Wilks's proposition seems to us calculated to perpetuate two evils, each of which we consider as singularly detrimental to rural industry;—the too minute subdivision of landed property, and the cultivation of lands in common, by husbandmen possessing a common interest in the produce.

To conclude, we are sensible that, in venturing to combat some of the opinions of a writer, who, in addition to the talents, of which this work exhibits ample proof, possesses a local knowledge of the state of society in the peninsula of India, we may justly be accused of presumption. Our confidence in general principles, and our recollection of the facts discovered in the course of the inquiries, preparatory to the permanent settlement of the revenues in Bengal, has perhaps encouraged us to assert, where we should only have stated our doubts. A man who, by continued observation and much inquiry, attains clear and perspicuous views of the state of society in one part of India, is too apt to imagine, that what he observes is universally prevalent; and to think, that if equal diligence had been exercised elsewhere, the same facts would have been discovered, and the same conclusions deduced. We imagine that we discover something of this persuasion, throughout all the observations of our author, on the measures of the Bengal government. Should

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any thing of the same kind be apparent in our own, we shall want the apology which we have now suggested for Colonel Wilks. 'The territories subjected to the British dominion in India, may on probable grounds be calculated to contain sixty millions of inhabitants. The sum of human happiness, of which the introduction of wise, judicious and humane regulations into that country, may eventually be productive, and the amount of misery which may be caused by injudicious, or fluctuating or oppressive measures, is in the direct ratio of the population. If there exist a servant of the East-India Company,—if there exist a Director, a Legislator, or Minister of this country, incapable of emotion from the generous hope of contributing to the first,—or of trembling at the danger of participating in the latter,—we can only lament they should have attained those situations. To persons susceptible of nobler sentiments, an assiduous study of historical and statistical views of that country, should precede the formation of political opinions. We know no publication better calculated for this purpose, than the History of Mysûr by Colonel Wilks.

Art. V. *Experiments and Observations on the different Modes in which Death is produced by certain Vegetable Poisons.* By B. C. Brodie, Esq. F. R. S. Communicated by the Society for promoting the Knowledge of Animal Chemistry. (From the Philosophical Transactions for 1811, Part I.)

This paper is one of those contributions to its stock, which the Royal Society receives from some private associations lately established, with the view of promoting particular branches of natural knowledge, by applying themselves exclusively, each society to one line of inquiry. It is proper here to state the very judicious plan upon which this arrangement has been formed. There can be no doubt, that certain pursuits of a scientific nature, are exceedingly encouraged and facilitated by the union and cooperation of individuals engaged in them. A considerable spirit of inquiry is communicated by such friendly intercourse; the lights of different persons are united and diffused with better effect; and one person both aids and is assisted by his fellows in the course of his investigations. Much good, then, would result from such conjunct operations, even were the speculations unconnected with experiment. But, where the inquirers are to deal with apparatus and specimens,—where long and nice processes, or minute and various observations, must be

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performed, the cooperation in question is still more useful; and the formation of such societies as we are describing, becomes moreover essential for the purpose of procuring, at an easy rate, the use of the machinery essential to the investigation. It has happened, from various causes, that the Royal Society has seldom engaged in joint inquiries, as a body, either by committees, or by its members at large. But by forming a rallying point to individuals, and affording the most extensive and respectable publicity to their labours, it has conferred, at the least, as great obligations on science as any other Institution of this description. The connexion between this illustrious Body and these minor societies, is calculated to extend still further this usefulness, and to unite that more active encouragement of experimental inquiries which results from the united operations of individuals, with the advantages derived from the long established name of the Royal Society, the extensive circulation of its volumes, and the protection which it can occasionally bestow, in a number of ways unnecessary to be described. Thus, when an experimental society is formed, such as that for promoting the knowledge of Animal Chemistry—to pass over the other ways in which it may stand in need of assistance—its lucubrations are for a number of years, in all probability, not sufficiently important to appear before the world by themselves. Some of them may nevertheless be interesting; and those must wait for others before they can see the light;—they must be kept back till a volume be formed;—and even then, their publication has to struggle with all the disadvantages of the Institution, and probably the authors too, being little known except to themselves. Yet science is incalculably benefited by the speedy communication of detached discoveries and improvements; and there is no more certain way of encouraging inquiry, than giving the inquirer to know that his success shall surely, and without delay, contribute to his own fame, and to the general advancement of his favourite study. This knowledge is set before all the members of the Society, for cultivating the important branch of physiology mentioned in the title of the present article. As often as they succeed in any interesting speculation, they know that the Royal Society will inscribe their labours in its widely circulated records; and that they thus start, though an establishment but of yesterday, with the whole benefits of the great name which has been acquired by this distinguished Body,—by the labours of Newton, and Halley, and Cavendish, and by a century and a half of constant service performed to the commonwealth of letters.

We now proceed to lay before our readers the experiments

which Mr Brodie, with the assistance of some of his fellow-members of the Society for cultivating Animal Chemistry, instituted with a view to explain the action of poisons upon the system. The subject is a curious one; and its elucidation may serve a better purpose than the mere gratification of scientific curiosity; —it may hereafter lead to valuable improvements in the healing art.

Our author began his inquiry with the action of poisons upon the alimentary canal; and, as connected with it, on the organs of deglutition. And first, he endeavoured to ascertain whether that conclusion be correct, which the phenomena seem at first sight to authorize, that alcohol, when applied to the stomach, produces its effects, first in deranging the functions of the mind, and, in greater excess, in destroying life by means of its action on the brain. Different quantities of proof spirits were injected into the stomachs of cats and rabbits, and their effects noted. When the dose was large enough to make the animal insensible, the pupils of the eyes were dilated, the extremities were slightly convulsed, the respiration was impeded; and, when the dose proved fatal, ceased. In one experiment, two ounces being thus thrown into a rabbit, the injection was scarcely completed when the animal became perfectly insensible; in 27 minutes respiration had ceased, and he was apparently dead; but, on opening the thorax, the heart was found acting with moderate force, and circulating a dark coloured blood. From the analogy between those symptoms and the effects produced by concussions of the brain,—and from the known connexion between that organ and respiration, and its comparatively small control over the operations of the heart, Mr Brodie concludes, that the spirits produce their effects through the brain. He is further disposed to think, that those effects are produced on the brain by means of the nerves; and that they are owing to the sympathy between the stomach and the brain. This conclusion is certainly the more to be trusted, that the effects in question cannot be ascribed to absorption; for the brain was never found to have any preternatural appearance whatever; the instantaneous effect of the injection, is inconsistent with the notion that the circulation of the blood is concerned in it; and when tincture of rhubarb was mixed with the spirits, it was not detected in the bladder, although it has been ascertained that the kidneys almost immediately separate this substance from the blood, when it has been absorbed into the circulation. Perhaps these considerations bring us as near to the truth as the nature of the subject will allow; for it cannot be denied, that the brain is capable of being materially affected, without any sensible change in its external appearance; and

and it is difficult to imagine any direct means of ascertaining that this organ is affected, when the change produced on it is imperceptible to the senses.

The experiments with the essential oil of bitter almonds (which does not differ in its qualities from essential oil of laurel), were exceedingly curious. The activity of this poison was found to be dreadful beyond all expectation. A single drop being applied to the tongue of a cat, she was instantly seized with violent convulsions, and then lay on one side, motionless, insensible, and breathing in a hurried manner. The respiration, which became more and more obstructed, had totally ceased at the end of five minutes, and the animal was apparently dead; but, on opening the thorax, the heart was found acting 80 times in a minute, and circulating dark coloured blood. Similar effects were produced, though not quite so rapidly, by injecting into the animal's rectum two drops of this oil in half an ounce of water. In the course of these experiments, Mr Brodie had occasion himself to experience the very violent action of this poison. 'I dipped (says he) 'the blunt end of a probe into the essential oil, and applied it 'to my tongue, meaning to taste it,—and having no suspicion 'that so small a quantity could produce any of its specific effects on the nervous system. But scarcely had I applied it, 'when I experienced a very remarkable and unpleasant sensation, which I referred chiefly to the epigastric region, but the 'exact nature of which I cannot describe, because I know nothing precisely similar to it. At the same time, there was a 'sense of weakness in my limbs, as if I had not the command 'of my muscles; and I thought that I was about to fall. However, these sensations were momentary, and I experienced no 'inconvenience whatever afterwards.' It seems reasonable, our author thinks, to conclude, from the suddenness of the effect produced by such applications to the tongue, and the comparative slowness of its action on the intestines, notwithstanding the greater absorbing surface, that this poison acts on the brain through the medium of the nerves, and not by being taken into the circulation. We should however remember, that in the experiment on the intestinal canal, the poison was exhibited with a considerable portion of water, which may possibly have diminished its activity. The juice of leaves of aconite was found to produce the same effects, though with much less violence and rapidity

The action of tobacco in different preparations is singular enough. That of the empyreumatic oil resembles, though with somewhat less violence, the action of oil of bitter almonds. Whether applied to the tongue or the intestines, it induces convulsions,

vulsions, difficulty of breathing, and death. The heart is found still acting; the brain is not affected externally; and the blood circulated is of a dark colour. The infusion of tobacco, however, acts in a manner wholly different. It produces, in the course of a few minutes, not insensibility, but retching and fainting, succeeded, at the end of some minutes more, by death; and, on opening the thorax, the heart is found perfectly motionless, and much distended. In one experiment, the cavities of one side of the heart contained dark coloured blood, and those of the other scarlet blood; a proof that the action of the heart had ceased, even before the animal had ceased to respire. Mr Brodie is disposed to think, though he admits that his experiments are not decisive on the point, that this infusion acts on the heart through the medium of the nervous system.

The next object of inquiry was the effect of those poisonous substances when applied to wounded surfaces. The mode of operating was, to make an incision in the thigh or side of the animal, and to insert the poison between the skin and the muscles. Essential oil of bitter almonds, and juice of leaves of aconite, when applied in this way, produced nearly the same effects as when applied to the tongue or intestines, though not so instantaneously. The brain was apparently affected, and the respiration obstructed, while the action of the heart was not much deranged. Several experiments were then made with the *Woorara*, a poison which the Indians of Guiana use to dip their arrows in, and with *Upas antiar*, one of the strong vegetable poisons produced in the island of Java. The former having been kept for some years, appeared to have lost part of its efficacy; but, if exhibited in sufficient quantity, it began to act in six or seven minutes, and did not essentially differ from the oil of almonds and aconite juice in its effects,—the brain, and not the heart, appearing to be affected. The *upas antiar*, on the contrary, appears to attack the heart only. In a few minutes after the inoculation, the animal becomes languid; the heart beats irregularly and feebly; sickness and fainting ensue; and, though these symptoms, in some cases, last for twenty minutes, or half an hour, the respiration is little if at all affected. Death ensues for the most part suddenly; and, on dissection, the heart is found to have ceased acting, and to be greatly distended with blood; and the left side is frequently found to contain scarlet blood.

Our author now made three sets of experiments, with the view of ascertaining, whether the poisons thus applied to wounded surfaces act upon the brain by the nerves, by the absorbents, or by direct circulation through the divided veins. In the first experiment, the woorara (which was the poison used in all these trials,

trials, we do not exactly see why, except from its resemblance to the *ticimas* used by the Abbé Fontana) was inserted in a wound made in the fore arm, after the whole spinal nerves connected with the upper extremity of the axilla, had been carefully divided before their union to form the axillary flexus. This division did not in any respect impede the operation of the poison, although not a filament of nerve remained undivided. A tight ligature applied to the thoracic duct, in like manner, offered no obstruction to the operation of the poison inserted into the hind legs. But when ligatures were used to prevent the circulation of the blood from the inoculated part towards the brain, the obstruction to the action of the poison was found exactly in proportion to the efficacy of the ligatures. Our author having repeatedly exhibited the poison in such quantity and places as must have proved fatal had no ligatures been employed, and having found the effects of it wholly neutralized by those ligatures, considers it as scarcely admitting a doubt, that the poisons, when thus administered, act, by being carried through the veins directly into the circulation.

The inference to which all these observations lead,—that the poisons of bitter almonds, aconite, tobacco oil, and woorara, act on the system by destroying the functions of the brain, is greatly confirmed by two experiments with which this paper concludes,—and which deserve the more attention, because they lead to practical consequences of considerable importance. A rabbit was inoculated in the side with a large dose of woorara: in seven minutes a paralysis of the hind legs had taken place; and in a quarter of an hour respiration had ceased, and he was apparently dead. Two minutes afterward, the heart still beating, a tube was introduced through an opening into the trachea; and the lungs being inflated, an artificial respiration was kept up, at the rate of thirty-six times in a minute. At the commencement of the experiment, the ball of a thermometer being placed in the rectum, the mercury stood at 100° of Fahrenheit, the temperature of the room being only 58°. At first, the heart contracted one hundred times in a minute; at the end of forty minutes, it beat 120; at the end of an hour, 140 times in a minute; and at the end of an hour and twenty-three minutes, the pulse having fallen to 100, the artificial respiration was discontinued, and the thermometer had fallen to 88½°. During this operation, the blood in the femoral vein was dark coloured, but, in the femoral artery, bright red, as usual in living subjects: so that while the functions of the lungs and heart continued for above an hour and twenty minutes unimpaired, the brain was so much affected, that the animal remain-

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ed in a state of complete insensibility, and no animal heat was generated; * a strong confirmation of the doctrine, that this poison acts directly on the brain.

But another consequence seems also deducible from this process. It appears, from these phenomena, that it is possible to maintain the circulation of the blood, by artificial respiration, long after the poison has produced its effects, and thus to afford the animal a chance of recovering from its influence, or give time for other remedies being applied. The rabbit, in the last experiment, did not indeed recover; but our author imputed this, reasonably enough, to the coldness of the room, and the excess in which the poison had been exhibited. He therefore repeated the experiment with variations in these particulars; and it succeeded perfectly. He inoculated a rabbit with a drop of the bitter almond oil, and placed the animal in a temperature of 90°. In two minutes the poison had begun to act; and at the end of five, death had apparently ensued, but the heart continued to beat. By inserting a tube in the nostrils, artificial respiration was kept up at the rate of thirty-five times in a minute. Six minutes after it was begun, the animal moved his head and legs, and made an effort to breathe. Convulsions followed, and he was again still; but he made fresh efforts to breathe, and the artificial respiration, at the end of sixteen minutes, was discontinued. In a short time he attempted to get up; and, after relapsing into a dozing state once or twice, he gradually recovered. In less than two hours he was quite well; and he continued so on the following day.

Here, then, is an instance of artificial respiration being used with complete success, where the animation was suspended by an injury to the brain—an injury quite sure of proving fatal in a few minutes but for this mode of treatment. It has, as our author remarks, often been recommended, where suffocation had ensued from cessation of the functions of the lungs; but he thinks no one has hitherto used it in cases where the brain has been the seat of the derangement. A remark or two must be allowed, in passing, upon this point. First, we think it is too positively affirmed, that the common cases of suspended animation belong to a different class from the one in question. We apprehend, that drowning, or suffocation from bad air, are not clearly proved to be unconnected with affections of the brain. The phenomena are rather

* The details of the thermometer, which are here material, are not given with sufficient care. We are only told that it was 100° at first, and 88½° at the close of the experiment; but at that time the pulse had begun to fall pretty rapidly.

ther favourable to a suspicion that this connexion subsists. For example, let the operation of carbonic acid gas on the bodies of hot-blooded animals be considered. It produces almost instant death—at least instant apparent death. It operates even more speedily than the most active of these vegetable poisons; and not by deprivation of pure air,—for the same animal could live under water, or in vacuo, or in the less deleterious gaseous fluids, for a very considerable space of time,—which is killed by perhaps one full inspiration of carbonic acid gas. Is it not then highly probable, that this gas, when applied to the lungs, acts on the system in the same way with these poisons that are applied to the stomach and intestines? Is it not to be suspected that it affects the brain, by the same kind of sympathy operating through the nervous system, and deranging, and then wholly suspending its functions, though probably, as in the other case, without producing any alteration perceptible to the senses of an observer? The connexion between the pulmonary system and the brain, is at least as well ascertained as that between the alimentary canal and the brain. The operation of the brain upon the lungs,—their entire subjection to the brain—is admitted: indeed it forms the basis of our author's reasonings in this paper. We can scarcely refuse then to admit, that this influence is reciprocal; and that the sudden suspension of animation, by the application of certain noxious airs or gaseous poisons to the lungs, is a phenomenon referable to the same class with the sudden death produced by some more solid poisons applied to other parts of the system. If so, the use of artificial respiration in restoring life, when suspended by injuries to the brain, is by no means recommended now for the first time.

The other observation which suggests itself is, that our author might, with great advantage, have extended his inquiries in the direction of these two last mentioned experiments. In fact, we do not altogether understand his reason for breaking off short at this point. The experiments are not only highly interesting, as far as they go, and lead to various other very material trials, but they require further elucidation from those ulterior experiments. Something is obviously left undone; and a preference is given to one form of experiment, which almost looks as if there were some reason for avoiding another. Why, for instance, is not the second process repeated with woorara, the substance used in the first? The animal, in the first experiment, did not recover; because, our author conceived, the temperature of the room was too low, and the quantity of the poison too great. One would have thought, the natural way of trying whether these were the real causes of failure, was to

 repeat

repeat the experiment with a smaller dose of woorara, at a higher temperature; instead of which, essential oil of almonds is substituted, to the manifest prevention of any discovery as to the agency of at least one of the supposed causes of failure, and to the begetting also of a suspicion, that the experiment with woorara had been repeated, and failed again. This remark, however, we doubt not, Mr Brodie has already anticipated; and we presume he has, before this time, pursued the interesting course of inquiry to which those experiments would seem to lead.

Indeed, we must say, that some object of a practical nature—some prospect of discoveries likely to benefit mankind more than by the mere gratification of a learned curiosity, however natural and even laudable—is almost requisite, in order completely to justify the expense of animal life—the large amount of torment as well as death, which such investigations demand. We are in nowise squeamish or over sentimental on matters of this kind; but it is not easy to fancy any pursuit permitted by the laws and the customs of civilized society, which does more violence to natural feelings, than a needless sporting with the sufferings of the lower animals. We have never yet met with the man, who could read the writings of the ingenious and laborious Fontana, without a comparison between the value of the illustrations which science derived from them, and the great waste of life and infliction of torture by which those acquisitions were purchased. It has been said, with [illegible] little exaggeration perhaps, that after tormenting and destroying some thousands of innocent animals, as susceptible of pleasure and of painful sensations as himself, the Abbé arrived at the conclusion, that the poison of the viper is mortal. We own, that in reading some of Mr Brodie's and Mr Everard Home's experiments, we have been a little reminded of those feelings which, we believe, are universally excited by the volumes of the Italian naturalist. '*Laying bare the axillary plexus*,'—'*making an incision*, and applying to it woorara or oil of bitter almonds,'—'injecting into the œsophagus so many ounces of oil of tobacco,'—'*tying up the thoracic duct*,'—'laying open the thorax while the heart continued acting,'—'*removing the head*,'—are all learned and delicate expressions for operations, which we shall not describe further than by saying, that they ought indeed to bring something beside sport to us, otherwise we are called upon to consider, that they are death and torment to others. Perhaps we go as far as is proper, when we allow man to use the lower creatures placed under his protection, in whatever way his physical wants, or the promotion of the solid inter-

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ests of his kind may point out. Some persons may doubt, whether any merely speculative gratification is sufficient to justify an utter disregard of their sufferings. But all must agree in wishing, that such liberties may be used as temperately as possible; and that, before the sacrifice is made, the nature of the proposed gain should be weighed, with a view to determine, previously, whether it be worth the evil which the pursuit of it occasions.

Art. VI. *The Vision of Don Roderick, a Poem.* By Walter Scott, Esq. 4to. pp. 122. Edinburgh, 1811.

The odds are considerably against the success of any man, when he can only succeed by coming up to the expectations which have been excited in the public by his own great fame, and the supposed inspiration of events of present interest and notoriety.

However hard or unjust it may appear, it is certainly true, as we think we have intimated before, that a prosperous poet has always harder measure dealt him by the public, in proportion to his former popularity;—that his most formidable rival is commonly himself;—and that, in comparing his new productions with his old, we are exceedingly apt to judge of the former by their best passages, and of the latter by their worst. Thus the unhappy adventurer on Parnassus is only tasked the more severely for the success of his former exertions,—is expected to run faster the more breath he has expended, and pronounced to be falling off in vigour and activity, if he does not appear to move more rapidly over the steep and distant regions at the summit, than he did along the flowery slopes at its base.

His hazards, however, are prodigiously increased, if, in these later appearances, he should venture upon a theme with which all the vulgar echoes of the country are at that moment resounding:—if he should undertake, for instance, to celebrate the heroes of the last Gazette, or the victory for which the bells are still ringing, and the Tower guns roaring in our ears. All experience has shown, that there can be no successful poetry upon subjects of this description: and there are two very good reasons why it must be so. In the first place, the author, in such cases, can never tell his readers any thing which they did not know better before; and in the second place, he can neither add any ennobling circumstance to the certain and notorious truth, nor suppress any vulgar or degrading ones with which

which it may happen to be encumbered. The great charm of poetry is, that it places before us the newest and most extraordinary objects; - and by its vivid colours, and artful combinations, makes us present, as it were, to the most remote or fabulous transactions. When it chooses, therefore, to employ itself on transactions that are actually present and before us already, in all their detail and reality, it evidently has no scope for its deceptions;—the great end which it aims at producing, has been already attained, though by more vulgar and ordinary means;—every reader of the authentic narrative, has more facts and more pictures in his memory, than the most diligent versifier could venture to put into stanza; and therefore the poetical account, while it is in danger of disgusting the judicious, by the misapplication of the common hyperboles of poetry, is almost sure to disappoint every one by its inadequacy and incompleteness.

In this predicament, we think, the work before us is obviously placed. It has been received with less interest by the public than any of the author's other performances;—and has been read, we should imagine, with some degree of disappointment, even by those who took it up with the most reasonable expectations. Yet it is written with very considerable spirit,—and with more care and effort, than most of the author's compositions;—with a degree of effort, indeed, which could scarcely have failed of success, if the author had not succeeded so splendidly on other occasions without any effort at all, or had chosen any other subject than that which fills the cry of our alehouse politicians, and supplies the gabble of all the *quidnuncs* in this country, - our depending campaigns in Spain and Portugal, —with the exploits of Lord Wellington and the spoliations of the French armies. The nominal subject of the poem, indeed, is the Vision of Don Roderick, in the eighth century;—but this is obviously a mere prelude to the grand piece of our recent battles,—a sort of machinery devised to give dignity and effect to their introduction. In point of fact, the poem begins and ends with Lord Wellington; and being written for the benefit of the plundered Portuguese, and upon a Spanish story, the thing could not well have been otherwise. The public, at this moment, will listen to nothing about Spain, but the history of the present war; and the old Gothic King, and the Moors, are considered, we dare say, by Mr Scott's most impatient readers, as very tedious interlopers in the proper business of the piece.

But we are taking it for granted, we find, that our readers are already acquainted with the work to which we profess to introduce them;—and undoubtedly the presumption is, that Mr

Scott's

Scott's light-winged quartos will be in the hands of one half of them, before our heavy octavos have taken their flight to overtake them. At the same time, we owe some account of them to the other less fortunate half;—and, at all events, have a few remarks to offer, which we could not otherwise render very intelligible. As the poem, however, is of very moderate length, our abstract of it shall be brief in proportion.

The work is written, throughout, in the regular stanza of Spenser; and consists of a long Introduction,—the Vision itself,—and a long Conclusion;—the whole amounting to about one hundred stanzas. The Introduction begins with lamenting, that, since the death of Homer, there has been nobody worthy to sing of the exploits of Lord Wellington and the English armies in Spain; and then the poet proceeds to demand of the Highland Mountains, whether they have not retained a portion of the poetical fire of their antient bards and minstrels, which they might lend him for the occasion. The Mountains reply, very honestly, that it is so long ago since they have seen any of the said fire, that they scarcely think there is a spark of it left; but advise him to turn to the warmer regions of the south, where they understand that the poetical spirit is still in considerable preservation, and where antient and recent events will furnish him with abundance of taking topics. He hears,—and obeys,—and proceeds forthwith to the Vision.

Don Roderick, the last of the Gothic kings of Spain, is reported, in certain antient legends, to have descended into an enchanted vault near Toledo, the opening of which had been denounced as fatal to the Spanish Monarchy; and here, it is said, he saw a vision emblematical of his own destruction, and of the impending conquest of his kingdom by the Moors. This legend is the basis of the poem now before us; in which the monarch's prophetic vision is prolonged down to the debarkation of the English forces in Mondego bay, in the year 1808. It begins with a fine description of Don Roderick's midnight confession in the cathedral of Toledo, with his impatient guards waiting on the moonlight shores of the river, and the aged archbishop shuddering with horror at the dreadful disclosures of his impenitent sovereign. Despairing at last of absolution, Don Roderick suddenly insists upon being conducted to the magic vault, where he may at once read the worst of his destiny; and compels the trembling prelate to lead him to the place. With some difficulty he opens the massive doors; and finds himself in a huge arched room of black marble, where he sees two gigantic statues of bronze; one holding an hour-glass, and the other

a ponderous mace,—with scrolls over their heads, announcing them to be respectively Time and Destiny. While the fated intruders are gazing on these strange objects, the last sands ebb out in the hour-glass; and the armed figure, rearing his mace, strikes a large hole in the end wall of the apartment, through which the astonished monarch sees the fates of his remotest descendants. This magnificent pantomime Mr Scott has distributed into three acts;—the first representing the Moorish conquest and dominion;—the second, the splendid period of the Spanish history, when their valour subdued America and the East, and their superstitions stained the glory of their arms with persecution and bloodshed;—and the third, the exhausted and inglorious, but tranquil, state in which they were left by the decay of their chivalrous and superstitious ardors,—with the rousing produced by the usurpation of Bonaparte, and the heroic example of their English auxiliaries. The last trait, of course, seduces the author into greater minuteness of detail, than he had ventured upon in his sketch of the earlier periods; and accordingly, after giving a full account of the debarkation in Mondego bay, and a description of the constituent parts of the British army, he suddenly checks himself, and recollects that fiction should not be allowed to mix with the records of recent heroism; and, abruptly dismissing Don Roderick, with the vault, and its statues and visions, closes the poem with a few patriotic lines in his own character, and with announcing his intention to be still more patriotic in the Conclusion.

This Conclusion is rightly so called—inasmuch as it concludes the poetical part of the volume before us; but it really might have performed this office, with equal propriety, to any other poetical work whatsoever. It has not, from beginning to end, the least connexion with, or allusion to, Don Roderick and his adventures; but consists of a splendid versification of Lord Wellington's official despatches, from the time of his retreat to Torres Vedras, down to the very latest accounts that had been received from him before the printing of the present work was completed. It begins with Bonaparte's orders to Massena to drive the English army into the sea,—proceeds by the battle of Busaco to the lines before Lisbon,—describes the devastation which accompanied the subsequent retreat of the French, and the battles of Fuentes d'Honoro, of Barosa and Albuera,—and ends with a magnificent encomium on Generals Beresford and Grahame.

Such is the argument, or naked outline of the poem before us. It has scarcely any story, the reader will perceive,—and scarcely

scarcely any characters; and consists, in truth, almost entirely of a series of descriptions, intermingled with plaudits and execrations. The descriptions are many of them very fine, though the style is more turgid and verbose than in the better parts of Mr Scott's other productions; but the invectives and acclamations are too vehement and too frequent, to be either graceful or impressive. There is no climax or progression to relieve the ear, or stimulate the imagination. Mr Scott sets out on the very highest pitch of his voice; and keeps it up to the end of the measure. There are no grand swells, therefore, or overpowering bursts in his song. All, from first to last, is loud, and clamorous, and obtrusive,—indiscriminately noisy, and often ineffectually exaggerated. He has fewer new images than in his other poetry,—his tone is less natural and varied,—and he moves, upon the whole, with a slower and more laborious pace. We cannot afford a whole dissertation, however, upon the peculiarities of this new style; and shall intersperse the few other remarks we have to offer, with the specimens which we are about to exhibit.

The Introduction, though splendidly written, is too long for so short a poem; and the poet's dialogue with his native mountains, is somewhat too startling and unnatural. The most spirited part of it, we think, is their direction to Spanish themes.

'No! search romantic lands, where the near Sun
Gives with unstinted boon ethereal flame,
Where the rude villager, his labour done,
In verse spontaneous chaunts some favour'd name,
Whether Olalia's charms his tribute claim,
Her eye of diamond, and her locks of jet;
Or whether, kindling at the deeds of Græme,
He sing, to wild Morisco measure set,
Old Albin's red claymore, green Erin's bayonet

'Explore those regions, where the flinty crest
Of wild Nevada ever gleams with snows,
Where in the proud Alhambra's ruined breast
Barbaric monuments of pomp repose;
Or where the banners of more ruthless foes
Than the fierce Moor, float o'er Toledo's fane,
From whose tall towers even now the patriot throws
An anxious glance, to spy upon the plain
The blended ranks of England, Portugal, and Spain.

'There, of Numantian fire, a swarthy spark
Still lightens in the sun-burnt native's eye;
The stately port, slow step, and visage dark,
Still mark enduring pride and constancy

And,

And, if the glow of feudal chivalry
Beam not, as once, thy nobles' dearest pride,*
Iberia! oft thy crestless peasantry
Have seen the plumed Hidalgo quit their side,
Have seen, yet dauntless stood—'gainst fortune fought and died.'
p. 8-10.

After this, our great objection to the Vision is, that it carries us too far away from the themes which are here announced,—or brings us too soon back to them. For a mere introduction to the exploits of our English commanders, the story of Don Roderick's sins and confessions,—the minute description of his army and attendants,—and the whole interest and machinery of the enchanted vault, with the greater part of the Vision itself, are far too long and elaborate. They withdraw our curiosity and attention from the subjects for which they had been bespoken, and gradually engage them upon a new and independent series of romantic adventures, in which it is not easy to see how Lord Wellington and Bonaparte can have any concern. But, on the other hand, no sooner is this new interest excited,—no sooner have we surrendered our imaginations into the hands of this dark enchanter, and heated our fancies to the proper pitch for sympathising in the fortunes of Gothic kings and Moorish invaders, with their imposing accompaniments of harnessed knights, ravished damsels, and enchanted statues, than the whole romantic group vanishes at once from our sight; and we are hurried, with minds yet disturbed with these powerful apparitions, to the comparatively sober and cold narration of Bonaparte's villanies, and to drawn battles between mere mortal combatants in English and French uniforms. The vast and elaborate vestibule, in short, in which we had been so long detained,

'Where wonders wild of Arabesque combine
With Gothic imagery of darker shade,'

has no corresponding palace attached to it; and the long noviciate we are made to serve to the mysterious powers of Romance, is not repaid, after all, by an introduction to their awful presence. The poem comes, in this way, to be substantially divided into two compartments;—the one representing the fabulous or prodigious acts of Don Roderick's own time,—and the other,

* It is amusing to see how things come round. When we published our review of Don Pedro Cevallos, we were overwhelmed with reproaches for having vilipended the privileged orders of Spain, and said that it was only through the spirit of her commonalty that she could be saved;—and now her nobles are given up by the stoutest champion of nobility in Great Britain! If we will only wait patiently a little longer, we shall all be agreed—where agreement is worth wishing for.

other, the recent occurrences which have since signalized the same quarter of the world. Mr Scott, we think, is most at home in the first of these fields; and we think, upon the whole, has most success in it. The opening of the poem affords a fine specimen of his unrivalled powers of description.

'Rearing their crests amid the cloudless skies,
And darkly clustering in the pale moonlight,
Toledo's holy towers and spires arise,
As from a trembling lake of silver white;
Their mingled shadows intercept the sight
Of the broad burial-ground outstretched below,
And nought disturbs the silence of the night;
All sleeps in sullen shade, or silver glow,
All save the heavy swell of Teio's ceaseless flow.

'All save the rushing swell of Teio's tide,
Or, distant heard, a courser's neigh or tramp;
Their changing rounds as watchful horsemen ride,
To guard the limits of King Roderick's camp.
For, through the river's night-fog rolling damp,
Was many a proud pavilion dimly seen,
Which glimmer'd back, against the moon's fair lamp,
Tissues of silk and silver twisted sheen,
And standards proudly pitch'd, and warders armed between.'
p. 13, 14.

'But, far within, Toledo's Prelate lent
An ear of fearful wonder to the King;
The silver lamp a fitful lustre sent,
So long that sad confession witnessing:
For Roderick told of many a hidden thing,
Such as are lothly uttered to the air,
When Fear, Remorse, and Shame, the bosom wring, &c.

'Full on the Prelate's face, and silver hair,
The stream of failing light was feebly roll'd;
But Roderick's visage, though his head was bare,
Was shadow'd by his hand and mantle's fold,
While of his hidden soul the sins he told.' p. 16, 17.

The description of the enchanted hall is in the same strain of excellence.

'Long, large, and lofty, was that vaulted hall;
Roof, walls, and floor, were all of marble stone,
Of polished marble, black as funeral pall,
Carved o'er with signs and characters unknown.
A paly light, as of the dawning, shone
Through the sad bounds, but whence they could not spy;
For window to the upper air was none;
Yet, by that light, Don Roderick could descry
Wonders that ne'er till then were seen by mortal eye.

'Grim

'Grim centinels, against the upper wall,
Of molten bronze, two Statues held their place;
Massive their naked limbs, their stature tall,
Their frowning foreheads golden circles grace.
Moulded they seemed for kings of giant race,
That lived and sinned before the avenging flood;
This grasped a scythe, that rested on a mace;
This spread his wings for flight, that pondering stood;
Each stubborn seemed and stern, immutable of mood.' p. 21-2.

The three grand and comprehensive pictures in which Mr Scott has delineated the state of Spain, during the three periods to which we have already alluded, are conceived with much genius, and executed with very considerable, though unequal felicity.—That of the Moorish dominion, is drawn, we think, with the greatest spirit.—The reign of Chivalry and Superstition we do not think so happily represented, by a long and laboured description of two allegorical personages called Bigotry and Valour.—Nor is it very easy to conceive how Don Roderick was to learn the fortunes of his country, merely by inspecting the physiognomy and furnishing of these two figures. The truth seems to be, that Mr Scott has been tempted, on this occasion, to extend a mere Metaphor into an allegory;—and to prolong a figure which might have given great grace and spirit to a single stanza, into the heavy subject of seven or eight. His representation of the recent state of Spain, we think, displays the talent and address of the author to the greatest advantage; for the subject was by no means inspiring;—nor was it easy, we should imagine, to make the picture of decay and inglorious indolence so engaging.

'And well such strains the opening scene became;
For Valour had relaxed his ardent look,
And at a lady's feet, like lion tame,
Lay stretched, full loth the weight of arms to brook;
And softened Bigotry, upon his book,
Pattered a task of little good or ill;
But the blithe peasant plied his pruning hook,
Whistled the muleteer o'er vale and hill,
And rung from village-green the merry Seguidille.

'Grey Royalty, grown impotent of toil,
Let the grave sceptre slip his lazy hold,
And careless saw his rule become the spoil
Of a loose Female and her Minion bold;
But peace was on the cottage and the fold,
From court intrigue, from bickering faction far;
Beneath the chesnut tree Love's tale was told;

And

And to the tinkling of the light guitar,
Sweet stooped the western sun, sweet rose the evening star.'

p. 35, 36.

The picture of Bonaparte, too, considering the difficulty of all contemporary delineations, is not ill executed.

'An Iron Crown his anxious forehead bore;
And well such diadem his heart became,
Who ne'er his purpose for remorse gave o'er,
Or checked his course for piety or shame;
Who, trained a soldier, deemed a soldier's fame
Might flourish in the wreath of battles won,
Though neither truth nor honour decked his name;
Who, placed by fortune on a Monarch's throne,
Recked not of Monarch's faith, or Mercy's kingly tone.' p. 38.

We have the same objection, however, to the visible form of Ambition stalking before him with a blazing torch, that we have already stated to the allegorical presentment of Valour and Bigotry;—nor can we very greatly admire the history of the coronation of the 'wan fraternal shade;'—nor the commemoration of the services of 'our Lady of the Pillar.'—The landing of the English, however, is admirably described; nor is there any thing finer in the whole poem than the following passage,—with the exception always of the three concluding lines, which appear to us to be very nearly as bad as possible.

'Don Roderick turn'd him as the shout grew loud—
A varied scene the changeful vision show'd,
For, where the ocean mingled with the cloud,
A gallant navy stemm'd the billows broad.
From mast and stern St George's symbol flow'd,
Blent with the silver cross to Scotland dear;
Mottling the sea their landward barges row'd,
And flashed the sun on bayonet, brand, and spear,
And the wild beach returned the seaman's jovial cheer.

'It was a dread, yet spirit-stirring sight!
The billows foamed beneath a thousand oars,
Fast as they land the red-cross ranks unite,
Legions on legions brightening all the shores.
Then banners rise, and cannon-signal roars,
Then peals the warlike thunder of the drum,
Thrills the loud fife, the trumpet-flourish pours,
And patriot hopes awake, and doubts are dumb,
For, bold in Freedom's cause, the bands of Ocean come!'

'A various host they came—whose ranks display
Each mode in which the warrior meets the fight;
The deep battalion locks its firm array,
And meditates his aim the marksman light;

 For

Far glance the lines of sabres flashing bright,
Where mounted squadrons shake the echoing mead,
Lacks not artillery breathing flame and night,
Nor the fleet ordnance whirl'd by rapid steed,
That rivals lightning's flash in ruin and in speed.' p. 49-51.

The three succeeding stanzas are elaborate; but we think, on the whole, successful. They will probably be oftener quoted than any other passage in the poem.

'A various host—from kindred realms they came,
Brethren in arms, but rivals in renown—
For yon fair bands shall merry England claim,
And with their deeds of valour deck her crown.
Her's their bold port, and her's their martial frown,
And her's their scorn of death in freedom's cause,
Their eyes of azure, and their locks of brown,
And the blunt speech that bursts without a pause,
And freeborn thoughts, which league the Soldier with the Laws.

'And O! loved warriors of the Minstrel's land!
Yonder your bonnets nod, your tartans wave!
The rugged form may mark the mountain band,
And harsher features, and a mien more grave;
But ne'er in battle-field throbb'd heart so brave
As that which beats beneath the Scottish plaid;
And when the pibroch bids the battle rave,
And level for the charge your arms are laid,
Where lives the desperate foe, that for such onset staid?

'Hark! from yon stately ranks what laughter rings,
Mingling wild mirth with war's stern minstrelsy,
His jest while each blithe comrade round him flings,
And moves to death with military glee:
Boast, Erin, boast them! tameless, frank, and free,
In kindness warm, and fierce in danger known,
Rough Nature's children, humorous as she:
And He, yon Chieftain—strike the proudest tone
Of thy bold harp, green Isle!—the Hero is thine own.' p. 51-53

The Conclusion is, on the whole, rather noisy than spirited; and makes up, by a kind of sonorous impetuosity, for whatever it may want in novelty, or variety of conception. The following verses are from a powerful hand certainly;—and yet they might be matched, perhaps, without any great expenditure of power.—The tone, to our ears, is decidedly vulgar;—and if Mr Scott had never written any thing better, his poetical reputation would not at this moment have stood much higher than that of the author of the Battles of Talavera.

'Go, baffled Boaster [illegible] haughty mood,
To plead at thine [illegible] throne!

Say, thou hast left his legions in their blood,
Deceived his hopes, and frustrated thine own;
Say, that thine utmost skill and valour shown
By British skill and valour were outvied;
Last say, thy conqueror was WELLINGTON!
And if he chafe, be his own fortune tried—
God and our cause to friend, the venture we'll abide.

Yes! hard the task, when Britons wield the sword,
To give each Chief and every field its fame:
Hark! Albuera thunders BERESFORD,
And red Barosa shouts for dauntless GRÆME!
O for a verse of tumult and of flame,
Bold as the bursting of their cannon sound,
To bid the world reecho to their fame!
For never, upon gory battle-ground,
With conquest's well-bought wreath were braver victors crown'd!

'O who shall grudge him Albuera's bays,
Who brought a race regenerate to the field,
Roused them to emulate their fathers' praise,
Temper'd their headlong rage, their courage steel'd,
And raised fair Lusitania's fallen shield,
And gave new edge to Lusitania's sword,
And taught her sons forgotten arms to wield—
Shivered my harp, and burst its every chord,
If it forget thy worth, victorious BERESFORD!' p. 64–66.

Perhaps it is our nationality which makes us like better the following tribute to General Graham—though there is something, we believe, in the softness of the sentiment that will be felt, even by English readers, as a relief from the exceeding clamour and loud boastings of all the surrounding stanzas.

'Nor be his praise o'erpast who strove to hide
Beneath the warrior's vest affection's wound,
Whose wish, Heaven for his country's weal denied;
Danger and fate he sought, but glory found.
From clime to clime, where'er war's trumpets sound,
The wanderer went; yet, Caledonia! still
Thine was his thought in march and tented ground;
He dreamed mid Alpine cliffs of Athole's hill,
And heard in Ebro's roar his Lyndoch's lovely rill.' p. 67.

We are not very apt to quarrel with a poet for his politics;—and really supposed it next to impossible that Mr Scott should have given us any ground of dissatisfaction on this score, in the management of his present theme. Lord Wellington and his fellow-soldiers have well deserved the laurels they have won;—and there is not one British heart, we believe, that will not feel proud

and

and grateful for all the honours with which British genius can invest their names. In the praises which Mr Scott has bestowed, therefore, all his readers will sympathize; but for those which he has *withheld*, there are some that will not so readily forgive him. And in our eyes, we will confess, it is a sin not easily to be expiated, that in a poem written substantially for the purpose of commemorating the brave who have fought or fallen in Spain and Portugal,—and written by a Scotchman,—there should be no mention of the name of MOORE!—of the only commander in chief who has fallen in this memorable contest;—of a commander who was acknowledged as the model and pattern of a British soldier, when British soldiers stood most in need of such an example;—and was, at the same time, distinguished not less for every manly virtue and generous affection, than for skill and gallantry in his profession. A more pure, or a more exalted character, certainly has not yet appeared upon that scene which Mr Scott has sought to illustrate with the splendour of his genius; and it is with a mixture of shame and indignation, that we find him grudging a single ray of that profuse and readily yielded glory to gild the grave of his lamented countryman. To offer a lavish tribute of praise to the living, whose task is still incomplete, may be generous and munificent;—but, to departed merit, it is due in strictness of justice. Who will deny that Sir John Moore was all that we have now said of him?—or who will doubt that his untimely death, in the hour of victory, would have been eagerly seized upon by an *impartial* poet, as a noble theme for generous lamentation and eloquent praise?—But Mr Scott's political friends have fancied it for their interest to calumniate the memory of this illustrious and accomplished person; *—and Mr Scott

* When we recollect the terms of high respect and veneration with which Sir John Moore was mentioned by the Commander-in-Chief in his general orders, and even by his Majesty's ministers in Parliament, and compare it with the poor scurrilities that have since been vented by persons calling themselves their friends, we cannot fail to be struck with the perpetual union of rancour with vulgarity, and with the infinite superiority that the true heads and leaders of parties always possess, in point of liberality, over their baser retainers. The same thing may be observed in the tone of the different classes of writers by whom parties are supported. Mr Scott, for instance, only passes Sir John Moore over in silence, and condemns him 'to rest without his fame.' But an ingenious person, who compiles what he calls the History of Europe for the Edinburgh Annual Register, does not hesitate to say, that 'the plans of government were frustrated by the pusillanimity' of that gallant ge- [illegible]

Scott has permitted the spirit of party to stand in the way, not only of poetical justice, but of patriotic and generous feeling. It is this for which we grieve, and feel ashamed;—this hardening and deadening effect of political animosities, in cases where politics should have nothing to do;—this apparent perversion, not merely of the judgment, but of the heart;—this implacable resentment, which wars not only with the living but with the dead;—and thinks it a reason for defrauding a departed warrior of his glory, that a political antagonist has been zealous in his praise. These things are lamentable; and they cannot be alluded to, without some emotions of sorrow and resentment. But they affect not the fame of him, on whose account these emotions are suggested. The wars of Spain, and the merits of Sir John Moore, will be commemorated in a more impartial, and a more imperishable record, than the Vision of Don Roderick;—and his humble monument in the citadel of Corunna, will draw the tears and the admiration of thousands, who concern not themselves about the exploits of his more fortunate associates.—

—τὸ γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ θανόντων.

From reflections like these we cannot return to point out the verbal inaccuracies of Mr Scott, or his faults of versification. The former are at least as numerous in this, as in any of his former productions;—the latter, though less frequent, are of a more offensive character. Upon the whole, we can hardly recommend it to him to leave his own old style for that of which he has here presented us with a specimen;—and earnestly entreat him not to throw away his fine talents upon subjects of temporary interest; subjects on which a bombastical pamphlet

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neral!—But this is as it should be;—for he afterwards goes on to prove every one of his movements to have been wrong, by this very decisive circumstance, that they are all severely censured in the bulletins of the French army!—that is to say, in those bulletins that have always censured most severely the movements which have given them the most trouble [illegible] to censure Lord Wellington, from his victory [illegible] at Albuera. The annalist, however, proceeds to [illegible] John Moore and his colleague had not despaired of the [illegible] they would have found reinforcements at Corunna, by the help of which 'the French must *inevitably* have been destroyed;—*not a man of Soult's army* would have escaped!' This is delightful,—and it is only a specimen of the author's fairness, modesty and knowledge, upon all other subjects. The misfortune is, that his annual volume is rather too long to be conveniently read through within the year. In this, [illegible] he fills eight hundred [illegible] printed pages of double columns [illegible] transactions of one year [illegible] as much, we [illegible]

will always produce more present effect than the most exquisite poetry,—and to which no poetical merit will ever be able to draw the attention of posterity.

Art. VII. *An Account of the Battle fought near Aspern, on the Marchfield, on the 21. & 22. of May,* 1809, *between the Archduke Charles of Austria, Generalissimo of the Imperial Austrian Armies, and the Emperor Napoleon, Commander-in-Chief of the French and Allied Armies.* pp. 36. Ridgeway. London, 1809.

An Account of the Operations of the Corps under the Duke of Brunswick, from the time of its Formation in Bohemia, to its Embarkation for England. pp. 51. Stockdale. London, 1810.

An Account of the Sacrifices made, and the Sufferings experienced, by the valiant Inhabitants of the Tyrol and Vorarlberg, during the last and preceding Wars; with a Sketch of the Military Events in those Countries, and Biographical Particulars of their Patriotic Commander-in-Chief Hofer. By Major C. Muller, Deputy from the Tyrol and Vorarlberg. pp. 34. Juigné. London, 1810.

We have collected, under one head, these three tracts, the only ones, as far as we know, which have been published in this country relative to the most important campaign in modern times, whether we regard the unexampled scale of its military operations, the talents and valour displayed on both sides, or the consequences arising out of its issue. In another point of view, it presents a subject of no less interesting, though most painful meditation. It had nearly retrieved the fortunes of Europe; and it presented the fairest, we much fear the last, opportunity to England, of interfering to reduce the enemy of national independence within his proper limits. A variety of circumstances concurred to prevent this subject from being discussed in Parliament; nor was the conduct of the Government in respect to it ever examined, except incidentally, from its partial connexion with the Walcheren inquiry. But, now that the events in question have, to a certain degree, become matters of history, and may be contemplated without the risk of yielding to party feelings, we think it right to record some of the particulars relating to this subject, and to offer such remarks as may have their use, should such opportunities ever again be presented

presented to the country, of exerting her strength for the real and lasting benefit of herself and her continental allies. It is proper to begin with a few words on the contents of the several tracts, the titles of which we have prefixed.

The first, is an exceeding good translation of the Austrian official account of the mighty combat which had well nigh arrested for ever the progress of the French armies, and which, in spite of the untoward events that have since happened, ought to encourage us in keeping alive a hope of seeing France once more checked by the only continental power able to cope with her permanently;—we mean Austria. Common fame ascribes this piece to the pen of Mr Gentz; and certainly it merits a very high place among the productions of that eminent author. But there is nothing in this state paper, more remarkable, than the dignified candour which is evident throughout every line of the narrative,—the ample justice which is done to the enemy's exertions, and the fairness with which every unfavourable circumstance is admitted, even such as materially lessen the amount of the victory claimed. In this point of view, it is a model worthy, not merely of imitation by the French and Spanish commanders, but, we must add, that it deserves the attention also of our own. * It would answer no good purpose to attempt any abridgement of this relation. We shall therefore only extract a passage or two, descriptive of the unparalleled fury which characterized the exertions of that memorable day; and, after stating the general result, shall recommend the whole to the especial attention of those, who consider the Southern Peninsula as the only part of the world in which the French have ever been fairly opposed,—and the Spanish levies as the only troops, except our own, who have stoutly fought the common enemy. We may premise, that the Austrian army consisted of one hundred and eight battalions of foot, one hundred and forty-eight squadrons of horse; in all, 75,000 effective men;—with eighteen batteries of brigade artillery, thirteen of artillery of position, and eleven of horse artillery; in all 288 pieces of cannon:—an

* Not to mention more celebrated instances, there was a gazette published about two years ago, relating to the capture of St Domingo, which must have made every Englishman feel ashamed. That city was taken possession of very peaceably;—not a shot was fired:—yet we venture to say, that the pomp of the narrative would have offended all who read it, had the General (whose name we have forgotten, not having ever heard it either before or since) been relating the battles of Blenheim, Ramillies, or Aspern. It was written, too, in the style of the Minerva press novels.

an army worthy of meeting the myriads of France. 'If,' says the Archduke, 'it be at all permitted in war to indulge favourable presentiments, it was certainly excusable so to do at that great moment, when, on the 21st of May, exactly at twelve o'clock, the columns began to put themselves in motion for the attack. A general enthusiasm had taken possession of the troops; joyful war songs, accompanied by Turkish music, resounded through the air, and were interrupted by shouts of "Long live our Emperor, long live the Archduke Charles!" Whenever the Imperial General appeared, who had placed himself at the head of the second column, every breast panted with anxious desire and high confidence after the decisive moment; and the finest weather favoured the awful scene.' p. 12, 13.

The passages which we shall extract, are those relating to the sanguinary contests for the important village of Aspern, which the Austrians gained, and for the village of Essling, † which the enemy succeeded in keeping, to cover his retreat.

'Both parties were aware of the necessity of maintaining themselves in Aspern at any rate, which produced successively the most obstinate efforts both of attack and defence. The parties engaged each other in every street, in every house, and in every barn: carts, ploughs and harrows were obliged to be removed, during an interrupted fire, in order to get at the enemy. Every individual wall was an impediment of the assailants, and a rampart of the attacked: the steeple, lofty trees, the garrets and the cellars, were to be conquered, before either of the parties could style itself master of the place; and yet the possession was ever of short duration: for no sooner had we taken a street or a house, than the enemy gained another, forcing us to abandon the former.—So this murderous conflict lasted for several hours. The German battalions were supported by Hungarians, who were again assisted by the Vienna volunteers, each rivalling the other in courage and perseverance. At the same time, the second column combined its attacks with those of the first, having to overcome the same resistance, by reason of the enemy's constantly leading fresh reinforcements into fire. At length, General Vacquant of the second column succeeded in becoming master of the upper part of the village, and maintaining himself there during the whole of the night. By the shells of both parties, many houses had been set on fire, and illuminated the whole country around.

† It is from this circumstance that the battle is differently named by the two nations, and its event differently represented, by reference to the two villages; but no partizan of France can deny, that the utter annihilation of their army was only prevented by the failure of the Austrians to possess themselves of Essling.

round. At the extremity of the right wing on the bushy meadow, the combats were no less severe. The left flank of the enemy was secured by an arm of the Danube; impenetrable underwood, intersected only by foot-paths, covered his front, and a broad ditch and palisadoes afforded him the advantage of a natural rampart.' p. 14, 15.

'The dawn of morning was with this corps also the signal for the renewal of the gigantic conflict. The enemy's infantry was drawn up in large divisions, and between it the whole of the heavy cavalry was formed in masses. The general of cavalry, Prince Lichtenstein, on observing this order of battle, perceived the necessity of keeping up a close communication with the infantry placed near him: he therefore drew up his right wing *en echiquier* behind the corps of infantry, but kept his left wing together, with reserves posted in the rear.

'A prodigious quantity of artillery covered the front of the enemy, who seemed desirous to annihilate our corps, by the murderous fire of cannon and howitzers. Upwards of two hundred pieces of cannon were engaged on both sides; and the oldest soldiers never recollect to have witnessed so tremendous a fire. Vain was every effort to shake the intrepidity of the Austrian troops. Napoleon rode through his ranks, and, according to the report of the prisoners, made them acquainted with the destruction of his bridge, but added, that he had himself ordered it to be broken down, because, in this case, there was no alternative but victory or death. Soon afterwards the whole of the enemy's line put itself in motion, and the cavalry made its principal attack on the point where the corps of cavalry of Prince Lichtenstein communicated with the left wing of Lieutenant-General the Prince of Hohenzollern. The engagement now became general; the regiments of Rohan, D'Aspre, Joseph Colloredo and Stain, repulsed all the attacks of the enemy. The generals were every where at the head of their troops, and inspired them with courage and perseverance. The Archduke himself seized the colours of Zach's; and the battalion, which had already begun to give way, followed with new enthusiasm his heroic example. Most of those who surrounded him were wounded.' p. 25, 26.

'About noon the Archduke ordered a new assault upon Esslingen, which was immediately undertaken by Field-marshal Lieutenant D'Aspre, with the grenadier battalions of Kirchenbetter and Scovaux on the left, and Scarlach and Georgy in front. Five times did these gallant troops rush up to the very walls of the houses, burning internally, and placed in a state of defence; some of the grenadiers thrust their bayonets into the enemy's loopholes; but all their efforts were fruitless, for their antagonists fought the fight of despair. The Archduke ordered the grenadiers to take up their former position; and when they afterwards volunteered to renew the

the assault, he would not permit them, as the enemy was then in full retreat.' p. 27.

'About eleven A. M. Prince Rosenberg received orders from the Archduke, commander in chief, to make a new attack upon Esslingen; and a message to the same effect was sent to Lieutenant-General Dedowich, who commanded the right division of this corps.

'The attack was made with redoubled bravery, and our troops rushed with irresistible impetuosity into the village. Still, however, they found it impossible to maintain this post, into which the enemy kept continually throwing new reinforcements, which was of the utmost importance for covering his retreat, which he had already resolved upon, and which he defended with an immense sacrifice of lives. Prince Rosenberg, therefore, resolved to confine himself to the obstinate maintenance of his own position; to secure the left flank of the army; and to increase the embarrassment of the enemy by an incessant fire from all the batteries.

'In the night between the 22d and 23d, the enemy accomplished his retreat to the Lobau, and at three in the morning his rear-guard also had evacuated Esslingen, and all the posts which he had occupied on the left bank of the Danube. Some divisions pursued him closely, and took possession as near as possible of the necessary posts of observation.

'Thus terminated a conflict of two days, which will be ever memorable in the annals of the world, and in the history of war. It was the most obstinate and bloody that has occurred since the commencement of the French revolution. It was decisive for the glory of the Austrian arms, for the preservation of the monarchy, and for the correction of public opinion.' p. 28, 29.

The result of this victory w[illegible], above [illegible]000 French left dead on the field, 3[illegible],000 wounded, of whom between [illegible] and [illegible] taken prisoners, besides [illegible] other prisoners; and a vast number of bodies are said to have been thrown into the Danube;—making a loss of considerably above 4[illegible] men on the part of the French. It was dearly purchased by the Archduke, who admits his own loss to have amounted to nearly 4300 killed, and about 16,300 wounded, of whom above 600 were officers, and about 810 '*taken prisoners by the enemy.*' *

The tract relative to the Duke of Brunswick's corps, we have [illegible] is published by authority; and it contains a

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* We quote these words as an example of fair and honest despatch-writing—worthy of imitation at certain head quarters, where 'missing' is the term always used on such occasions.

occupied by the French. This corps was said to have consisted of about 2150 men; but it appears never to have exceeded 2000; and this was its effective force when the retreat commenced. It first took the field in Bohemia, about the middle of May 1809; and, after a great number of affairs, in which its conduct was exceedingly handsome, was compelled, by the armistice which followed the dreadful battle of Wagram, to choose between the prospect of being disbanded, if Austria should make peace with France, and the chance of fighting its way through Germany, in order to effect a retreat into England. As the Duke of Brunswick had kept himself clear of all engagements with the court of Vienna, other than those which one independent state may contract with another, he was at perfect liberty to choose between those two alternatives, and either to make common cause with Austria, and abide by the result of her negotiations, or to act for himself, and encounter, singly, the hostilities of the French armies scattered over the empire. He manfully preferred the latter part; and, on the 21st of July, commenced his long and hazardous march towards the coast. As soon as his intentions were made known, he was deserted by many officers, and above three hundred men, whose places he supplied from recruits untrained and unclothed, who followed this little army. In the course of the retreat, they were frequently opposed, chiefly by Saxon and Westphalian troops; and had to fight, in particular, one very severe battle at Halberstadt, where they sustained a loss of ten officers and several hundred men, (we are not told how many); but succeeded in gaining possession of the place, and dislodging the enemy, (from whom they took above 1600 prisoners), which was essentially necessary to their safe progress. They again offered battle at Oelzen, which, after some skirmishing, was declined; and, after several petty rencontres, in one of which 600 men were taken prisoners by a detachment of only 150, they began their embarkation on the Weser, on the 7th of August, which was successfully completed, notwithstanding several interruptions, chiefly from the Danish forces and batteries: and, on the 8th, they were taken under the protection of an English squadron, and safely conveyed to England, where they have since been taken into the service of this country,—according to a principle which seems to have grown up of very late years, with less opposition, or even remark, than the statesmen at the beginning of the present reign could easily have credited;—a principle which seems bottomed in one of two positions, neither of which, we dare to say, its advocates would venture to maintain;—either that the country, including Ireland and the Irish Catholics,

Catholics, (a most tender subject), produces too few men to defend it,—or that, of those whom it does produce, the whole are not to be trusted.

The last of the tracts which we have enumerated in the title of this article is not of so unexceptionable a character as the two others. It is no doubt in so far official, that it proceeds from the pen of a Tyrolese deputy; and in as much as he has lent it the sanction of his name, we may even call it a more authentic document than the two anonymous publications which have just been described. Nevertheless, as we know nothing of Major C. Muller, we are left to judge by internal evidence; and estimating its claims by this rule, we certainly are compelled to admit, that it contains much loose, random statement, and a considerable portion of assertions, which can scarcely be otherwise than exaggerated. We do not by any means rank in this class the general descriptions of the character and habits of the Tyrolese—their hardy manner of life—their independent spirit—the comparative freedom of their constitution—their invincible attachment to their country, and even to the House of Austria, notwithstanding its repeated ill treatment and various misgovernment of that gallant province. Neither do we at all mean to doubt, generally, the brave and effectual struggles of those mountaineers against their French and Bavarian oppressors—but we cannot bring ourselves to credit the large statements in which this tract abounds, particularly of the precise amount of the successes said to have been gained over the common enemy. After a general survey of the efforts made by the Tyrolese previous to the late war, this account opens with the insurrection in March and April 1809, which took place as soon as it was known that the French and Austrian forces were in motion. At that time there were 27,000 French and Bavarians in the Tyrol, and they were attacked at all points. 'The 'victory (says Major C. Muller) was complete; such of the 'enemy as escaped with their lives, being either wounded or 'made prisoners.' 'This success' (he adds), that is, the total destruction of an army of 27,000 men, 'was obtained on 'the 10th and 11th of April; and the merit of it belongs exclusively to the valiant inhabitants; for the Austrian army, 'hasting, under the Marquis de Chasteller, to their aid, did not 'join them till the 13th, when it was received by the conquerors, 'with drums beating and colours flying, while the air was rent 'with joyful acclamations and shouts of *Long live our beloved 'Emperor Francis!*' This statement will perhaps recal to the recollection of some readers the campaigns of the Spanish patriots, as narrated in the Castillian tongue. But others will not

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fail to remember the battles on the Danube, of which we have so recently been contemplating the official and authentic accounts; and when it is found that the Tyrolese peasants despatch French armies in a style so infinitely superior, impressions will naturally arise very unfavourable either to the use of regular armies, or to the credit of the Tyrolese historian. In truth, the *total* number of killed, wounded and prisoners, in the two days' fighting in the Tyrol, falls not far short of the loss sustained by the French in the memorable battle of Aspern.

But to pursue these exploits—The enemy poured new armies into this mountainous district; and they were partly annihilated, and the rest repulsed. Lefebvre entered with 24,000, Rusca with 8000, and Marmont with 6000 or 7000. While Fevron approached from another quarter with a fourth army, the three latter were wholly defeated. Lefebvre's numbers saved him indeed from absolute destruction; but, after committing unparalleled atrocities, he was compelled to 'seek safety in an inglorious flight directed towards Vienna,' leaving 'thousands slain.' Soon after this, the armistice between France and Austria was concluded, and the Austrian troops were withdrawn from the Tyrol:—But Hofer was chosen commander-in-chief of the whole province—and the expected renewal of the war soon diffused universal joy and hope;—and when Lefebvre again advanced with 40,000 men to occupy the country, according to the armistice, Hofer marched to meet him, and obliged him to retreat, 'leaving behind 10,000 killed, and '1500 prisoners,' besides waggon stores, horses, &c. The Tyrolese lost in this *affair* only 150 killed, and 382 wounded. A few days after this, Hofer attacked the enemy with one division of his troops, and killed 1000 cavalry, and 870 infantry, and took 150 prisoners—with a loss of only 83 killed and 11? wounded. He next killed 6000, and routed 4000 more, by a stratagem performed with stones and trunks of trees, in a narrow pass,—losing only 53 killed and 13 wounded. On the very day after, he again attacked the enemy, and seems to have outdone his own outdoings;—for he took 1000 prisoners and a great quantity of ammunition and baggage;—and the enemy's 'other losses in *this affair*, amounted to 7000 killed and 2000 'wounded,' while the Tyrolese lost only 324 killed and 415 wounded. After several attacks of the same description, '10,500 'men, the relics of an army of 40,000, retreated to Reichen'hall and Saltzburgh.' In the mean time, Rusca's army, during eight days, lost 3000 killed and wounded, beside cannon and ammunition—the Tyrolese only losing 433 killed and wounded: And Lefebvre's army being now pursued in Saltzburgh, in one battle he lost 3576 killed and wounded, 759 prisoners, and 6 pieces

pieces of cannon;—a victory gained by a loss of 392 on the part of the Tyrolese.

We pass over many *affairs* of inferior note, in each of which 400 or 500 of the enemy are pretty regularly disposed of. The brave Tyrolese, however, resolved to besiege a town—and on the 1st of November they invested Trent, but were destitute of siege artillery;—so, luckily for them, the enemy made a sortie 'with 9000 men, but were driven back with the loss of 1500 'prisoners, 4000 killed, and many hundreds wounded.' Such a sortie, we believe, was never before made.—But turn we once more to the fates of General Rusea, whom our gallant author is not yet tired with beating. On the 6th of November he is discomfited with the loss of 1000 men—the Tyrolese losing only 77. Next day arrived the Emperor's requisition to cease hostilities, as he had been obliged to make peace. On the same day the enemy having cruelly burnt the large village of Zirl, he was made to 'pay dearly for his barbarity, with the loss of '9000 killed and wounded, 16 pieces of cannon, and 2 chests 'of specie.' The combat now thickens. 'Infuriated with 'despair, the whole population, male *and female*, fell, on the '9th of November, upon the columns of their nefarious foes. 'The conflict, which took place near Brixen, was tremen-'dous;' and certainly, after hearing of 3000, 4000, and 9000 destroyed in partial '*affairs*,' one is filled with expectation of the result of a rising of the 'whole population, male and female.' The conclusion, however, does not keep pace with those expectations. 'We lost in killed 450 men; of the women, who fought 'with equal desperation, 320 were cut in pieces by the Italian 'cavalry; and 500 of both sexes were wounded. The enemy's 'loss was much greater; but he remained master of the field 'of battle.' This unfortunate defeat was decisive—the brave Tyrolese dispersed—they were obliged to set at liberty 10,000 prisoners—the enemy continued his savage depredations—and the gallant Hofer (being batrayed by a vile priest, whose name, we are sorry to say, has a Scottish appearance) was put to death a few months afterwards at Mantua.

In the course of a few weeks, this narrative makes the loss of the enemy amount to about 90,000 men, and that of the Tyrolese to only 4000 or 5000;—a statement which, of itself, would be sufficient to startle belief, even if the headlong, abrupt, ill looking manner in which the details are brought forward, did not wholly disincline us to listen to them. That the brave Tyrolese made a glorious struggle for their liberties—that they discomfited many a detachment of the enemy—that they made him pay dear for his possession of their country, we have no reason to doubt:

doubt: But narratives like Major Muller's are unbecoming so good a cause, and, we should think, are not even likely to gain credit in the public offices, or to obtain grants of money for those whom the example of the Spanish and Portuguese patriots may have taught to indulge in such dreams. We shall close these remarks with an extract from Major Muller's tract, giving a few interesting particulars respecting the illustrious Hofer, whose name deserves to be enrolled in the same page with those of William Tell and Gustavus Vasa; and would be recorded there, if it were not an almost invariable rule with the distributors of human fame, to adore fortune rather than virtue, and direct their judgments by the event.

'Andreas Hofer was a native of Sand, in the valley of Passeyr and was born in the year 1771 His excellent moral and religious character, the uncommon acuteness and depth of his understanding, for one who had not enjoyed the advantages of a liberal education, together with his modesty and integrity, procured him, at an early age, the esteem of all the inhabitants of his valley, about 12,000 in number, among whom he was appointed to fill an office which nearly answers to that of an English justice of the peace. In this situation he acquired, in the highest degree, the love and respect of his countrymen. Whenever his native land was threatened with hostile incursions, Hofer always placed himself at the head of the brave inhabitants of his valley; and in all the actions which took place, he distinguished himself no less by his courage, than by his sagacity. He was accounted one of the most expert riflemen in Tyrol; and in every engagement, whether on foot or on horseback, he was never seen without his favourite weapon.

'Hofer was too strongly imbued with sentiments of loyalty and patriotism, not to be deeply mortified at the alienation of the Tyrol from the Austrian sceptre He perceived but too clearly, that his impoverished country would soon be brought to the brink of ruin, if it continued under the Gallo-bavarian yoke. Thrice he repaired to Vienna, to represent the situation of the once happy Tyrolese, to the Emperor and the Archdukes Charles and John; to implore their succour; and to ascertain whether Austria was disposed to engage in a fresh war with their tyrants; hoping that, in case of hostilities, his countrymen, who were still warmly attached to the House of Austria, might be able to shake off the voke. These hopes were not entirely disappointed; he returned, and awaited with anxiety the commencement of a new war.

'The long expected day at length arrived; and Hofer, with two of his most intimate friends and companions in arms, concerted a plan for attacking the French and Bavarian troops, who then occupied the country. It was agreed, that the signal for a general attack on the enemy, should be given by saw-dust thrown into the Inn, the principal river of the country. In all the places upon its banks, where

where there were persons to whom the secret had been confided, the meaning of the saw-dust was perfectly understood. They instantly hastened to ring the alarm-bells, to collect the inhabitants of the districts and vallies situated at a greater distance from the Inn, to form them into corps, and to attack and cut in pieces the enemy wherever he appeared. Complete success, as we have already seen, crowned the enterprize.

'In this affair, as well as in several other engagements, especially that near Innspruck, when the enemy sustained a total defeat, and also at the taking of Trent, Hofer so completely gained the confidence of his countrymen, that he was not only acknowledged as Commandant of Passeyr, but invested with the title of Commander-in-Chief of the whole country.

'In his person, Hofer was tall and robust; and from his youth, wore a long beard, according to the custom of that part of the country in which he resided.

'Of the circumstances which led to the catastrophe that deprived the Tyrolese of their beloved and lamented leader, the public is already in possession. He died with the same intrepidity which he had displayed throughout his whole life; and when led out to be shot, insisted that his eyes should not be covered. It may not be amiss to remark, that the penitent letter which he is represented in the French papers to have addressed to his countrymen shortly before his death, is an infamous forgery; and that nothing can be more false, than the assertion that his son entered into the Bavarian service, as the unfortunate youth died of the hardships and ill treatment which he experienced after he was taken with his father.' p. 28, 29, 30.

The reflections to which every thing contained in these publications so naturally gives rise, relate to the part taken by England in the unspeakably important events which were then passing upon the Continent. Was there a fair ground for our interference, in point of policy?—(for it is childish to throw away a word upon the right, or the inducement to interfere, provided there was any practicable opening)—Was the part taken by England the most judicious—the best calculated to gain our object—that of substantially assisting our allies and permanently repressing the encroachments of the enemy?—If our plan was exceptionable, what other scheme could have been undertaken with better prospects of success?—To assist in the discussion of these points, the following considerations may be found worthy of attention.

Notwithstanding the great losses which the Austrian monarchy had sustained in the two former wars, and particularly in the sacrifice of those territories, which, both from their position and the character of their inhabitants, formed the best outworks of the hereditary dominions; yet there were some circumstances

cumstances which rendered the Emperor's situation in 1809 far more auspicious, with a view to hostilities against France, than it had been since the commencement of the Revolutionary war, and of the dreadful change which had then taken place in the military policy and resources of the French. The salutary reforms which had been effected in the army, chiefly by abandoning, to a great extent, the radical error of trusting only to *old* officers, or only promoting young ones when they made up for their youth by the extent of their armorial bearings, and the wise measure of placing it under the entire command of the Archduke, may be mentioned among the most important of those happy circumstances. But the great improvement which had taken place in the feeling of the people, is still more worthy of notice. The repeated proofs of French ambition and perfidy which had been furnished since the peace of Presburgh, both in the transactions of Buonaparte with Austria, and with other countries,—the war in Spain,—the conduct pursued towards Holland,—and the treatment of his German subjects and allies,—had at length roused the people, both in the hereditary States and in the empire at large, to a sense of their immediate danger from so daring and so faithless a neighbour,—and had begotten a disposition to resist his further encroachments, of which there has been no other example since the wars of the Empress Queen. The fear of war, which had universally prevailed ever since the preliminaries of Leoben, was no longer to be perceived—the necessity of exertion and resistance was generally acknowledged—the hatred of France and of Frenchmen became daily more strongly felt—and unequivocal proofs were exhibited, in the mutual treatment of individuals, that their respective countries had reached the point when oppression prescribes bounds to its own progress, by provoking resistance.

In proof of these assertions, we shall not content ourselves with following the example of the ministers who planned the expedition to the Helder, and appealing to the "testimony of experience and the nature of man.' We shall not merely ask, in a taunting manner, whether it requires evidence to show that 'oppression begets resistance;' but we shall refer to facts which are known to every one who recollects the history of the year 1809. The official correspondence and proclamations of the French and Austrian governments, are before the world,—in which the former, at a time when no mortal can conceive that it should have been desirous of war, or averse to shutting its eyes upon any trifling offence, especially towards individuals, nevertheless complains of the ill-treatment which French subjects of late experienced in all parts of the Emperor's dominions.

The enthusiasm with which the nobles and clergy, and other wealthy bodies, advanced their funds, and even their furniture, to meet the exigencies of the state,—the zeal of the citizens, the militia, and even the volunteers, to share in the dangers of the regular troops,—the universal anxiety for a rupture of the negociations, both those which preceded the war, and those which led to the peace,—the disappointment occasioned by the armistice, notwithstanding the defeat at Wagram, which immediately succeeded,—and by the peace itself,—are circumstances which no one can sufficiently admire, who recollects the torpor of the Austrian people at all former periods of the Revolution war—who reflects, in particular, upon the general disinclination to hostilities with France—the not ill-founded, though certainly excessive dread of her arms—and the eagerness for peace after the first defeats—an eagerness so striking, that Mr Gentz has described it by saying, 'Had a board been carried round the 'hereditary dominions, with the single sentence *Peace is signed*, 'no one would have stopped to ask the terms.' The army raised by taking advantage of such a natural feeling, amounted to 400,000 regulars, in a state of equipment approaching to perfection, and of a considerably greater number of irregular troops. The French minister, in his correspondence with Count M. Munich in June 1808, complains of the Austrians having added 1300 men to every regiment in their service, and of their having raised 400,000 militia by a sort of conscription; and the minister of war, in his report of September 15th, describes Austria as having 700,000 men on foot, and characterizes her exertions by saying, 'that to raise this army, her population has been exposed to destruction.' Of the spirit which animated the Hungarians, we have a specimen, in the utter failure of all the enemy's attempts to seduce them from their allegiance to a chief, whose ill treatment of them has long been too well known;—attempts, made after possession had been taken of his capital, and before any thing like victory had attended his arms.

The state of the Tyrol we have already had an opportunity of contemplating; but there are other proofs of the spirit which prevailed in that famous province, and which cannot be suspected of exaggeration. The proclamation of Eugene, the French viceroy of Italy, dated 26th October 1809, speaks a language not to be mistaken. 'Listening (says he) to perfidious suggestions, you have taken up arms against your laws, and have subverted them; and now you are gathering the 'bitter fruits of your rebellion. Terror governs your cities; [illegible]ness and misery reign in you; discord is in the midst of you; and disorder every where prevails.' This, too, was [illegible]er the peace of Austria with France had been made known, including

including the stipulation—enough to chill those brave peasants with absolute despair—that they should be abandoned to their French and Bavarian masters, against whom they had risen in favour of Austria. At any rate, it was above six months after the insurrection had broke out, and near four after the battle of Wagram. The viceroy proceeds—'His Majesty the Emperor and King (Napoleon), touched with your deplorable situation, and with the testimonies of repentance which *several* of you have conveyed to his throne,' &c. He then calls on them to lay down their arms;' and threatens them with compulsion if they refuse; but adds, 'that his army will be preceded by commissioners appointed to hear their complaints, and to do justice to the demands they may have to make;' and concludes thus:—'Tyrolese! If your complaints and demands be well founded, I hereby promise that justice shall be done you.' Such is the language of the enemy, in speaking of the Tyrolese insurrection, when it had lasted many months. The report of Colonel Taxis to the Emperor of Austria, gives us, it may be presumed, no exaggerated account of its commencement. The paper is dated *Inspruck, April 15th*; and, after stating the complete success of the insurgents over both French and Bavarian troops in all quarters, it gives the number of French prisoners sent into Inspruck in the course of five days, at 3000 to 4000, and of Bavarians above 12,000; and praises, in the highest terms, the enthusiasm and valour of the people in every corner of the country.

Nor was it only in the hereditary dominions of Austria that this most wholesome spirit prevailed. Insurrections had burst forth in various parts of Germany. In Saxony, Westphalia and Hanover, the insurgents made head against the government to a very formidable extent. We shall not enumerate the various proofs of this which the whole history of the spring 1809 affords; but, referring to the most prominent case, let us only recollect the gallant exploits of Schill, in order to be satisfied of the kind of spirit which then prevailed, and the fearless courage—the very desperation—with which it displayed itself. Schill's campaign began before the Austrian government had commenced hostilities; and, so little was the success which attended him connected with the victory of Asperne, that he entered Stralsund only three days after that great battle; and in less than a week from this his last success, terminated his glorious career.* The German gazettes, such of them at least as durst speak

* He took possession of Stralsund, May 25th; and the Danish and Dutch troops advancing on the 31st, he fell by a musket shot in the engagement.

speak their sentiments on the war, asserted, that the standard of this brave man was surrounded by very nearly 40,000 of his countrymen, many of them refugees from the dispersed or subjugated armies of Prussia. His numerous successes over the enemy—the variety and safety of his movements—the distances to which he conducted his corps—are sufficient proofs, either of its force, or of the dispositions of the country in which it acted: And we care not which of the alternatives is admitted; for either proves the state of the north of Germany. The conduct of the enemy, however, may convince those, whom nothing else can persuade to think favourably of any thing north of the Pyrenees. He found it necessary to send Marshal Kellerman to the Elbe, with a force of between 30,000 and 40,000 men, notwithstanding all his demands for such supplies in other quarters.

But Schill is not the only name to which we may appeal in support of our assertions. We have in this country, at the present moment, a living witness of the situation in which Germany was during the summer of 1809. The existence of the Duke of Brunswick, and his small but gallant corps, is decisive of the point. Its strength never greatly exceeded 1500 men, after the first few days of its retreat; and this handful of soldiers, supported by no cooperation whatever—acting in concert with nobody—forming a detached corps, of a description the most hateful to the enemy on every ground political and personal, actually marched across all Germany, from Bohemia to the North Sea, without any confusion or any very great danger, or any extraordinary efforts, although there were some French troops scattered over every part of their march. Could such a movement as this have been made in any part of a country subject, nay in tolerably quiet submission, to France? Could it have been made in any part of Germany, which was, during former wars, the theatre of the French campaigns? Could any thing more romantic have been fancied than such a march as this, after the battle of Friedland? And yet this retreat was begun above six weeks after the defeat of Schill, and nearly a fortnight after the armistice of Znaym had seemed to destroy the hopes of the Austrians, and, in part at least, to set free the French armies. Nothing, surely, can be imagined more calculated to prove, in a practical manner, the insecurity of the footing which the enemy then had in Germany—the nice balance on which his possession of that country hinged—his inability to detach his scattered parties upon other services than those of keeping their several districts quiet—his incapacity, as it were, to stir from his actual position, lest any motion should be followed by some new

explosion.

explosion. This memorable retreat began on the 21st of July, and ended on the 8th of August.

It was while this spirit prevailed in Germany, and while the resources of the Austrian monarchy were thus, for the first time since the beginning of the French revolution, called forth in good earnest to oppose its progress, that we humbly conceive the interposition of England might have produced a favourable effect. We suggest, with great humility, that at a time when all Germany was in such a state as to render it possible for 1500 men to march safely across it, notwithstanding its occupation by French troops, the landing of an English army might have been materially inconvenient to the armies of France, and proved beneficial as a diversion in favour of their adversaries. With the utmost deference we venture to submit, that at a time when France found it necessary to pour whole armies into the Tyrol, and to send 10,000 men against one band of insurgents in the north, the appearance of a respectable English force would have produced some sensation upon the contending parties. Professing no superior knowledge of military policy, and disclaiming all pretensions to expertness in tactics, we would most submissively hint a doubt, whether the French and Austrian armies on the Danube were not at one moment so nearly balanced, as to render it prudent for an ally of the latter to land in any part of Germany,—in any part of Italy,—provided that moment could be secured,—and at any rate, to assist the great struggle in some quarter during certain periods of its progress. Humbly submitting ourselves to the several Lords and Gentlemen who then had the supreme disposal of events, we would be understood, though with great awe and fearfulness, to repine somewhat at the dispensations by virtue of which armies were despatched to the greatest possible distances from the scene of action,—to grumble a little at the untimely reinforcements of our Portuguese army,—to wonder respectfully at the decrees which bestowed an expedition upon the little places in the bay of Naples,—and to murmur at the judgment which, at that particular moment, came upon the bulk of the British army, in the visitation of a campaign against the forces of the Walcheren fever. These, our sentiments, we know, are deemed so impious by the safe and flourishing politicians of the day, that we are compelled to detail somewhat more fully the grounds on which we entertain them, and the explanations with which we desire them to be accompanied.

And first, it must be observed, that the campaign on the Danube did not come upon this country by surprize. The conferences at Erfurth, in October 1808, and the message of Buona-

parte

parte to his Senate a month before, clearly proved the seeds of dissension to have been more than sown. From that period, communications were held between the cabinets of London and Vienna, upon the great interests about to be placed at stake. The correspondence between the French government and Count Metternich, the Austrian minister, from the beginning of summer 1808 to the time when Buonaparte went to Spain, was then fully made known to us, and gave sure indications of an approaching rupture. The refusal to allow Austria any share in the conferences at Erfurth, and the manner of that refusal, must alone have confirmed the suspicions excited by the different language used in speaking of Russia and her, in the message to the Senate. But the admission in the King's declaration, published in January 1809, wholly removes whatever doubt might be left as to the English government being aware of the impending storm;—an admission which Buonaparte, when in quest of proofs against Austria, did not hesitate to call '*providential*;' as indeed he could little have hoped for so prodigious an indiscretion even from the British cabinet. Very early in 1809, accredited agents from Vienna arrived in England, with ample details even of the projected plans of operation; and we assert confidently, that the government of this country had complete authentic information that war between France and Austria must ensue in a few weeks, as early at least as February in that year. We speak quite within compass purposely,—otherwise we have sufficient grounds for dating the period of this information much earlier. From this moment, then, the whole attention of the British cabinet should have been directed to the approaching contest in Germany; and they who defend the measure of pouring, at that critical period, almost our whole disposeable force into Portugal, must be prepared to show in what manner that policy has bettered the cause of the Peninsula.

During the period which elapsed between the conferences at Erfurth and the actual declaration of war by Austria, we were constantly feeding our army in Portugal with fresh supplies. Every one now knows, with how little attention to any practicable object the expedition under Sir John Moore was planned. It is universally admitted, that the army under that gallant commander and his coadjutor, was sent into Spain to advance for the purpose of retreating. If any one denies this, and flatters himself with the notion that this disastrous march acted as a diversion, and gave time to the Spaniards,—still he must allow, that the troops already in Portugal, after the first successes there, could have held their ground at least as long as the war should last in Germany; and that there was no necessity

sity for reinforcing them, except from some vague, inexplicable design of undertaking new marches across the Peninsula. In like manner, the subsequent reinforcements sent in March 1809, could only be subservient to new offensive operations of a similar cast. They led to a march somewhere, no doubt;—as it happened, towards Madrid,—but ending in a victory and a speedy retreat,—with a winter campaign against the marsh fever of Estremadura. Now, take the state of the British interests in the Peninsula at the close of the campaign 1808, and compare them with the state in which they were after the retreat from Talavera, in September 1809, and let the question be put, Whether the reinforcements sent to Sir John Moore, by Lisbon and by Corunna, and those afterwards sent to Sir Arthur Wellesley, amounting in the whole to near 30,000 men, contributed materially to improve our situation? We may venture to assert, that no one can entertain a doubt on this point.

Indeed, if we even come down to a later period, there seems no reason for thinking, that the affairs of Spain and Portugal would have been at all in a worse condition, if the enemy had, in the winter 1808 and 1809, pushed his forces as far as the walls of Cadiz, and the lines of Torres Vedras. Nothing has been effected, in the interval, of the smallest substantial use. Our brave troops have several times made the tour of Portugal, gaining unprofitable laurels, sacrificing about half their numbers, and seeing, without the possibility of preventing it, the country which they came to protect made the scene of universal desolation. They have made two incursions into Spain, if possible still more disastrous, though signalized by brilliant victories. Suppose that, without those movements,—without all this expense of lives,—aye, and we are not afraid to add, of money too,— the armies had remained in their lines at Lisbon and Cadiz, from the period of the famous convention, without any of the reinforcements since despatched to it; we conceive it would puzzle any calculator to show in what respect our affairs would have been in a worse situation in those parts, than they are at the present moment;—and this, be it remarked, without any pretence that unforeseen disasters, or mischances of any kind, have interfered with the calculation. On the contrary, every thing has gone on infinitely more prosperously, as far as fortune was concerned, than the most sanguine projector had a right to expect. Therefore, it is in vain to contend that we should have starved the cause of the Peninsula, by reserving for better purposes those forces which were poured into it after the approach of the Austrian war was ascertained, even though we should lay out of our estimate all consideration of the real service which a

prudent application of those forces in the right place, would inevitably have rendered to the Spaniards and Portuguese. The charge, then, which results against the English government, from the transactions of the winter and spring 1809, is, that an army was sent into the Peninsula, during the months of November and December, which should have been reserved for other purposes;—and that, in February and March, after the utter failure of the former expedition, down to the very commencement of hostilities on the Danube, large reinforcements were successively sent into Portugal, which were more imperiously demanded for the service of other allies.

But the blame, unhappily, does not rest here.—Even after the commencement of hostilities in Germany, and at a moment when every thing excited us to some great effort in behalf of the liberties of Europe, we continued preparing the remains of our force for *British objects*,—for an expedition not very useful, had it been successful—and, as has since been demonstrated, in its nature utterly impracticable. It has been proved, by the official papers produced in the course of the Walcheren inquiry, that in March 1809, at least 15,000 men were ready at the disposal of Government for any service, independently of the armies in Portugal and Sicily. Had it not been for the fatal effects of the Spanish campaign, the number would have been 40,000, ready to sail from England to any part of the Continent in the month of March, or, if required, of February;—ready, by consequence, to join the army in Sicily early in April, and, uniting with it, to land in Italy, or remain afloat on the coasts of the Adriatic, in order to profit by events, and aid our ally, when wanted, during the early part of April. But, let it be supposed only to arrive there in May;—the landing of an English army, amounting to between 50 and 60.000 men (for we had a disposeable force of nearly 15,000 in Sicily), must have produced the most important consequences at that moment. The bare appearance of such a force in any part of the Adriatic, would at once have stopt the army of the Viceroy Eugene, in its progress to join the grand army of the enemy at Vienna; and if any reader has attended to the stress which Buonaparte laid, in all his bulletins and proclamations, upon the arrival of that army, and has noted the exultation which its junction produced,—to him it will be unnecessary to point out how vast the importance must have been, of any diversion which should have prevented a movement so necessary for retrieving the affairs of France. The first arrival of the Italian army took place on the 26th of May; but this was merely the scattered light troops of the advanced [illegible]es, which were hastened onward, in order to keep up the drooping

drooping spirits of the thousands whom the Archduke had defeated at Asperne. The armies themselves were not joined before the middle of June; and an English force appearing in the Adriatic during any part of May, must needs have arrested this movement in its progress. But suppose the junction to have been completed; and, keeping in mind the relative situations of the two armies after the battle of Asperne, let us only consider the effect which an English army of above 50,000 men, landing in the rear of the French, must have produced, had it been effected at any time between the 22d of May, when they were beaten and driven into the Danube, and the 4th of July, when they again, and after above six weeks of inability to move, ventured once more to attack their most formidable antagonists. The difficulties of the voyage to Sicily, and thence to Trieste, may be detailed to us;—a similar parade may be made of the inconveniencies, the risks, the hardships—even the dangers—of a march through Styria, with our invincible fleet in our rear,—the Tyrolese insurgents everywhere victorious on one flank,—the Hungarian forces swarming to the Austrian standards on the other,—the people every where friendly, steady, zealous, enthusiastic in our cause and their own,—the enemy in front, opposed already to a force which had just overthrown him in the greatest battle he ever yet gave. All this terrible show of hazards appals us not;—nor can it weigh with those who see what the enemy executes by his great darings at a vast distance from his dominions, with hostile countries surrounding him, with armies under his command almost as various as the troops of the Punic captain, with every additional risk which the worst of causes can accumulate upon his head. Nor can we persuade ourselves (which God forbid we should ever suffer ourselves to doubt!), that England will, in any circumstances, make head against France upon the Continent, if we are not suffered to think it possible for her to have thrown into the scale of her ally an army ready to assist him, by means of the naval superiority, of which it is to be hoped that we shall not be forced to hold our peace, then, and then only, when the possession of it may be of some real assistance to our cause. If it is as absurd as some persons pretend, to talk of assisting Austria during the eventful period in question, by the expedition alluded to, then may we at once give up all thoughts of performing a part of any real importance on the Continent. Our army is beautiful, but unprofitable,—our navy resistless and useless.

But who are they with whose objections on the score of practicability we are thus obliged to contend? From what manner of statesmen is it that we hear the language of caution, and calculation,

calculation, and despondency? Whence proceed those fears, —that extreme prudence,—that unwillingness to believe in the practicability of any scheme for which there is not some accurate precedent on record? Perhaps, from those who recommend an exclusive attention to the management of our internal affairs,—who object to all interference with Continental policy,—who rely upon the sea which separates us from Europe, and the ships which sail upon that sea,—who hold in abhorrence, as a national delusion, all foreign expeditions, and every armament that is not in its nature purely defensive? Or, perchance, this language comes from the visionaries who, hating war in the abstract, are averse to every mode of conducting it which involves fighting, and killing, and wounding;—who, considering battles to be a dangerous thing, are for being at war as safely as possible;—who, finding it impossible to remain at peace, and, having tried every expedient to avoid hostilities, are willing to submit to the hard necessity which the enemy imposes, but at the easiest rate possible,—and only to fight when absolute necessity compels it? Or, finally, do those taunts about wild projects, and impracticable plans, proceed from the statesmen who recommend a rigid economy in the application of our resources;—who, anticipating some danger nearer home, would reserve the strength of the country to encounter it;—who consider every expedition as *primâ facie* objectionable, and only to be justified by extraordinary opportunities, and the most pregnant proofs of expediency?—Is it in any of these quarters that the objections in question originate?—for in such quarters they would at least have some consistency.—No such thing. They proceed from the very zealots of the foregin system,—from the general advocates of expeditions,—from the men who have for near twenty years been cruising half the world over in quest of landing-places where some army might be disembarked,—who are so enamoured of those adventures, that they seldom consider whether a descent is likely to succeed or not,—still less whether its success be of any value;—who are satisfied, provided so many thousand men are stowed into so many thousand tons of shipping, and wholly, or in part, unshipped anywhere beyond the four seas;—and then in part, nor matters it in how small a proportion, are reshipped and relanded in this country;—who, in a word, have proved that any expedition is, in their view of the matter, far preferable at all times to no expedition;—and have shown that they care not what our troopships are doing, so they be only doing something. In short,—marvellous to tell,—this objection, of difficulty in the execution, and uncertainty and risk in the result, is urged by those who preferred, to the plan under

der consideration, and at the same time, and in exclusion of it, the expeditions into Spain, and up the Scheldt,—the marches towards the Ebro, or Madrid—one cannot tell which; and the attack upon Antwerp,—after full notice given to the enemy, with a force unfit to take it had no warning been given,—and at a season when the common course of the seasons was sufficient to destroy the invader, should no enemy at all appear to resist him.

Let it not, however, be imagined, that we are defending the measures proposed, merely by a comparison with those which the wisdom of the Government substituted in their room; or that we are blindly attached to the one line of operations above suggested. The reason for preferring that plan, is indeed founded upon the advantage of its bringing our force more immediately into contact with that of the enemy, and assisting more directly and essentially the main operations of our ally;—a policy which, whether by sea or land, has always commanded success in proportion as it has been resolutely and consistently pursued:—But in part also, the project already described has been recommended by the inconveniencies to which former errors have subjected all our military operations,—the grand error of scattering our forces. Within the prescribed limits of time, that was the only mode of proceeding which could secure the cooperation of our army so unprofitably (if not worse than unprofitably) pent up in Sicily, for the purpose of warring with the people,—sharing the odium of the Government, without even securing its fidelity, or obtaining its gratitude,—and supporting all its disgusting and pernicious abuses. The circumstance of setting free this misemployed and formidable force, was, of itself, a great temptation to adopt the plan of operations in the Adriatic;—and we confess, that other reasons than we have yet heard urged, must be presented, before we can admit that plan to be in any considerable degree exceptionable. But if it should be thought that the advantages just now pointed out are counterbalanced by the distance of the scene of action;—and no doubt this would, of itself, have been a sufficient objection to the plan, had it only been taken into contemplation after the first operations of the Austrian war, and especially after the first successes of our ally;—then we are desirous of stating, that the north of Germany presented a field in which all the disposeable force of the empire might have been both safely and profitably employed,—in which the largest armies we could send, would not have proved unwieldy either for transport, or sustenance, or movement in the country,—in which the most moderate armament might without risk have been ventured.

The proximity of this point of attack, or rather of landing, (for in all probability there would not have been found any

resistance

resistance) afforded the material advantage—an advantage of no little importance to a country governed by such councils as then managed our affairs,—that our rulers were not called upon to look very far before them, or to trust much to their own sagacity, or even to their information,—but might, even after events had taken a favourable turn, have thus thrown into the balance, while it for the first time hung poised, the weight of English cooperation.

Suppose that all our armaments to Spain and Portugal had been carried through, and that we were left at home only with the troops which formed the Walcheren expedition. Early in April the actual rupture between France and Austria was known; and, at that time, it is proved that we had above 15,000 men ready to embark for any service.—But it may be said that this force was insufficient—and that events had not yet justified the expectation of Austria making a better stand, than before, against the common enemy. In a few weeks, however, came the news of the Tyrolese insurrection, at first completely successful—of the risings in various parts of Germany—of threatenings in Holland—and of Schill's exploits in the North. Nevertheless, it may be urged, the British cabinet were not gifted with either the sagacity which can anticipate a favourable opportunity, and prepare to profit by it—or with promptitude and energy at once to seize the moment when it arrived.—There is doubtless much truth in the remark; and we will even further admit, that those distinguished characters were, about the period in question, entirely occupied with intriguing and caballing against one another, and preparing to take the field in a short time for the purpose of settling their differences;—a state of things rather inauspicious, it must be allowed, for the business which they had undertaken, of conquering Buonaparte on the Continent. Yet, they had so fair a warning of the approaching campaign in Germany; the spirit of the people all over that country was so speedily declared,—and the pause which followed the great victory of Asperne lasted so long; that, even circumstanced as our rulers were, it is scarcely possible to comprehend how they should have avoided for once being in time to effect some real service to the common cause. Suppose that nothing was to be risked,—that we were to wait till a victory should be gained by Austria,—that we were to stand by safe behind our sea, and let that magnanimous power play alone the first part of the game on which she had staked her existence;—still, one should think, it would have been easy to employ the time of this suspense in preparing such a force as might take advantage of her good fortune;—at any rate, it was as easy to prepare for a voyage to the coast between the Elbe and

and Weser, as for the navigation of the Scheldt; and, in point of length and difficulty, the one voyage did not greatly surpass the other. If then the expedition had been ready to sail, and had put to sea as soon as intelligence of the battle of Asperne arrived, can any man pretend to doubt, that the landing of 40,000 English troops, the best disciplined and appointed that ever sailed from our coasts, would have operated upon Germany, and upon the enemy, in a manner decisive of a campaign at that moment hanging in perfect suspense? Even if the expedition had not set sail until the time when it actually departed to Walcheren, that is, until the news of the armistice arrived; greatly as the chances of complete success would have been lessened, yet must we admit, that the unsubdued spirit still remaining in Germany and the Tyrol,—the anxiety of all ranks of the Emperor's subjects for a rupture of the armistice,—the unbroken strength of the Hungarian dominions,—the respectable force still under the Archduke's command,—and the manifest unwillingness of Russia to take part in the contest, afforded the strongest temptations to adventure our army in the north of Germany, instead of madly burying it in Walcheren, or dashing it against the iron wall of Flanders. The safe retreat of the Duke of Brunswick's corps at that very time, not to mention the easy return of the inconsiderable convoy under Lord Cathcart in 1805, after the fatal campaign of Austerlitz, may suffice to show how little risk such a measure would have encountered, of exposing our forces to any sudden or severe disaster. There was, indeed, nothing in the north of Germany to make head against such an army as we then possessed; and its being joined by thousands of German soldiers immediately on its arrival, is a matter of certainty rather than probability,—unless, indeed, the whole order of persons was annihilated, or had changed their nature, from whom Schill raised an army in a few weeks,—surrounded though he was by corps of the enemy,—without any ostensible commission or appearance of power to protect his followers,—disavowed by the government he was attempting to save,—and labouring under every disadvantage from want of resources, name, alliances—that can be conceived to obstruct the beginnings of such an enterprize.

That these are not merely the speculations of closet politicians, the theories, for instance, of Mr Windham, who is known to have entertained the strongest opinions upon this point,—and who, in his inimitable speech upon the Walcheren inquiry, gave a general statement of these sentiments;—we are prepared to show, upon authority which is scarcely liable to the imputation of not coming from sufficiently practical sources.

During

During the course of that memorable inquiry—that inquiry which has contributed more to fix the character of the Parliament, * as well as of the Government, than half a century of misrule or indemnity votes ever did before, certain portions of correspondence were unwillingly communicated, which, however defective and garbled, tended to throw considerable light upon the subject of the present discussion. One of these documents contains an extract of two paragraphs of a communication, transmitted, at the commencement of hostilities, by the Austrian government to our own. It speaks generally of the cooperation of England, and we insert it entire. There is *no date*; but we presume it was very early.

'6. It is to be supposed that the troops in Sicily, as well as 'the fleets in the Mediterranean, are eventually instructed to 'aid the military operations in that quarter. Whatever dis-'positions to this effect may be made, even yet, cannot but be 'of the greatest utility.

'7. The first events of the war will be decisive as to what 'may be done or hoped for in the north of Germany. Per-'haps England, with some auxiliary force of cavalry and artil-'lery,

* It is always our wish, as it is our duty, to express ourselves with the utmost possible respect touching the proceedings of the Great Council of the Nation. This line of conduct we are willing to pursue, in spite of all the clamours excited by those who, mistaking the true foundations of English liberty, too eagerly seize every opportunity of bringing the Parliamentary constitution of the country into disrepute. We pursue it, too, notwithstanding the encouragement so manifestly afforded to such clamours by the Parliament itself;—not in its votes and measures—for we profess not to judge of these—but in its unequal meting out of justice towards such as attack its '*privileges*.' The infinite importance of this subject may perhaps excuse a short digression respecting it. The question of privilege lately moved in this country, had its origin in a foolish handbill, wherein a debating society, a spouting club, proposed to discuss the conduct of a member of Parliament, (one of the most honourable and conscientious men living, we verily believe, and one the least likely to act amiss from any mean, sordid, or sinister motive), in moving that the gallery should be cleared during the Walcheren inquiry. The House of Commons having taken this silly handbill into consideration, in an unlucky hour was pleased to resolve, that this proposal of discussing a member's conduct, implied an invasion of the privileges secured by the Bill of Rights, one section of which provided, that no man should, for any opinions delivered in Parliament, BE QUESTIONED IN ANY OTHER COURT—*or place*.—We purposely pass over the very strange INTERPRETATION of this part of the statute, upon which the proceedings in question were founded; because we are perfectly aware, that the less the

'lery, might soon advantageously contribute to the success of 'the operations carrying on in that quarter, which, moreover, 'depend upon the greater facility of communication. In the 'event of the total absence of the enemy's troops from those 'parts, a detachment of this description, without running any 'risk, might be sufficient in the first instance, and might pave 'the way for the successful issue of the greatest military enter-'prizes.'

From this general statement we may infer, that some direct assistance from England was, in Vienna at least, not viewed as altogether a chimerical project. But Prince Stahremberg, in a note to the Secretary of State, dated 18th May, throws a little more light on the subject; and, though only a few lines of this paper are given, enough is disclosed to prove, that more ample communications had, at a considerably earlier date, taken place between the two courts, upon the north of Germany. 'The di-'versions (says his Excellency) which the undersigned had the 'honour to point out to Mr Canning, and that especially which 'respects the north of Germany, would at present be of very 'great utility to Austria; but it is essential to determine upon 'it

the advocates of Parliamentary privilege (in the humblest ranks of whom we crave leave to claim the lowest place) say upon this point, the better it is for their cause; and because we entertain no doubt whatever, that a very short time will elapse, before the resolution just now alluded to must of necessity be rescinded. But we would mention, among the circumstances in despite of which we still cling to the constitutional privileges of Parliament, the unaccountable silence of that Body, so justly jealous of its privileges upon other occasions, in certain cases where the characters of some of its members have been assailed for their Parliamentary conduct in the most unmeasured way. This is a subject of such vital importance to the constitution, and so amply recognised by the Parliament itself as of this description, that we must be pardoned for recurring to particulars, and alluding even to the names of individuals. When Mr Yorke was slightly spoken of in a handbill, the Commons of England were in a flame,—all other business was at a stand,—nothing could be listened to, until ample satisfaction had been required of those who had dared to abuse the name of that highly respectable individual; and, after the person who respectfully, and even contritely, acknowledged himself the author of the unintentional offence, had lingered some months in prison upon that account, a motion to liberate him was negatived by a large majority of the House, and supported by almost all the great lawyers of all parties, including Sir Samuel Romilly, (a name ever dear to freedom and public virtue), and the Master of the Rolls.—When other members were attacked, how has the same House of Commons acted? The following remarks were published in a daily paper—but

'it without loss of time, and that its execution should immedi-'ately follow the determination.'

The English government, however, had already determined,—not indeed without loss of time, nor did the execution follow immediately. But the resolution had been taken to attempt a diversion of a different kind; which, had it been expounded to Prince Stahremberg in answer to this communication, would probably have drawn from him a repetition of Count Cobentzel's *bon mot* to the English minister at Vienna, when he unfolded, during the last war, a project of Mr Pitt's for 'rendering to our august and 'faithful ally the most effectual assistance,—by a prompt and 'effectual descent upon the island of Walcheren.' The Austrian is said to have answered, ''that he should lose not a mo-'ment in laying this intelligence before the Emperor his mas-'ter; and begged to be informed in what parts the said island 'was situated.' Indeed, the same garbled extracts contain proofs that such would still have been the reception of the project, which Mr Pitt had thrown aside as useless and impracticable, and which his disciples now revived.

The next extract is dated August 2d; and contains ample proof

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but in one devoted to the Treasury—about six months after Mr Gale Jones's commitment. We give them without a comment; willing to record the fact merely, as it is of no ordinary importance. After stating, that the House of Commons had agreed to an adjournment (during the King's illness), 'by a gratifying and triumphant majority of 343 to 58,' the writer adds—'Nor would the minority on this occasion, insignificant as 'it is, have amounted to any thing beyond *the contemptible Wardleite* '*and Burdettite members*, had not the mischievous Sir Francis artfully 'entrapped several members of the opposition party to divide with him 'upon the question so very indelicately pressed by him upon the feelings 'of the House.' The report of the physicians is then described; and the writer recurs to the division in the Commons, where he says—'Sir 'F. Burdett, after some *reprehensible and insidious insinuations* relative 'to the exercise of the executive power, *entrapped* Mr Whitbread and 'some others, who, to *hide a still greater shame*, and wear the semblance 'of consistency, found themselves compelled to vote with the *mischievous* '*Baronet*.'—'We are not (continues this elegant author) displeased at 'the *patriotic* expedient to which the *worthy Sir Francis*' (these words in *italics*) 'has thus had recourse, as it serves to shew *how contemptible* are 'the numbers of those whose nature is debased by the vile views of fac-'tion, and whose unmanly feelings and ungenerous hearts forbid, as it 'were, their sympathy, in a case which, to the everlasting honour of 'the country be it related, so deeply interests the best feelings, and 'fills with keen solicitude the fond bosoms of a people, who, in duly 'appreciating his virtues, prove themselves deserving the best Monarch 'that

proof, that, even then, after the dreadful battle of Wagram had led to the armistice of Znaym, it was not yet impossible for England to interpose her powerful assistance, had her vast resources been directed by men capable of despising popular clamour, of looking through apparent risks, or even certain cost, to the high value of the prize for which they were contending — the deliverance of Europe. It appears from this extract, that the details had been given to our minister, of the Emperor's arrangements for concentrating and recruiting his forces; and that no apprehensions were then entertained by the Austrian government, of being unable to meet the enemy again when the armistice expired. From another despatch we learn, that representations had been made against our expedition to the Scheldt,—that the change of its direction had been urged, — that 'a descent at the mouth of the Weser or Elbe' had been recommended,—and that although after we were fairly buried in the Scheldt, the Emperor did not wish us to lose still more time by a total change of system—then too late to be attempted; the only benefit he thought it possible to derive from our success against Antwerp, was the embarrassments of the French navy and

'that ever adorned a throne.' We beg such of our readers as take any intereſt in the queſtion of Parliamentary privilege, or in obſerving the conduct of the Houſe of Commons, to compare this account of the views and motives of *fifty-eight* of its members, with the handbill of Mr Gale Jones, and the letter of Sir Francis Burdett, for which both were committed to ſome months impriſonment.

We have in vain ſearched the Journals of the Houſe of Commons for any cenſure of this publication. We have found it commented upon by various periodical writers; we have ſeen it in every quarter; we have heard it every where the topic of converſation;—not indeed for its intrinſic merits;—not becauſe it could in anywiſe affect the diſtinguiſhed perſonages againſt whom its venom was levelled,—but from its connexion with the character of Parliament; and in no quarter have we been able to learn, that this moſt audacious publication excited for a ſingle moment the attention of the Honourable Aſſembly againſt which it was aimed. We are left in amazement;—we cannot explain theſe things. We refer back to the matter of Mr Yorke and Mr Gale Jones; and the more we reflect, the more deeply are we plunged in difficulties and doubts. The ſtrangeſt miſgivings come over us;—we are left to the moſt awkward and unpleaſant ſuſpicions;—we remain a prey to the ſallies of the moſt petulant enemies of Parliamentary privilege;—we feel ready to give in, ſhould we be attacked by the malignera of the Honourable Houſe.—And why? We had always conceived that privilege was a creature of the conſtitution, and not a production of any party. We had innocently imagined, that if a perſon invaded the rights of Members of Parliament,

and commerce, and the discontent arising from the proximity of the operations to the French capital. In the last of these extracts, dated September 20th, we find the Austrian cabinet recurring once more to the plan originally proposed, of a diversion in the north of Germany, now that the Walcheren expedition had failed. Nor is a shadow of doubt left on the face of these documents, that a landing there was the object to which, from the first, all the hopes of Austria were directed. That this was the expectation of the natives, especially of the discontented in Hanover, Hesse and elsewhere, is equally well known. Movements had in fact been made by various corps of insurgents, on the appearance of two or three English vessels, and the landing of a few men near Cuxhaven, upon the supposition, which immediately spread over the whole country, and gained additions from the sanguine hopes of those who circulated the joyful intelligence, that the English army had at last appeared, and was landing, to assist in the deliverance of Germany.

That the idea, then, of assisting Austria by a powerful diversion in the north of Germany, during the more advanced stage of the contest, or in the Mediterranean and Adriatic, at the

liament, he muſt expect the vengeance of that juſt and righteous Body, whether he might have attacked an adherent of the government, or an independent member. In the ſimplicity of our hearts, we had thought, ſtudying the conſtitution, as we fondly imagined, under its great practical expounders, that privilege of Parliament was ſomething belonging to the *Parliament*, and not to the *Ministry*; that it protected all perſons who ſerved in Parliament, and was not confined to thoſe who devoted themſelves to the Treaſury. We had vainly fancied, miſled by the debates of 1810, on Mr Gale Jones and Sir Francis Burdett's commitment,—miſled, too, by the ſubſequent arguments in the Court of King's Bench, that privilege of Parliament was ſomething recognized by the law,—capable of being defined and definitely underſtood,—reſembling a right at leaſt in this, that it was poſſeſſed by claſſes, and not by individuals,—that it belonged to all thoſe for whom its advocates claimed it on their own principles, and was not confined to ſuch as the miniſter of the hour might capriciouſly ſelect for its holders. Labouring under theſe unhappy deluſions, it is not wonderful that we ſhould have felt unable to believe our ſenſes, when we found ſuch things tolerated or encouraged in December, as infinitely ſurpaſſed all that had been even imputed to the sufferers of February.— And, while yet we are writing, new wonders crowd upon us. A government publication is preſented to our notice, from which it might not be very ſafe, for *us*, to make many extracts; in which the moſt virulent perſonal abuſe is levelled at the moſt reſpectable members of the Legiſlature; and the parliamentary conduct of each individual hoſtile to the miniſtry of the day, is plainly

the commencement of it, was not a speculation confined to a few political visionaries or partymen in this country, is sufficiently proved by even the scanty specimens of the correspondence between the two courts, which the British ministers have suffered to be produced. What the remainder of that correspondence may consist of,—whether it is likely that it would, if exhibited, prove the plan in question to be chimerical,—whether it is probable that the part suppressed contains reasons for withholding effectual assistance from our ally, and *justifies* the government in abstaining from those measures which its adversaries were perpetually recommending,—are questions which may be safely left to the decision of such as have remarked the disinterested conduct adopted by those men, whensoever their public duties clashed with the plans of their parliamentary campaigns. We are unwilling to press the discussion further in this direction, except to notice a very remarkable circumstance, which well informed persons did not hesitate to assert immediately after the unhappy issue of the campaign. It was said, that a great delay had been occasioned in coming to an arrangement with the court of Vienna, by the incredible orders under which our

plainly and unequivocally imputed to corruption or disaffection, without even the usual ceremonies of concealing the name, or involving it in general reflections. We take the following passages, almost at random, from a work entitled the '*Edinburgh Annual Register*,' published *since* the House of Commons furnished the signal instance last mentioned, of the impunity with which a part at least of its proceedings and members may be attacked—' Mr Whitbread rose, *as usual, to play the ' part of advocate for Buonaparte*, and to revile the allies of England.' After stating the substance of his speech, the *Historian of Europe* proceeds to speak of the ' preposterous prejudice and folly of such opi- ' nions drawing forth a reproof from Mr Ponsonby.' And he then adds—' This merited reproof did not sit easy upon Mr Whitbread; ' and when Mr Canning expressed an entire concurrence with the sen- ' timents which Mr Ponsonby had delivered, he (Mr W.) gave way ' to one of those *rude and virulent sallies in which his truculent dis- ' position* occasionally finds vent in Parliament.' An allusion is made to the pamphlet published by Mr Whitbread respecting Spain; and this upright and independent statesman, than whom one more open and honest in all his dealings does not exist, is accused, not of inconsistency merely, or change of opinion, but of professing sentiments in which he was not sincere. This strange rant then concludes as follows—' In this awkward and embarrassed manner, *advancing vile opinions*, and then qualifying them; and then again implying what he had before advanced, did Mr Whitbread struggle through the *crude consistence* of his discourse; *common sense* and *notorious facts* seeming to occa- ' sion

our minister acted; requiring him, before any stipulation should be entered into, to obtain reparation and atonement for the act of 1807, (so well known to have been compulsory on the part of Austria), of shutting the ports in the Adriatic against our ships. It must be allowed, that the language held by the King's ministers in Parliament on the 12th of May, when the subject of the war was first publicly broached, tended greatly to favour this report; for, instead of expressing kindness towards Austria, and anxiety, or, as might well have been expected, eagerness, to renew the relations of amity and cooperation with her, we find them preserving a distant and cold reserve – admitting that their communications had been of a nature to repress, rather than encourage her exertions,—and speaking with a kind of triumph, (in such circumstances little less than ludicrous, because it was in truth a triumph over our own interests) of reparation or atonement already received for the measure now referred to.

It is in connexion with this point, of the delay occasioned by our mismanagement in beginning the cooperation, that we touch, and only to leave it most willingly, upon another topic of blame, afforded by the appointment of the unfortunate and highly

' sion as little scruples to him as the breach of a treaty, the destruction ' of a friendly state, a private murder, or a public massacre, to *the* ' *Corsican, who was the great object of his admiration.*' (*History of Europe*, p. 303–305.)—The same tone is used almost every time that Mr Whitbread's name occurs; and a plain statement of his friendly disposition to the enemies of his country is upon all occasions introduced,—as if his enmity to *certain peculators* were not at the bottom of the whole of this trash. Other senators are treated in much the same way; but we extract the above specimen, from a recollection of what is reported to have passed in the House of Commons itself when a ministerial member incurred the displeasure of that Assembly for a far less virulent attack on Mr Whitbread upon the same grounds. In another place (p. 280.), a considerable body of the House is treated in the very spirit of the newspaper above quoted, and most probably indeed by the same hand. Speaking of Lord Folkestone's motion to amend the title of Mr Curwen's bill, the *European Historian* says—' This he ' put to the vote; and eight and twenty members *were indecorous* e' nough to vote with him.' Now, before concluding this long note, we must protest against any idea of our regretting that the Parliament does not visit such infringements of its privileges with severity. We would be understood only to express our amazement at the forbearance with which *certain kinds* of contempts are treated, and our earnest wish that the same liberty of discussing its proceedings may henceforward be dealt out to all. Mr Gale Jones and his bill-sticker were innocent, compared with this *Historian*, whether we consider his lucubrations in the

highly meritorious person, who, at that important crisis, was sent to supersede Mr Stuart, and represent the British government at Vienna. As Mr Stuart's standing in the diplomatic service was much greater, as he had for some years resided at Vienna in a high public station, and, we need not add, both endeared himself to the individuals of that court by his personal qualities, and made himself respected among all its parties, by his acknowledged talents for affairs;—as he most luckily was upon the spot, in a public capacity, at the moment—it was considered that his removal could be imputed to nothing but some small intrigues of office,—or some little personal dissatisfaction with the mode of his appointment, especially as the gentleman who was sent to supersede him, with every merit of his own, had only been known at Vienna in the subordinate situation of private secretary, and had filled that useful, but unobtrusive place, at the time when Mr Stuart was secretary of legation and chargé d'affaires. That such things should influence the fortunes of nations, is a somewhat melancholy consideration; but, whatever might be felt on this score in the case alluded to, was fated to be soon after forgotten, in the unexampled exhibition which speedily followed,—and held up, to an astonished world, the war minister and the foreign minister of this great nation distracting its councils by their personal differences, at a moment when the destinies of Europe were so visibly suspended on their issue;—the other members of the cabinet taking each his part in the dispute, and assisting one of the combatants in his stratagems against the other,—the whole military resources of the country placed for months, more important than whole ages used to be, in the hands of one whom all his colleagues considered incapable to guide them,—and the entire conduct of a most momentous war, at its most dreadful crisis, regulated with a view to the progress of those disgraceful cabinet intrigues. One other sight was soon after seen, which completed the grand wonder. The Parliament met, and debated, and inquired—and did *not* impeach;—nay, it tendered its approbation—to these our rulers.

For why should we require any further documents to explain the preference of the Scheldt to the Weser—the attack upon a

E e 3 fleet

the daily paper or in the annual volume. The House well consulted its own dignity, it may be said, in taking no notice of his effusions; but, then, the same course would have best befitted that dignity in the former case also.—If any apology is required for this digression, it may, perhaps, be found in the circumstance, that the question of privilege formed a very fatal episode in the parliamentary discussion of the subjects from which we have digressed.

fleet in a remote harbour, connected with no larger measures, and incapable of producing any one earthly good, except the capture or destruction of that fleet—to the liberation of the north of Germany—the overthrow of every thing like a French force in that quarter—and the effectual support of Austria in the mighty struggle for her existence? What occasion is there for more papers to show how it came to pass, that, with an armament like ours, the most important were postponed to the most insignificant objects? To what purpose suspend our judgment on these points, in order to see the official correspondence; detailing, on the one hand, the real benefits anticipated by Austria from the effective cooperation of a British army with the German insurrection, and the vast armies on the Danube; —and parading, on the other hand, the pretences—the false pretences—on which that assistance was refused? Have we not, under the hands of the ministers themselves, ample explanations of this afflicting matter? Do we not now know, from their own confessions, signed by themselves, that the war minister was considered by them as unfit to conduct so great an operation as the Spanish campaign? Could they then have added to that burthen the still greater load of a war in Germany?—It was necessary to do something; and, for a certain time, it was agreed by those candid and ingenuous colleagues, to preserve appearances with their unfortunate brother, and to bear with his incapacity yet a while. Therefore, they suffered him to continue, what they deemed his mismanagement of the war in Spain—but gave him no fresh troops to misguide there; and they thought he might be trusted with a short and safe expedition after ships and dockyards, as things of that kind had generally succeeded, and were at any rate soon over!—When Oxenstiern sent his son to a conference of ministers, and told him he might go and see how little wisdom it took to govern the world, he spoke of the folly and weakness of man at its natural average. Had he seen it, as we have, heightened by complication with a cold-blooded contempt of every public feeling and even of the common decencies of political life—it may be doubted whether he would have suffered the youth to contaminate himself by holding communion with a class of men, to belong to which would, in those simple times, have been held personally disgraceful.

For the same reason that it was deemed safe to trust the war minister with an expedition to the Scheldt, it appeared quite proper to let him attack a few small islands in the Bay of Naples,—and strut a little among the islands on the coast of Greece. Those spots were too far removed from the scene of the war, to

to render it possible that our Sicilian army should come in contact with the enemy; and an act of possession, however useless, always makes some figure in the Gazette, even if followed, as was the case at Ischia and Procida, by a speedy abandonment. In the mean time, the Tyrolese were left to their fate—the German insurrection, unsupported, gradually subsided—the Austrian armies durst not, single-handed, renew the conflict,—and France dictated another peace, far more disgraceful to Austria than any of the other treaties, because it was coupled with an alliance, which, for some time at least, must suspend all connexion with England, and all hostility to her enemies.

Is it demanded, in conclusion, wherefore we speak in so confident a tone of the results of an experiment which was not tried, and to which, indeed, nothing equal in magnitude has ever been attempted? We make answer, first, that the Walcheren expedition cost us twenty thousand men, and utterly failed; and that the most unhappy event of a landing on the Continent, could not possibly have been more disastrous. But, next, we say, that our confident tone is derived, both from the facts already detailed respecting our ally, and the state of the people in Germany, of which we have already spoken at sufficient length. But, above all, from a firm, and, as we sincerely believe, a well-grounded trust, in the courage and discipline of fifty thousand English soldiers,—a force which, wheresoever it may be led against an enemy, we confidently believe to be invincible, except by an extreme disproportion of numbers,—or by those powers of pestilence and climate, with which no human prowess can contend.

Art. VIII. *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul, being the Substance of Observations made during a Mission to that Country, in the Year* 1793. By Colonel Kirkpatrick. Illustrated with a Map, and other Engravings. 4to. pp. 386. London, 1811.

No Englishman had hitherto passed beyond the range of mountains which separates the valley of Nepaul from the north-eastern parts of Bengal; when, towards the close of the year 1792, an opportunity was unexpectedly presented to the British Government in India, of removing the veil which had so long separated the two countries. The Court of Pekin, resenting certain encroachments which had been made by the Government of Nepaul upon the rights of the Lama of Thibet,

 whom

whom the Emperor of China had for some time taken under his protection,—or, in other words, subjected to his yoke,—came to the resolution of punishing the aggressor; and for this purpose detached an army, which passed the mountains of Thibet, penetrated nearly to *Khâtmândû*, the capital of Nepaul; and, in the minority of the Rajah, alarmed the Regency into an application to the British Government for their interference. That Government now beheld, for the first time, the singular spectacle of a numerous Chinese force occupying a position which, from the heights of Dhyboon, commanded a distant prospect of the valley of the Ganges, and of the richest of the East-India Company's possessions. The necessity of conciliating the Chinese Government, and of watching over our interests on the other side of Asia, prevented our military interference; but Colonel Kirkpatrick was sent as a mediator, to see if it were possible, by any diplomatic arrangements, to put an end to the differences which subsisted between the two nations. The ambassador, however, arrived too late; the Regency of Nepaul was intimidated by the danger; and conditions were entered into with the Chinese, extremely unfavourable to the independence of the country. The residence of Colonel Kirkpatrick extended only to a few weeks; and during a considerable part of that little time, he was confined with a fever. He has therefore little to tell; but, where our former information was so scanty, * that little is worth having.

No information respecting foreign countries, whether abundant or deficient, can be communicated without prints and large margins; but this is the affair of the bookseller. If others provide knowledge, it is his business to consider how it sells best. Of the book itself we shall proceed to give a short summary.

Nepaul is one of those elevated and happy valleys that, like Cashmire, are enclosed in the great range of secondary mountains which branch out towards the south and the west, from the gigantic ridge of Himalaya, and the lofty regions of Tartary. On the eastern side, the possessions of the *Goorkhali*, or present reigning

* There is a pretty full account of Nepaul in the second volume of the Asiatic Researches, communicated by Sir John Shore from the observations of a Romish missionary who resided for several years in the country, which Colonel Kirkpatrick does not seem to have consulted. In the year 1801, too, Dr Buchanan made an expedition into that country, of which it is understood that he drew up a very full account. But this important narrative, with all the information it may contain, the Honourable East-India Company have [illegible] since, in the true spirit of monopoly, kept carefully to themselves. The Doctor's manuscript they regard as their property; and do not think fit to admit the public to the knowledge of it.

reigning family, are bounded by Bochtan, or the country of the Deb Rajah; to the south-east, they touch upon our districts of Rungamutty and Cooch-behar; on the north-east they are divided from Thibet, by the alpine ridge in which the passes of *Phul-lak* and *Kooti* are situated. To the southward, the Nepaul territories are bounded by the Purgunnahs of *Durbungah*, *Tirhoot*, and *Ghemparum*. To the south-west is *Budrampore* of *Goruck-pore*; adjoining to which is the tributary principality of *Boot-wal*. To the westward, the Nepaul borders touch on various parts of *Oude*; and to the north-west are divided from various districts of *Rohilcund* by the *Almorah* hills. To the north-west they are bounded by the dominions of the Rajahs of *Serinugur* and *Sirmor*, and by parts of *Thibet*; all of them situated beyond the snowy ridge of *Himma-leh*. It will be seen, by running the eye over Major Rennel's map, that while the Nepaul territories include between their eastern and western limits no less a space than 12 geographical degrees, they extend only two degrees from north to south, and for the most part exhibit a slip of even less than a degree in breadth.

Khâtmândû, the capital of Nepaul, stands on the eastern bank of the *Bishmutty*, along which it runs for a mile. Its breadth is inconsiderable, nowhere exceeding half a mile. The most striking objects which it presents to the eye, are its wooden temples. These buildings are not confined to the body of the town, but are scattered over its environs, and particularly along the sides of a quadrangular tank or reservoir. Of the number of these structures, the Colonel gives us a very magnificent, though vague idea, by saying, that 'there are nearly as many 'temples as houses, and as many idols as inhabitants.'—The idols however cannot be very few, if it be true, as he afterwards assures us, that the total number of the Nepaulese deities is reckoned by the well informed to be 'two thousand seven 'hundred and thirty-three.' Besides these, Khâtmândû contains several other temples on a large scale, and constructed of brick, with two or three sloping roofs, diminishing as they ascend, and terminating in pinnacles, which, as well as some of the superior roofs, are splendidly gilt, and produce a very picturesque and agreeable effect. The houses are of brick, and tile, with pitched roofs towards the street. They are frequently surrounded by wooden balconies, of open carved work, and of a singular fashion; the front-piece, instead of rising perpendicularly, projecting in a sloping direction towards the eaves of the roof. They are of two, three, or four stories, generally of a mean appearance. The streets are narrow [and] filthy. Khâtmândû, with its dependant towns and villages, may contain about 22,000 houses; but the town itself, if ten people

people be allowed to an house (which Colonel Kirkpatrick thinks rather a low computation), he does not believe contains more than 50,000 persons. The next most considerable towns, are Patn, and Bhatgong, and *Khirtipoor*; the reduction of which last place cost the *Ghoorkhali* so much trouble, that, in resentment of the resistance made by the inhabitants, he cut off all the men's noses. This horrid act of barbarity took place during the residence of the Romish missionary already alluded to; and Colonel Kirkpatrick, at the distance of 25 years, was painfully reminded of it, by observing, that a great proportion of the people appointed to transport their baggage across the hills were deprived of their noses. To perpetuate the memory of this glorious exploit, the clement sovereign ordered the name of the place to be changed to *Naskatapoor*; which signifies, it seems, 'the town of men without noses.'

The most northerly part of *Nepaul* scarcely lyes in an higher parallel of latitude than 27 degrees and a half: Yet, this valley enjoys (in certain respects) the climate of some of the southern parts of Europe. The tops of the surrounding mountains are sprinkled with snow for several days together during winter; and it sometimes falls in the valley below: An hoar frost commonly covers the ground in that season; but though the cold is occasionally, for three or four months, severe enough to freeze the pools and tanks of standing water, yet the rivers are never frozen. Nepaul seems to be indebted for its favourable climate entirely to its great elevation; for, though lying in the vicinity of a region buried in eternal snow, its temperature is little affected by that circumstance; since, besides the shelter it derives from the interjacent mountains, it is affirmed, that a north, or *himmaleh* wind, never blows in this valley, except now and then in transient gusts. The height of Nepaul above the level of the sea, as indicated by the barometer, cannot be less than 4000 feet; and yet the thermometer, during the stay of Colonel Kirkpatrick, was once at 87 degrees. A little after sunrise, it commonly stood between 50 and 54; never lower than 47: and at nine in the evening, fluctuated from 62 to 66. The mean temperature from the 17th to the 25th inclusive, was 67 degrees. The seasons of Nepaul are pretty nearly the same with those of Upper Hindostan. The rain commences a little earlier, and sets in from the south-east quarter: it is usually very copious, and ends towards the middle of October. Their rivers are at this season very subject to overflow their banks.

In describing the climate of Nepaul, we must not con[illegible] ourselves to the valley; a few hours' journey enables its inhabitants to pass out of it at pleasure, by ascending the sides of the mountains,

mountains, through a considerable variety of temperature; and in three or four days, they may exchange (by moving from *Noakote* to *Khenoo*) the heat of Bengal for the cold of Russia. It is not improbable that a short residence in Nepaul would, in all disorders proceeding from relaxation, prove quite as effectual as a voyage to Europe; and the patient would enjoy the inestimable advantage of proceeding from one climate to another, till he had found that which was best suited to his case. There are few cases, perhaps, that would make it necessary for an invalid to seek an higher climate in winter than that of the valley of *Chitlong*, or in summer a more elastic air than that which he would breathe on the summit of *Chandraghiri*—a summit whose spontaneous productions are the raspberry, the mulberry, the walnut and the peach; and where it is probable the fruits and esculent vegetables of England might easily be cultivated. The salubrity of the more elevated summits is abundantly proved by the looks of the inhabitants. The fever called the *owl*, is confined to the lowest vallies: but this is not the case with regard to the guttural tumours known in Hindostan by the name of *ghaigha*, and in Nepaul by that of *ganoo*, a · which appears to be the same with the *goitre* of the Alps. These *goitres*, in Nepaul, are believed by many of the inhabitants to be an effect of imagination in their pregnant women, who are constantly exposed to the disgusting sight of the protuberant pouches of monkies, with which the sacred grove of Gorja-sirre swarms, and which it would be an act of the greatest impiety to dislodge.

It was formerly a very prevalent idea among the people of Hindostan, that Nepaul contained gold mines. It is now pretty clear, however, that (except the small quantity sifted out of the sands of certain rivulets which pass through, without rising in the Nepaul territories) the latter produce not a grain of gold. But, though Nepaul has no gold mines, it produces almost every other metal. The iron of Nepaul is admirable. In copper, they have been undersold by the Europeans; so that metal found, and smelted in England, and transported across half the habitable globe, is sold at a rupee per seer; while the Nepaul copper, found contiguous to the very market, cannot be afforded at a less price than a rupee and a half per seer. The houses in Nepaul are universally built of brick; because the use of stone (though every where to be procured within an easy distance) would be intolerably expensive in a country not admitting either of wheel carriages or of conveyance by water. Hence, notwithstanding the great plenty and variety of stones, adapted to the purposes of building, which are to be met with in this country, among which are some kinds both of marble and

and jasper, the sight of a stone edifice or structure of any kind, is more uncommon in Nepaul than in Bengal. There is said to be a very considerable mass of rock crystal near *Ghoorkha*; and limestone, as well as slate, seems to abound every where. There are, however, no lime-kilns in this country; the cement commonly employed being mud, which the natives pretend answers, in their moist climate, better than lime mortar.

The cattle of Nepaul, generally speaking, do not seem much superior to those commonly met with in Bengal and the Upper provinces. The honey is excellent; not so the cabbages or peas, the only vegetables which the ambassadors met with, and both of which they represent to be of the very worst kind. Among the productions of this luxuriant soil, are to be reckoned the *tooral*, a species of yam, and the *kuraila*, a kind of wild asparagus. These form a considerable part of the subsistence of the poorer sort of inhabitants.

The inhabitants consist principally of the two superior classes of Hindoos, and of a race called the Newars, who are probably of Tartar or Chinese origin. The former of these (who compose the army of the state, and engross all situations of trust, whether civil or military) are found dispersed promiscuously throughout the country. The Newars are confined almost entirely to the valley of Nepaul proper. The *Dhenwars* and *Mhanjees* are the husbandmen and fishers of the western district; and the Bhootias occupy (generally speaking) such parts of the Kucha as are included in the Nepaul territories. The Bhanras are a sort of separatists from the Bhootias: they are supposed to amount to about 5000. They shave their heads, like the *Bhootias*; observe many of the religious rites, as well as civil customs, of these idolaters,—in a dialect of whose language they are said to preserve their sacred writings. To the eastward, some districts of Nepaul are inhabited by tribes, of which little more is known than the name. The Newars are divided into several castes, or orders, most of which seem to have derived their origin, like those among the more ancient Hindoos, from a primitive classification, according to trades and occupations. The total population is estimated at about half a million.

As Nepaul has been ruled for many centuries past by Rajepoot princes; and as the various classes of Hindoos appear at all periods to have composed a great part of its population, we are naturally prepared to find a general resemblance in manners and customs between this part of its inhabitants and the kindred sects established in the adjacent countries. The distinctions, however, which separate them, whether in point of manners, customs, or dress, are so faint as to be scarcely discernible;

discernible; and are infinitely slighter than might have been expected, when it is considered that Nepaul is the only Hindoo country that has never been disturbed by any Mussulman power. Between the Newars, indeed, and the Hindoo inhabitants of Nepaul, there subsist very essential differences; all of them abundantly proving that they are an insulated race of men, whose origin is not to be traced to any of the nations immediately surrounding them. They are a peaceable, industrious, and even ingenious people; much attached to the superstition they profess, and tolerably well reconciled to the chains of their *Ghoorkali* conquerors, although these have not condescended to conciliate them by the means which their former conquerors adopted; who, among other compliances with the usages of the *Newars*, made no scruple of feeding on the flesh of buffaloes. The courage of this race is spoken of very slightingly by the *Purbutties*, or Hindoo mountaineers; and they are very rarely employed in the armies of the empire. Their occupations are agriculture, arts and manufactures. Their modes of husbandry prove them to be capable of great labour; the burdens which they carry, show that they possess great corporal strength; while many of their mechanical operations evince that they are well skilled in the useful arts. They are, in general, of middle size, with broad shoulders and chests; very stout limbs; round, and rather flat, faces; small eyes; low, and somewhat spreading, noses; and open and cheerful countenances. Many of the women at *Bhatgong* have a florid tint upon their cheeks: For the most part, however, their complexion, like that of the men, is between a sallow and a copper colour. It is remarkable enough that the *Newar* women (like those among the *Nairs*) may have as many husbands as they please, being at liberty to divorce them continually on the slightest pretences. The popular religion of Nepaul differs in nothing from the *Hinduism* established in Bengal, except in so far as the secluded nature of the country may have tended to preserve it in a state of greater purity.

The government of Nepaul, like that of all Asiatic governments, is despotic. The *Choutra* is the prime minister of the Rajah, to whom he is invariably akin. He transacts the business of the country; and, like other prime ministers nearer home, without forgetting himself; for besides his jaghires, he has eight *annas* on every kaith or rice plantation throughout the country. These *kaiths* are again fleeced by the four *Kâjees*, or lords of the treasury, at the rate of one rupee per *kaith*. Next come the *Sirdars*, or military commanders; and they take two *annas* per *kaith*. Two more are paid to the *Khurdars*, or secretaries. The *Kupperdar* has the care of the Rajah's jewels and wardrobe. To these, as the

the principal officers of the Nepaul government, are to be added, the *Tichsâli*, or superintendant of the mint; the *Dhurma-Udhibihar*, or chief judge,—an officer who reminds us of our own Lord Chancellor,—for his *dhurma-dhun*, or fees, are said to be very great. The law in Nepaul, or the administration of it, is so indifferent, that Behadur Shah is said at one time to have entertained the project of applying to our Government for a code of laws, with a view to the better regulation of the country.

The trade of Nepaul is by no means so extensive as it might soon become under proper regulations. Some of the restraints by which it was shackled have been removed, by the treaty concluded with the Company in 1792; but it still languishes under several very impolitic restrictions; originating partly in the jealousy, partly in the ignorance of the *Nepaul* Government; but attributable also in a great degree to the monopolies which certain *Uluts*, or mercantile *Gossairs*, have long been in possession of, and which they labour to preserve by every corrupt and insidious mean in their power. In short, the injury done to the commerce of Nepaul, by these mercantile gossairs, and their monopoly, is precisely the same as that which is done to the commerce of our settlements in the East, by the mercantile gossairs of our own country to whom we have granted a monopoly. If it were not for this species of obstacle, there is reason to believe that an extensive trade might be carried on between *Thibet* and the Company's dominions, by way of Nepaul, highly beneficial both to the Government of the latter, and the commercial interests of England. The exports of Nepaul are, elephants, elephants' teeth, rice, timber, hides, ginger, terra japonica, turmeric, wax, honey, resin, fruit, pepper, spices, ghee, lamp oil and cotton. The duties on the Company's trade to Bengal, are regulated by the treaty before-mentioned. The duties on articles passing between Thibet and Nepaul are enormous. The Company import into Nepaul, woollen goods, chintzes, shawls, raw silk, gold and silver lace, carpets, cutlery, cloves, sandal wood, allum, quicksilver, dyeing woods, tin, zinck, lead, soap, tobacco, coral, &c. &c. &c.

The *Newars*, who are almost the only artisans, appear to be acquainted with most of the handicraft occupations of their Behar neighbours. Of cloths, however, they fabricate only a coarse kind. They work very well in iron, copper and brass, and are particularly ingenious in carpentry; though it is remarkable they never use a saw, but divide their wood, of whatever size, by the chisel and mallet. They export to the southward some of their brazen utensils; and their cutlery is by no means contemptible. They gild extremely well,—can cast bells of a large size,—make paper,—distil spirits, and prepare fermented liquors.

liquors. The silver brought into Nepaul by way of Thibet, must be brought to the mint, as no silver is allowed to pass into Hindostan. In exchange for his silver, the merchant receives rupees, and loses from 10 to 12 per cent. by the transaction; 4 per cent. on account of coinage, and 8 per cent. from alloy. Gold has usually been a monopoly in the hands of Government, who oblige the traders to sell at the mint at a very reduced rate. The Government is supposed to be rich. Of the strength of their army, Colonel Kirkpatrick knows very little; though he considers their artillery to be contemptible. The irregular troops are armed with matchlocks, bows and arrows. The regulars are clothed somewhat in the slovenly manner of the *Purgunnah* Sepoys formerly in the Company's service; with this difference, that the soldiers have no uniform dress,—some appearing in blue, some in green coats. They are all armed with muskets, and some with muskets fit for service. The *regular* force consists at present of from 50 to 60 companies, each containing 140 firelocks. These *Nepaul* regulars neither march nor carry their arms in a style any thing superior to that of the rabble ordinarily dignified with the title of Sepoys, in the service of the Hindostan powers; nor does their discipline appear to be more strict; as any soldier, upon any disgust he may experience, conceives himself at full liberty to quit his corps.

'They are, however,' says Colonel Kirkpatrick, 'brave, and capable of sustaining great hardships, as was abundantly manifested in the return of the Nepaul army from Diggercheh, or Teshoo Loomboo, in the year 1790, when, incumbered with the spoils of that city, they were induced by various considerations, though the winter was considerably advanced, to take the Khartah and Huttea route, instead of the ordinary one by Koote, at the latter of which passes, the commanders, it seems, were aware they should find it impracticable to elude the examination of the officers stationed there, in order to take an account of the booty they had acquired. The perils to which they were exposed on this occasion, were of a kind which it would be little imagined in Europe an Eastern army was either capable of supporting, or liable to encounter on the very borders, as it were, of Bengal. In short, it is an unquestionable fact, that in crossing that ridge of mountains which stretches in a south-east direction from the vicinity of Koote to the country of the Limbooas and of the Dewa Durmah, it was with the utmost difficulty and danger that they penetrated through the snow, with which their track was covered to a depth that proved fatal, in several instances, in the slightest false step. They were in this dreadful situation for five or six days, during which they were obliged to pass the night on the bare snow, after hardening it for that purpose as well as they could, though their labour was sometimes scarcely over, when a fresh fall would nearly bury them. The loss of the army in this retreat,

treat, which was conducted by Damoodur Paurdi and Bem Shah, is said to have amounted to upwards of 2000 men, great numbers of whom appear to have been frozen to death. The remedy, so common and so effectual in the northern parts of Europe and America, in frost-bitten cases, was unfortunately unknown to these people, who, on our mentioning it to them, lamented bitterly that they had not been acquainted with it at this period, when many of their companions were daily obliged to be abandoned in this wretched condition, while others deemed themselves happy to escape with the loss of their fingers and toes.' p. 215–216.

The Pundits of Nepaul are not inferior to their brethren in such branches of science as are cultivated in Hindostan. Astronomy, and its evil concomitant, judicial astrology, appear to be their fervent studies. There is, perhaps, no place in India, where a search after antient and valuable *Sanscrit* manuscripts, in every department of learning, would be more successful than in the valley of Nepaul, and particularly at *Bhatgong*, the Benares of the *Ghoorkali* territory. Colonel Kirkpatrick quotes an instance of a single private library, amounting (according to his information) to 15,000 volumes. The Sanscrit is considerably cultivated by the Nepaul Pundits: there are, besides, eight vernacular languages spoke in the dominions of that kingdom.

Besides his own immediate estates, there is hardly any division of the *Ghoorkali* conquests in which the prince has not appropriated a greater or smaller share of the lands to himself. Some of these estates are cultivated by husbandmen, with whom he equally divides the produce; others are managed by agents of his own, and tilled by the neighbouring husbandmen, who are obliged to dedicate a certain number of days in the year to his service; and others are farmed out. From those of the first description, he draws almost all the supplies for the consumption of his kitchen, and the other departments of the household. *Birtha* estates (rarely given but to Brahmins) are rent free, saleable and hereditary, though liable to be forfeited for certain crimes. It must be observed, that though, strictly speaking, the sovereign has no claim on the proprietor of such lands for any thing more than his prayers, yet the latter occasionally considers it as prudent to propitiate his prince by more substantial offerings. This is particularly necessary on the accession of a new rajah. The *Soona-birtha* service is copyhold, renewable on the death of every rajah,—a tenure very favourable to loyal opinions. The *Kohrya* and *Bari* lands (destitute of springs and rivers) are cultivated by the poor, at a tax proportionable to the number of ploughs and spades they employ. In the *Kaith* lands, the proprietor divides the produce equally with the cultivator, who is, in his turn, at all the charge of tillage, seed excepted.

cepted. Many of the Kaith lands yield three harvests; one of rice, one of wheat, and one of an excellent vegetable called *Tori*. The sugar cane is cultivated a good deal in the Kaith lands. In the generality of kaiths, seed is reckoned to yield from twenty to thirty fold,—a fertility not much exceeding that of the best arable land in this island. The plough is scarcely known among the Newars; it being only of late that a few of those occupying the lands about *Thankote* have been prevailed upon to employ this instrument of tillage, their prejudice against the use of which would seem to originate in the extraordinary reverence they entertain for the bullock; since, though they have no scruple with regard to the buffalo, they deem it the highest sacrilege to approach even the image of the former animal, except in a posture of adoration; insomuch, that a malicious person, wishing to suspend the agricultural operations of his neighbour, would be sure to effect his purpose, by placing a stone or wooden sign of a cow in the midst of his field. The expenses of the military part of the establishment are for the most part discharged by assignments of land; though, in some instances, the soldier receives his pay either from the treasury or the granary.

Such is the account which the present publication affords us of Nepaul. Scanty, indeed; but, from the deficiency of our information respecting that country, worth giving. The political situation of Nepaul is curious. Subdued it must be in reality, as it is at present by name. The question is, by whom will it be subdued? If it falls under our dominion, the usual routine is an ambassador, a treacherous treaty, a subsidiary force, a motion in Parliament by Mr Creevy, provision for Directors' sons in the ceded country, and the customary apparatus of Methodist preachers. If this is not its fate, it must become a great tea-board—be vexed by ugly mandarins, and succumb to the laws of the illustrious Fum-Fo. Unhappy country, that must fall by the aggression of an Emperor,—or perish by the Roman ambition of the Chair, and Deputy Chair!

ART. IX. *Remarks on several Parts of Turkey. Part I. Ægyptiaca, or some Account of the Antient and Modern State of Egypt, as obtained in the Years* 1801, 1802. By William Hamilton, F. A. S. Accompanied with Etchings, from original Drawings taken on the Spot, by the late Charles Hayes, of the Royal Engineers. London: Printed for T. Payne, &c. 1809.

SINCE the age of Herodotus to the present time, no country seems to have attracted the attention of strangers so powerfully as Egypt. It is not only in the grandeur, the number, the

the variety, and the antiquity of Egyptian monuments, but in their peculiarity, that the traveller finds matter for curious and interesting speculation. The ancient inhabitants of the country appear to have been a people who lived for themselves, and by themselves; who owed little to their intercourse with strangers; and who drew their means of improvement entirely from their own resources. Whether we look to their sacred or their civil institutions;—to the remnants which announce their progress in the arts;—or to the testimonies which the Greek and Roman writers have left us of their proficiency in the sciences, we meet perpetually with traces of a peculiar and original character.

That the ancient Egyptians had made considerable advances in the sciences, and particularly in Geometry, Astronomy, and Mechanics, is indubitable; and that many of their notions concerning the divine nature were both just and sublime, will be found to be equally true. In the midst of all this, however, we meet with traces, at least as conspicuous, of the grossest ignorance, bigotry, and depravity. On one side of the picture, we behold men capable of elevating their minds to the contemplation of the first, eternal, and immaterial principle,—of calculating with precision, through the lapse of ages, the motions of the celestial bodies,—and of enacting wise and salutary laws, of which the influence extended from the monarch to the peasant. On the other side of this same picture, we see the light of Religion obscured by the darkest clouds of Superstition,—the fair face of Science covered by the veil of Mystery,—and the disciples of a barbarous Fanaticism alive to no feeling of shame, and to no sense of moral obligation.

If we turn to examine their progress in the arts, we shall probably be surprised to find, that the Egyptians, who knew so much, should yet have known so little. When we consider the stupendous monuments of their labours, we can scarcely doubt, that they felt and aspired to the Sublime; but of the Beautiful, they seem to have had scarcely any idea. In Painting and in Sculpture, their taste seems at all times to have been very low and imperfect. The forms which they represented are often deficient, rude and unfinished. There is, indeed, almost universally, a kind of stiffness by which we recognise the productions of the Egyptian artists, who appear never to have remarked the beauty of the waving outline, nor the graces of its elegant and endless varieties. But while we admit and state these defects, we should feel it difficult to contemplate, without emotions of awe and curiosity, the remains which still attest the departed grandeur of a powerful and scientific people, of the commencement of whose civilization there is no remembrance, and of the beginning of whose

whose empire there is no record. We receive then with pleasure, and without being very fastidious as to its literary merits, *some*, or *any*, account which can add to the stock of our knowledge concerning the state of ancient Egypt; while its modern state ought, indeed, to be interesting to every Briton, who remembers, that in bringing it to what it is, so much glory has been won and lost by England.

The book which we have now to examine is a book of travels; and the remarks of its author on the ancient and modern state of the country which he visited, are consequently delivered as they happened to be suggested by circumstances, and with fully as much carelessness and want of method as belongs to this kind of writing. For the convenience both of our readers and of ourselves, we shall first follow Mr Hamilton as an antiquarian, and afterwards consider his observations on the present state of Egypt.

1. On the 25th of October 1801, Mr Hamilton, accompanied by Captain Leake and Lieutenant Hayes, quitted Cairo, with the intention, if it were found practicable, of visiting Upper Egypt, and even of advancing into Nubia. The state of the country, however, compelled the travellers to abandon their enterprize, after they had reached *Es-Souan*, and had explored the interesting remains in its neighbourhood.

The first excursion which they made from Cairo, was for the purpose of examining the *Bahhr Jusuf*, the most important of the Egyptian canals; and likewise in order to ascertain the existence of that body of water, which D'Anville has called the *Bathen*, and which he conjectured to be the lake *Mœris*. Mr Hamilton seems to think, that there is no such artificial bason as that named the *Bathen* by D'Anville; but he believes, that the *Bahhr Jusuf* was the canal by which, according to Herodotus, the waters of the river were carried into the lake *Mœris*, now called the *Birket El-Carun*.

Mr Hamilton, like others who have visited the same region, was attracted by the fame of the island of *Philoe*, of which the ruins have been so justly celebrated. In examining the remains, however, of the great temple, his most sanguine expectations were exceeded; and he found, that the *minuit præsentia famam* was yet more inapplicable to this, than to the other monuments of wonder-bearing Egypt. After having given a clear and ample detail of the remains of this superb edifice, our author observes, that 'great ingenuity and labour have been employed 'to disfigure its sculptures: This,' continues Mr Hamilton, 'is to be attributed to the zeal of the early Christians, perhaps 'in great part to the politics of the Iconoclasts, who ensured

'to themselves the favour of the Grecian court, by a persecu-'tion of the Heathens, and by a punctual obedience to the or-'ders issued from Constantinople for the destruction of Heathen 'as well as Christian images.' We mean not to defend the melancholy phrenzy of the barbarous Iconoclasts, whose ravages have impaired, or destroyed, so many of the finest monuments of human art; but we think it very likely, in the case before us, that the Mahometan and Christian zealots may fairly share between them the disgrace of having laboured to disfigure these antient and elaborate sculptures.

Mr Hamilton proceeded to visit the islands of *Biggé* and *Elephantine*. In the latter formerly stood the temple of *Cnuphis*, whom he calls, we think improperly, the son of Isis and Osiris. —ἀλλὰ ὃν καλοῦσιν αὐτοὶ Κνὴφ, ἀγγέννητον ὄντα καὶ ἀθάνατον. (*Plut. de Iside et Osir.*)

In the neighbourhood of *Es-Souan*, Mr H. found a small temple, which Pococke imagined to have been the once celebrated observatory of *Syene*. 'With a view of ascertaining the 'fact, (says our author), we employed for several days fifteen 'or sixteen men and boys in clearing it, in the hopes of dis-'covering the well, at the bottom of which, at the summer 'solstice, the sun's disk was reflected entire. We had not, 'however, time to come to the pavement, and, therefore, have 'only facilitated the labours of any other traveller who may in-'dulge the same hopes. We found, indeed, a small round 'stopper within the inner chamber, which may have belonged 'to the hole or well to which Strabo alludes.' This story of the well is certainly a little embarrassing. It seems difficult to conceive, that such a tradition could have been handed down from age to age, without some foundation. If it had not been a fact, in what way should it have been thought of at all? It is evident from his own words, that Strabo believed Syene to have been within the tropic. But it appears from the calculations of Nouet, that this could not have been the case for nearly 3600 years before the time of Strabo. This author, therefore, must have believed the actual existence of the fact on the faith of an ancient tradition. Strabo, l. xvii. The question is rendered yet more perplexing by the following remarks of Mr Hamilton. 'Until the time when Bruce travelled in Egypt, it was 'generally supposed that *Es-Souan* was within the tropic: but 'he first discovered the error; and the more precise observa-'tions of Nouet have since proved, that instead of being in 'the latitude 23° 28′ as Bruce places it, it is in 24° 8′ 6″; thus 'making a difference of nearly forty minutes. The latter as-'tronomer, however, admits that Syene was formerly under the

'tropic,

'tropic, and calculates that this might have been the case 5400 'years ago; the date he gives, from his other observations, to 'the time when astronomy most flourished among the Egyp- 'tians.' We cannot help, then, being a little puzzled with this story of the well at *Syene* to which, however, there could be no reason for not attaching credit, if it did not interfere with the testimonies on which our chronologers have built their systems.

Of the temples of *Edfou* Mr Hamilton has given a very detailed account; but we were rather surprized, that an Egyptian antiquarian should have told us, that the *Scarabæus*, or beetle, 'is said to have been typical of the sun, because it changes its 'appearance and place of abode every six months, or because 'it is wonderfully productive.' Our ignorance of natural history prevents us from being able to ascertain, whether the beetle change its appearance every six months, or not; but we suppose that if it does so, it comes also in the course of ages to follow the retrograde motion of the fixed stars, for, without that sympathetic metamorphosis, it might have led its astronomical adorers into considerable errors. The explanation of this symbol, given by Clemens Alexandrinus, though evidently that of a man who was repeating what he did not understand, appears to us more satisfactory than Mr Hamilton's. At the same time, the explanation of Clemens seems to prove, that the Egyptians had a pretty clear notion of the solar system; but as the moderns arrogate the merit of all discoveries on this subject to themselves, we think it better to say no more about it.

The description of *Eleithias* forms a very interesting article in this volume. 'About 1200 feet to the south-south-west of 'the town (says Mr Hamilton) are the sepulchres of the an- 'cient inhabitants. These are excavated from a rugged insu- 'lated hill of the common sandstone of the country. To the 'largest of the sepulchres there are commonly attached anti- 'chambers or grottoes, the walls of which are covered with 'paintings still uninjured, except where they have been de- 'stroyed by the mischievous disposition of the inhabitants in 'the vicinity.' Mr Hamilton then proceeds to give a detailed account of the paintings which he found on the walls of the first and largest of these sepulchral grottoes. He differs in some particulars from Costaz, who has described the same monument in the third volume of the Egyptian Decade.

Mr Hamilton speaks with admiration of the great temple of *Esnè* or *Latopolis*; and from the engravings of it, published in the *Description de l'Egypte*, now lying before us, we are not inclined to accuse him of exaggeration. He attributes a

very remote antiquity to the sculptures; and, as far as we are enabled to judge by the aid of the splendid work just mentioned, we are perfectly inclined to agree with him. Of the signs of the zodiac represented on the cieling, we shall have occasion to speak more fully, when we come to consider those of Dendera.

Mr Hamilton observes, that it is not probable that *Latopolis* was the ancient name of *Esné*, both because it is evidently a Greek appellation, and because the worship of animals was a superstition introduced at a late period into Egypt. We believe our author is right in stating, that Strabo is the only ancient author, who mentions that the *Latopolitans* adored the fish called *Latus*; but, if we do not forget, the *Latus*, or *Lepidotus*, was associated with the fish *Oxyrynchus* in the sign of *Pisces*. By what name the Egyptians called the *Latus* we shall not pretend to decide.

Three miles north of *Esné*, at a place called *Deir*, Mr Hamilton found the remains of a small temple, which he says seem to mark the site of *Aphroditopolis*. Here, adds he, is another zodiac similar to that of *Esné*. We are induced to think, that our author is wrong in supposing this temple to have belonged to *Aphroditopolis*, which the ancient Egyptians must have called the city of *Isis*. Mr Hamilton tells us, that Osiris Ammon is the most conspicuous among the deities delineated on the walls of this temple. Now Strabo says, Μέτα δὲ Μέμφιν Ἄκανθος Πόλις ὁμοιως ὡς ἐν τη Λιβυη, και τὸ τῦ Οσιριδος ἱερον......εἶτα ὁ Ἀφροδιτοπολίτης νομος, &c. We should therefore suppose, that the temple at *Deir* is that of which Strabo speaks.

Pococke thought that he had found the remains of the tomb of *Osymandias*, mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, among the ruins of Thebes. Mr Hamilton commences his description of those ruins with a protest against the authenticity and general accuracy of the Sicilian antiquary's narrative. It would be very difficult for any person, who has not been on the spot, to judge between Diodorus and Mr Hamilton; but when the latter mentions two colossal statues, buried in the ground to the chest, and still measuring more than twenty feet to the top of their mitres, we may easily suppose the form and appearance of the whole place to have been considerably altered, even within the last 2000 years. In all events, there is no reason to suppose that the golden (probably the gilded) circle of 365 cubits, answering to the days of the year, and placed on the tomb, was a fiction. Diodorus says, that it was carried away by Cambyses. This anecdote, if it be true, and we see no reason to doubt its having some foundation in fact, is one of the most curious in the

the annals of antiquity. It proves, that the Egyptians were acquainted with the solar year from a very remote period of time.

We shall not attempt to follow Mr Hamilton through the long but interesting description which he has given of Thebes and of its neighbourhood. The next place of importance which he visited was the site of the ancient *Tentyra*, now called *Dendera*. In the great temple there, which appears to have been repaired about the reign of Tiberius, he found the two zodiacs, which have been copied by Denon. About the antiquity of these zodiacs, we find ourselves compelled to differ from Mr Hamilton, who seems to think that they were constructed only 1800 years ago.

It does not appear to us that Mr Hamilton would gain much, even if he could prove that *the temple itself* was built at that period. The zodiacs, we should conclude, must in that case have been copied from others of a much more ancient date. Mr Hamilton himself states that they must have been constructed, when the sun, at the summer solstice, was about $\frac{400}{2150}$ parts of the sign of *Cancer* removed from that of *Leo*, that is, it had left *Leo* about 400 years. Now, though it be perfectly true, that astronomers have been accustomed, ever since the days of Hipparchus, to speak of the Vernal Equinox, and the Summer Solstice, as answering to the first degrees of *Aries* and *Cancer*; yet the fact is, that the equinoctial and solstitial colures, at the abovementioned seasons, are now in the first degrees of *Pisces* and *Gemini*. The tropics of *Cancer* and *Capricorn* are now really become the tropics of *Gemini* and *Sagittarius*. If, therefore, we find a zodiac, from which it appears that the Sun was 400 years from *Leo*, at the period of its construction, we must reckon from the last degree of *Taurus* to about the 24th or 25th degree of *Cancer*. The equinoxes recede a sign in about 2150 years; and consequently, since the sun, at the summer solstice, is now in the first degree of *Gemini*, and was about the 24th of *Cancer* when these zodiacs of Dendera were constructed, they cannot be referred to a much later period than 3800 years ago.

The zodiac of *Esné* is unquestionably much more ancient than those of *Dendera*; but here, again, Mr Hamilton's scruples seem to have induced him to adopt a strange mode of calculation. He admits, that *Leo* is here placed as the last of the ascending signs; and yet he assigns so late a date to the zodiac as 3200 years. He had first admitted, that its antiquity was not less than 4500 years; but, probably alarmed at his own calculation, he proceeds as follows. 'This difficulty' (why is it a difficulty?)

culty?) 'is, however, considerably diminished, by supposing, 'that a sphinx which precedes, and is more conspicuous than '*Virgo* at the head of the descending signs, is intended to imply, that the Sun was already in *Leo* at the summer solstice.' The engraving of this zodiac, as it is represented in the *Description de l'Egypte*, is now before us. We believe the *Sphinx* to be the symbol of the Sun at the summer solstice, precisely at the point where the last degree of *Leo* meets the first degree of *Virgo*. The head of a woman joined to the body of a lion, seems to justify this explanation of the symbol. We should then place the sun at the summer solstice when this zodiac was constructed, pretty nearly where he now is at the autumnal equinox.

But even allowing to Mr Hamilton, (what we think the zodiac itself plainly contradicts, since *Leo* is there clearly represented as the last of the ascending signs), that the summer solstice corresponded with the middle of *Leo* when the zodiac was constructed, we can by no means allow that we ought to assign to it only the antiquity of 3200 years. *L'equinoxe de printems*, says Bailly, *n'a pu répondre au dernier degré du Taureau que vers* 4600 *ans avant Jesus Christ*. It is then about 6411 years since the vernal equinox answered to the last degree of *Taurus*; and consequently, the same period must have elapsed since the summer solstice answered to the last degree of *Leo*. Mr Hamilton would fix the date of the zodiac, when the summer solstice corresponded with the middle of *Leo*. The solstice, in receding half a sign, from the 30th degree of *Leo* to the 15th, would take about 1075 years. According, then, to Mr Hamilton's own statement, that this zodiac was constructed, when the sun, at the summer solstice, was in the middle of *Leo*, we must assign an antiquity to it of more than 5300 years.

With most other writers, Mr Hamilton considers the pyramids to have been sepulchral monuments. Concerning the Sphinx, he tells us nothing new.

We cannot leave Mr Hamilton's account of the antiquities of Egypt, without giving him the praise which is due to a modest and sensible observer. His book will be found an excellent supplement to the more elaborate and costly work of Denon. His style is in general simple and unaffected; and, therefore, loses nothing, in our opinion, when compared with that of some of the travellers who have gone before him. We meet occasionally, indeed, with some slovenly expressions, and with various errors of the press, which ought to have been corrected. Of the latter class, there is one which frequently recurs. We have

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the *procession* for the *precession* of the equinoxes repeated in various places.

II. It would be difficult, we think, for any person who loves the cause of humanity, or who feels for the honour and character of the British nation, to read without emotion the account which Mr Hamilton gives of the state of Egypt in 1801 and 1802. The brilliant achievements of the English, both by sea and land, had filled the inhabitants of the country with admiration of our skill and of our valour in the field; and the high reputation which we bore for good faith, as well as our real or pretended zeal in the cause of justice and liberty, attracted towards us the greater portion of the mixed and persecuted population of Egypt. Our gallant soldiers were hailed, not only as heroes who had vanquished the warlike and veteran legions of France, but as the restorers of their rights to an oppressed and divided people. We had landed, it is true, as the enemies of the French, and as the allies of the Turks; but we allured Copts, Arabs, and Mamalukes, to follow our standards by presents, and perhaps yet more by promises. 'Soon after 'the first successes of the English army,' says Mr Hamilton, 'very earnest invitations were sent to Mourad Bey, to induce 'him to join the English troops. These were seconded by 'promises on our part to ensure to the Mamalukes, as the re'ward of their exertions, an ample indemnification for their 'losses, in the full restitution of their property, power and in'fluence in the country. Confiding in English veracity, which 'was proverbial throughout the Levant, they consented; quit'ted the Said, of which they were in full possession; joined the 'English army; and, by the acknowledgment of all, were 'highly instrumental in the event of the campaign, by faci'litating the supply of provisions to the English camp, and 'by impeding the same to the enemy.' Two occasions are stated by this author, when we might, and when therefore we should, have rewarded the Mamalukes, and have realized our own promises. These occasions were neglected: And Mr Hamilton thus proceeds—'Having sown the seeds of indecision, 'we have reaped the harvest of disgrace and loss. Our cha'racter in the country, high as it once stood, and high as it 'still comparatively continues, is fallen far below what it would 'have been, had we even provided for our own advantage in 'securing the tranquillity of our friends. In the month of 'February 1802, the Mamalukes quitted Gizeh,—determined, 'as we would not protect them, to do what they could to pro'tect themselves; and while we professed publicly to acknow'ledge the Turks as the only independent sovereigns of Egypt, 'the

'the secret supplies of arms and ammunition, believed to be 'sent to the Mamalukes, gave to their enemies a pretext of 'accusing us of duplicity.'

Such is the statement of a gentleman, who cannot be considered quite in the light of a common traveller. Mr Hamilton, at this period, was private secretary to the Earl of Elgin, his Majesty's ambassador at Constantinople. His means of information may therefore be supposed to have been the best.—He distinctly states, that while the English general was endeavouring to come to a positive agreement with the Vizir and the Captain Pasha on the subject of the Beys, who implicitly consented to the general's proposal, the Vizir imprisoned all the Beys at Cairo; and the Captain Pasha caused some of the principal Mamaluke leaders to be treacherously murdered at Alexandria, almost in sight of the English camp. The resentment shown by the English general, on this occasion, was surely honourable to his feelings: But what must be our own—what must be the feelings of posterity—when it is recollected, that our army was withdrawn from Egypt before our Government had made any kind of provision for the future safety of the Mamalukes? 'The secret supplies of arms and ammunition,' says Mr Hamilton, 'believed to be sent to the Mamalukes, 'gave to their enemies *a pretext* for accusing us of duplicity.' If we are not mistaken, Mr Hamilton is now situated somewhere in one of the public offices, which may account for the circumspection and delicacy of this language: For he doubtless remembers that Lord Liverpool, and the Lord Hawkesbury—as celebrated for his negotiations as for his campaigns in France—are one and the same Lord. Was it no more than a pretext? We acknowledged the Turks to be the lawful sovereigns of the country; and, by doing so, we obtained their consent to land in Egypt. The Turks considered the Mamalukes as traitors. We not only promised to restore the Mamalukes to all their rights, but we *secretly* supplied them with arms and ammunition; and that, too, when the French were already expelled from the country. Against whom, then, but against the Turks, did we furnish the implements of war, when we supplied the Mamalukes with arms and ammunition? The professed allies of the Turks, we secretly provided their mortal enemies with the means of overthrowing their power in Egypt. Was it, then, a mere pretext, or was it a just cause for jealousy, which we gave upon this occasion to the Turks? And were these infidels right or wrong, upon this occasion, when they accused us so loudly of duplicity?

But, if our conduct were, at best, equivocal towards the Turks,

Turks, what was it towards the Mamalukes? We found them in possession of the Said. We lured them by promises to join our armies; and they contributed most essentially to our success. We assured them, that we should compel the Turks to reinstate them in all their possessions and privileges. We secretly furnished them with arms and ammunition; and thus, while we exasperated the Turks against those whom we protected, we encouraged the Mamalukes to resist the oppression of their former tyrants. The Mamalukes, always formidable to the Turks, became doubly so, when the victorious English became their advocates, not at a distance, but upon the plains of Egypt. The English Government had but to have said the word; and the standard of the Sultan floated for the last time on the banks of the Nile. Deep, then, was the impression which the promises of the English made on the minds both of the Turks and the Mamalukes. The former saw, that if they were realized, Egypt would become the province of England, rather than of Turkey; and the latter, though elated by hope, were well aware, that, for the future, they must be dependent on the exertions of their new protectors, against the augmented animosity of their ancient masters.

What, then, were the consequences? The Beys, trusting to the efficacy of our protection, put themselves into the power of the Turks. Some of them were imprisoned, and others were murdered. We obtained the release of the former, and the honourable interment of the latter. We did more, if fame speak truly;—we publicly called the Captain Pasha an atheist, a liar, and an assassin. But what did Hassan care for that? The Mamalukes, seeing that the English would no longer protect them, retired to Upper Egypt; and, abandoning all their hopes, their former possessions, their rights, and their privileges, consented to receive a barren ridge of rocks above the Cataracts, in exchange for all that they had lost, and for all that, according to the promises of the English, they were to obtain.

The English government then made remonstrances to the Porte; but the English army had quitted Egypt, and the Turkish ministers smiled at our unavailing complaints. The Turks and Mamalukes were at length left to settle their own differences. For eight years they carried on a sanguinary and atrocious warfare. Victory at length declared in favour of the Turks; and the greater part of the Beys and Mamalukes consented once more to trust themselves to the perilous protection of a Turkish Pasha. The catastrophe which has ensued is horrible. We have

have been permitted to make an extract from a letter written from Cairo on the 6th March 1811, by a near relative, to a noble Lord in this country, which tells it in terms equally concise and emphatic.

'Last Friday, March 1st,' says the honourable writer, 'the 'Pasha, with equal perfidy and barbarity, put in execution a 'measure, which, it seems, he had for some time meditated. '*He caused all the Beys to be massacred*; nor did he stop here, 'but actually ordered *a general massacre of every Mamaluke that 'could be found*, either in or out of the city. The massacre 'went on for four days in Cairo, and in the villages around.— 'The race, the name, the very dress is proscribed.'

Now, laying aside all the vulgar elements of regard to humanity and national honour, where, we may ask, was our *policy*, and our regard to national *interests*, when we allowed these unhappy Mamalukes to be thus abandoned to their fate? Is it really believed, that France has lost sight of Egypt? More than a century ago, the great Leibnitz drew up a memoir, in which he pointed out to the ministers of Louis XIV. the advantages that would result to the French from the acquisition of that country. Do we think, that the eagle-eye of the Corsican is shut to those advantages? We have, we believe, but one copy of the *Description de l'Egypte* in this country. That copy is only a part of the splendid work which is carrying on under the patronage of Napoleon; and one copy of that part would cost 150*l.* in London. Does Bonaparte make this magnificent display of the state of Egypt from nothing but from his love of literature? We suspect, we confess, that he has far other motives.

Without looking, however, to the ulterior views of the French Government, let us consider for a moment what have been, what are, and what will be, the consequences of our conduct towards the Mamalukes. English veracity was once proverbial among the Turks, the Greeks, the Arabs, and the Egyptians; but, by trusting to English veracity, the Mamalukes have been cut off from existence. 'Their race, their name, their very dress is proscribed.' We found them powerful; we promised to them more than they could hope; we encouraged their pretensions; we fanned the flame of hatred between them and the Turks; we secretly supplied them with the means of resisting our nominal allies; we saw them imprisoned and butchered; we scolded like angry women; and then we left them to their fate;—to a vengeance which the preceding events might have enabled us to anticipate; and which, if we could not avert, we should never have provoked.

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The massacre of the Mamalukes, during the beginning of the month of March, has scarcely attracted the attention of the English journalists. Busied with the turmoils of faction, and habituated to acts of violence by the *policy* of their rulers, the people seem to have lost their antient feelings for their own dignity, and for the character of their country. In the days of Chatham, not to go further back, how would it have been heard, if the people of England had been told, that a race had been proscribed, which had been protected by them? Nay, that that race might yet have been powerful and flourishing, had it never fought in the cause of England,—had the English never promised any thing,—or, having promised something, had performed any thing? Perhaps the answer is, that the same feelings would have been excited, which a disclosure of our campaign in Denmark produced.

We are well aware, that our regrets may now appear unavailing; but we trust that the expression of them may not be quite without utility. Our object is, to protest against any attempts to induce the inhabitants of a country to take up arms in our cause, unless we are pretty sure of being able to guarantee them from the consequences. No partial or momentary advantage ought to induce us to hold forth expectations which we cannot realize, or to encourage resistance, to which we have not the means of giving effectual support. It is no light thing to commit a whole population with its government; and such interference, unless we be pretty certain of the issue, is mischievous in proportion to the corruption and tyranny of the government. The goodness of the cause is, in such cases, rather an aggravation, than an apology, for those who are not the principals, but the instigators of unweighed insurrections; for the revenge of a despot will always be more bloody and merciless, the more his oppressions have justified the resistance he has overcome. We hope, therefore, that this example, remote and disregarded as it is, may be a warning to us, not too hastily to excite the inhabitants of other countries to fruitless revolt, either by secretly furnishing them with arms and ammunition, or by making engagements with them, which we may have neither the inclination nor the power to fulfil.

ART.

ART. X. *Review of the Controversy respecting the High Price of Bullion.*

A short Investigation of the alleged superfluous Issue of Bank-Notes, and the unfavourable State of Foreign Exchanges. 8vo. London, 1811.

The Theory of Money; or a Practical Inquiry into the present State of the Circulating Medium. 8vo. 1811.

Defence of Abstract Currencies; in Reply to the Bullion Report, and Mr Huskisson.

A Plain Statement of the Bullion Question. By Davis Giddy, Esq. M. P.

The Expediency and Practicability of the Resumption of Cash Payments by the Bank of England. By J. L. Tavers.

THOUGH we did not quite agree with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in thinking that the question respecting the depreciation of our currency was set at rest by the decision of the House of Commons on the report of the Bullion Committee; yet, as so much had been written and said on the subject at that time, and so little apparently digested, we thought it right to give our readers some respite; and this respite we should perhaps have been inclined to continue till towards the opening of the next session of Parliament, if the subject had not been brought again under discussion sooner than was expected, and under circumstances calculated to make a considerable impression on the public mind.

The House of Commons had, on the 13th of May 1811, declared in a resolution, that the promissory notes of the Bank of England had hitherto been, and were at that time, held, in public estimation, to be equivalent to the legal coin of the realm, and generally accepted as such in all pecuniary transactions to which such coin was legally applicable;—yet, in so short a time as six or seven weeks, the Ministers found it necessary to interfere in support of this equivalency, not only by the most indecent clamour, but by the most formidable legal obstacles; while, at the same time, the measures which they proposed, and carried, avowedly in consequence of the decision of the Judges in the case of De Yonge, clearly and unequivocally evinced, that the fact stated in the resolution above alluded

alluded to, had been occasioned entirely by the laudable unwillingness of British subjects to violate what they conceived to be the law; and that those who had voted for it were conscious, that, as soon as this fear was removed, the public estimation would be as different as possible from that which had been asserted.

When the last poor plea of those who had maintained that a one pound Bank note and a shilling were equivalent to a guinea, was thus obviously and practically contradicted;—when, according to their own public acknowledgments, nothing but a law of a similar nature to one which might declare a shilling equivalent to a guinea, could any longer maintain the equivalency, in public estimation, of Bank notes, and the legal coin of the realm; it might have been expected, that whatever difference of opinion might prevail as to the measures necessary to be adopted in consequence of a depreciated currency, there could be none respecting the fact of the depreciation itself. Yet, strange to say, this fact has been still gravely denied, both in and out of Parliament; and before we proceed further, it seems to be necessary, even in this late stage of the discussion, to define what we mean, and what we conceive ought always to be meant, by a depreciated paper currency.

All the paper currencies that we have ever seen or heard of, are either promissory notes to pay on demand certain coins of a known weight and fineness, which are mentioned upon the face of them; or they are intended to represent, and, on their first issue, generally do represent, the value of such coins in all the exchanges of commodities for which they may serve as a medium. A Russian note of 100 roubles, or a Swedish note of 100 rixdollars, is intended to pass in exchange at the same value as 100 silver roubles, or 100 silver rixdollars, to purchase the same quantity of commodities, and, of course, the same quantity of silver bullion; and the moment it ceases to do so, it is clearly and unquestionably depreciated. A comparison with the coin, or the bullion value of the coin, which the note professes to represent, is the only comparison to be made in such a case; and when the paper currencies of Russia, Sweden and Austria, would no longer exchange at par with the coins which they professed to represent, or purchase the quantity of bullion contained in those coins, we believe it never entered into the conception of a continental merchant to institute an elaborate inquiry into the bullion prices of commodities, before he ventured to pronounce such paper depreciated. In this view of what we conceive ought to be understood, and has hitherto, we believe, been almost universally understood by a depreciated paper currency,

rency, the question respecting the actual depreciation of our own currency is just as clearly determined as the fact, that the market price of gold purchased in Bank of England notes is 4*l.* 14s., instead of 3*l.* 17s. 10½d. per ounce.

What is it, then, that can be meant by those who still continue to maintain the undepreciated state of our paper circulation? They can only mean, and this indeed they profess to mean, that in the separation which they acknowledge to have taken place between gold and paper, it is the gold alone that has varied; it is the standard with which we compare the paper that has changed,—not the paper itself. According to what we have just stated, and we believe correctly, to be the proper criterion of a depreciated paper currency, the variations which may take place in the real price of bullion form quite a separate question; and when we consider the immense mass of the precious metals existing in the commercial world, and the small proportion which the annual supplies bear to this mass, a variation of 17 * per cent. during the last three years seems certainly incredible.

But, improbable as such a change is, and utterly inconsistent with the actual phenomena, as we shall presently show; let us for a moment suppose it to have happened. Would such a change, we would ask, justify us in separating ourselves at once from the rest of the commercial world in relation to our measure of value, and resorting to an imaginary standard, which no foreign nations could acknowledge, and which might be subject, not only to all the variations which can be supposed to take place in gold, but to others beyond comparison more sudden and more extensive? It has always been considered as a most desirable thing, that nations should possess as many of the same scales of measurement as possible. Unfortunately, the measures of length, of capacity, of superficial extent, are but seldom the same in different countries; but, what is of more importance in the commercial intercourse of society, all civilized nations have happily agreed in the selection of the precious metals as their measure of *value*. And yet, on account of a supposed, though very improbable change, in the value of these metals at present, we propose, at once, to preclude ourselves from the advantage which we have hitherto enjoyed, of possessing a measure of value common to other nations, and to deprive

* According to the testimony of Mr Aaron Asher Goldsmid, (Bullion Report, p. 55.), the price of foreign gold in bars, and of Portugal gold in coin, was, during the years 1806, 1807 and 1808, 4*l.* At present, it is 4*l.* 14s., which is a rise of between 17 and 18 per cent. during the last three years.

prive ourselves entirely of the use of gold, and almost entirely of the use of silver, in our circulating medium. That we must be so deprived, if we do not conform our bank notes to the value of gold bullion, cannot admit of a doubt. From whatever cause the separation between bank notes and gold has taken place, it is equally certain, that while a guinea will only pass for twenty-one shillings as currency, and will sell for twenty-six or twenty-seven when melted, no guineas will appear in the circulation; and consequently, for whatever purposes we may want the precious metals, whether to discharge what is called an unfavourable balance of trade, or to pay our armies on the Continent, while our paper currency is not of the value which it purports to be, our supply of them must always be most scanty and precarious.

To us, therefore, it appears perfectly clear, that if such a change as we have just supposed had really taken place in the value of gold in Europe, it would be the obvious dictate of common sense and good policy to conform our notes to it, and to insist rigidly that the Bank should so regulate its issues, as to produce the same equality between bank notes and guineas, as it would be compelled to do, if the Restriction bill had not passed. But, though the most obvious views of policy would dictate precisely the same remedy for the separation between guineas and bank notes, whether it arose from excessive issues of paper, or from a deficient supply of gold, yet it cannot but be a matter of considerable interest and utility, to ascertain which of these two causes has actually produced the effect in question. And here we feel no doubt in pronouncing, that all the circumstances attending the peculiar state of our currency, conspire to point clearly and unequivocally to an excessive issue of paper as its main, and indeed almost sole, cause.

In the first place, if a rise in the price of gold, compared with the mass of commodities to the amount of 17 per cent., had taken place throughout Europe during the last three years, it is scarcely possible that such an event, so contrary to the general course of prices for many years past, should not have awakened a very marked degree of notice and attention among foreigners.

Secondly, if the gold had left the paper, and not the paper the gold, as bank notes would then be of the same value, compared with commodities, as they were before, the paper prices of our goods of home consumption would have remained stationary, while a fall would have taken place in their bullion prices to the amount of 17 per cent.

Thirdly, if the change had been confined to the gold, and

the paper had retained its value, it is not probable that there should have been any very marked and unusual increase in the amount of bank notes during the three years in question.

These, we conceive, would have been the circumstances attending an exclusive rise in the value of gold. Now, what are the actual circumstances?

First, no striking exception has been remarked on the Continent during the last three years, to that gradual and general fall in the value of the precious metals which has been long the subject of notice.

Secondly, almost all British commodities, the vent of which has not been impeded by the shutting of the Continental ports; that is, commodities of home growth and consumption, such as wheat, butcher's meat, butter, &c. &c. have experienced a very marked rise, which, if not fully equal to 17 per cent., falls very little short of it.

And lastly, the paper issues of the Bank of England have, during the short space of the last three years, received an addition of more than one third of their amount in 1808; * while, for the whole course of six years before, that is, from 1802 to the latter end of 1808, † the average amount had been nearly stationary.

One of the causes which peculiarly fits the precious metals for being used as a measure of value, is, that the variations to which they are subject are comparatively slow and inconsiderable. A person aware of this quality, who was told that the paper currency of a particular country had suddenly, and to a considerable extent, separated from the metallic standard with which it had been usually compared, would undoubtedly be inclined at once to pronounce that, according to all probability, the change was in the paper, not the gold; and he would require pretty strong proofs to convince him of the contrary. But if, instead of such proofs, he found that his first natural presumption was supported by stationary bullion prices in other countries, a marked rise of paper prices at home, and an increased issue of notes equal to one third of their former amount, we conceive that no additional evidence could possibly strengthen his conviction. And we really believe that no person of common candour and impartiality, who is in any degree acquainted with the subject, can advert to these circumstances, and yet continue

* See Mushet's Tables.

† According to a return made to the House of Commons, the average amount of notes in circulation in 1802 was 17,054,454. Appendix to Bullion Report, p. 109.

continue to doubt whether, in this country, the paper has quitted the gold, or the gold the paper.

All the circumstances attending the state of our currency, in relation to our foreign trade, will show with the same conclusive evidence, that our unfavourable exchanges with the countries connected with France, are mainly nominal, and not real; if, indeed, we can so far admit the strange and improbable supposition of a real exchange of 30 per cent. against us, as to think it worth examination.

One of the certain effects of a really unfavourable exchange, and the precise cause which prevents the possibility of its permanence, is its tendency to raise the price of foreign commodities, and lower the price of home commodities; and an exchange to an amount here supposed, must, in a very moderate time, produce this effect in a considerable degree. We ought therefore to see a very marked fall in the price of our home produce, and a marked rise in the price of foreign commodities; instead of which, our home produce has experienced a marked advance in price, and our imported commodities are stationary. Nothing, we conceive, could have produced effects so opposite to those which were to be expected, and of the duration and extent actually observed, except an issue of notes not only insufficient to prevent that compression of the currency, which is at once the natural effect and natural remedy of an unfavourable exchange, but greatly to enlarge the medium of circulation, at the very moment when circumstances required it to be contracted.

Another effect of a very unfavourable real exchange with one country, or set of countries, is a very favourable exchange with others. This has been exemplified in the case of our great exports of silver to India and China, which, it is generally acknowledged, greatly contributed to render our exchanges with Europe more favourable than they otherwise would have been. We might expect therefore to see unusually favourable exchanges with all the countries not connected with France. Instead of which, there is, we believe, no one country with which the computed exchange, when correctly estimated, is favourable to us, although there are countries from which we are actually receiving bullion, and with which, therefore, the real exchange is favourable. A more than usual quantity of silver bullion has lately, we believe, been imported from Jamaica; which shows, that what is called the balance of payments is more than usually favourable to us with that country: and yet the prices of London bills in the Jamaica markets, instead of rising considerably, as we should have expected, have

fallen 15 per cent. since 1808. In 1808 they were about 20 per cent. premium, and now they are only five,—a fall of price perfectly unaccountable, under such circumstances, upon any other supposition than the continued depreciation of our currency since 1808. The constant premium upon London bills in Jamaica, arises merely from an original incorrect valuation of the par of exchange; 140*l.* Jamaica currency being reckoned equal to 100*l.* Sterling, although it would require 154*l.* 11s. 6d. to yield the same value of silver as 100*l.* of English silver currency; and 164*l.* 2s. to purchase 100*l.* of the gold currency, which is the English standard, at its present proportion to silver; consequently, the computed exchange with Jamaica, when correctly estimated, is about 10½ per cent. in favour of Jamaica; and, with this *favourable* exchange, Jamaica exports dollars in considerable numbers!!—an event which could not possibly happen from any other cause than from the real exchange being quite different from the apparent exchange. In fact, it appears from the price at which the dollars thus exported are sold in England, that the real exchange is above 10 per cent. against Jamaica; while the apparent exchange being about 10½ per cent. in her favour, leaves above 20 per cent. for the depreciation of our currency.

Instances of this kind might easily be multiplied; but we have already said enough to show, that all the circumstances attending the state of our currency, conspire to prove that our unfavourable exchanges cannot possibly be all real, nor the separation between guineas and bank notes be caused principally by a rise in the value of gold. We allowed, in a former article on this subject, that a small rise might possibly have taken place in gold, during the last three years, from the greater use of it in all mercantile transactions; which might be occasioned by a general failure of confidence. If we ascribe to this cause half the variation which has taken place between gold and silver, we shall probably allow more than we are warranted in doing. This allowance would contribute to account for those instances where some of our home commodities have not risen in price quite in the proportion of gold; and it should be recollected besides, that the effects of a depreciated currency are always rather slow in showing themselves, and are generally at first partial.

In what we have hitherto said, we have purposely confined ourselves to the last two years and a half, or three years—because the great difference between the value of gold and paper has taken place since the latter end of the year 1808; but if we survey the whole period since the restriction, we shall find the

same

same conclusions constantly forcing themselves upon us. We have already stated, that during the last three years, while the excess of the market price above the mint price of gold, and the unfavourable foreign exchanges, have very far exceeded all former experience, no less an addition has been made to the quantity of bank notes in circulation than one full third of their former amount—an addition equally exceeding all former experience: And if we look at the other period, in which the same kind of excess, and the same unfavourable exchanges were remarkable, though not in the same degree, that is, from the end of 1799 to the middle of 1802, we shall find that an addition of about one fifth of the previous amount of bank notes was made in that short time—an addition coinciding very remarkably with the degree of depreciation which then took place. The only instance in which an approach to a similar addition was made to the amount of bank notes without producing similar effects, was in the period from the Bank Restriction bill, in 1797, till towards the end of 1799, when it is well known that a very great previous compression of the currency had taken place; when the demand for guineas arose from the practice of hoarding, and not from an unfavourable exchange; and when there was every reason to believe from the unusual quantity of gold collected by the Bank during these two years, that the addition to the notes in circulation was scarcely equal to the guineas which had been withdrawn.

With regard to the other period, from the middle of 1803 to near the end of 1808, which has sometimes been very strangely brought forward, as a proof that the currency recovered itself after the depreciation of 1801, under the very same regimen which was said to have brought it so low, * the facts appear to us to prove directly the contrary. According to returns published in the Appendix to the Bullion report, the average amount of bank notes in circulation for the year 1802, was 17,054,454; and in November 1808, the amount was 17,467,070; that is, during the course of above six years, while the price of gold remained at 4*l.* an ounce, the amount of notes in circulation was not increased so much as 500,000. If, indeed, we were to advert solely to the notes above five pounds, we should find them, in the year 1802, 13,917,977, and in November 1808, 13,255,460; by which it appears, that an actual *diminution*

* Lord Harrowby used a metaphor of this kind in his speech on Lord Stanhope's bill; and particularly, insisted upon the period subsequent to the unfavourable exchanges of 1800 and 1801, as adverse to the principles of the Bullion Committee.

minution of notes above five pounds took place during these six years, while the price of gold remained stationary. A further inquiry into the amount of notes in circulation would also show us, that there was a very considerable diminution of them during the year 1803, when the exchanges began to recover themselves; * and if, in addition to this, we take into consideration the quantity of guineas which had been withdrawn from circulation, during the very unfavourable exchanges of 1800 and 1801, and recollect, at the same time, the usual tendencies of this country to maintain a favourable exchange with the greatest part of the Continent, unless very powerfully counteracted; and further, that the currency was not, after all, restored to its usual and proper state; we shall be compelled to acknowledge, that the period from 1802 to the end of 1808, affords as striking an illustration of the principles of the Bullion Committee, as any period that can be named either before or after the Restriction bill.

We do not mean to say, that our late unfavourable exchanges have always exclusively *originated* in the increased issues of the Bank. On the contrary, we are inclined to believe, that, both at the end of the year 1799, and, still more strikingly, at the end of 1808, a greater and more sudden fall of the exchange took place, than could possibly be accounted for by the increase of notes that had been thrown into the circulation. But we mean to say, that when the turn had taken place from causes which might originally be but little connected with the issues of notes, the Bank, upon the pretence, perhaps, of supplying the place of the guineas exported, or some other pretence, not only issued notes to the amount of the guineas withdrawn, which alone would have prevented the return to a favourable exchange at its natural time; but issued them in such numbers, as greatly to increase the whole mass of the circulation, and, as a natural consequence, so to depreciate it, as to render our unfavourable exchanges necessarily permanent, and to expel all the gold from our circulation.

The fact seems to be, that it is generally on occasion of an unfavourable state of the exchange, arising from the failure of crops,

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* According to a paper delivered to the House of Commons, entitled 'Bank of England Accounts,' the average of the two returns given for the 1st of January and 1st of July 1802, exceed the two returns for the 1st of January and 1st of July 1803, by three millions; and these are the only returns given for these years in the paper in question. They do not certainly quite agree with Mr Mushet's Tables.

crops, or from shocks to commercial intercourse and confidence, that the Bank is most beset with borrowers. Unfortunately, these applications for discounts, which merely imply an increased desire of individual merchants to get money at five per cent.; either to make foreign purchases; to supply funds which have been lost, or are slow in coming in; or to enter into new speculations on the failure of the old; are mistaken by the Bank for an indication, that the currency is insufficient for the purposes of trade; and the country is thus inundated with paper at the very moment when it ought to be diminished.

We consider it as a point susceptible of complete demonstration, that an increase in the issue of Bank of England notes is attended with a proportionate increase in the issue of country bank notes, provided they continue to occupy nearly the same districts as before, and neither essentially displaces the notes of the other. As the great object of the country banker is to keep as many of his notes in circulation as possible, and the precise limitation of his power in this respect, is the obligation he is under of giving Bank of England notes in exchange for his own, when they are returned upon him; it is not conceivable that he should not eagerly seize the opportunity of issuing more of his notes, whenever a depreciation of bank notes, from an excessive issue, would prevent such a return, and enable him to do it with perfect security. If he did not do it, the notes of other country banks would quickly do it for him, to his great loss. We cannot, indeed, without the most gross violation of all the principles of supply and demand, suppose it possible, that while bank notes and country notes are constantly interchangeable, any marked alteration in the proportion between currency and commodities could take place in the districts chiefly occupied by Bank of England notes, and not be accompanied by a similar alteration in the proportion between currency and commodities in the districts chiefly occupied by country notes. But this necessary equality in the proportion between currency and commodities throughout the country, before and after an increased issue of Bank of England notes, could not of course take place, unless such issue was followed by a proportionate increase of country bank paper.

We are now supposing, that the districts chiefly occupied by Bank of England and country notes are nearly the same, before and after the new issues. But instances may occur, as in the case of discredited country notes, in which Bank of England notes will be required as a substitute for them. An instance of this kind occurred during the summer of 1810, when the failure of the Western Banks took place; and this period has been

brought forward triumphantly, to show the failure of the general principle. But it is plain that the principle always presupposes, that the Bank of England and country notes do not materially encroach on each other's provinces; and as the instances in which the Bank of England notes enlarge their sphere of circulation, are confined almost exclusively to the failure of country banks, and are of course completely obvious, the principle may be considered as established on all ordinary occasions. Of late years, indeed, the increased number of country banks, and their nearer approach to the metropolis, seem to imply, that the increase of country bank paper has been even greater, in proportion, than that of the paper of the Bank of England; and we cannot be wrong in assuming it to be at least as great.

We may fairly, therefore, consider an increase of Bank of England notes, in any particular proportion, as an increase of the whole currency of the country in the same proportion, with the exception of the guineas which may be withdrawn from the circulation. What may be the amount of these, it must of course be very difficult to ascertain. There is reason to believe, from the great influx of gold, and the unusual coinage of guineas for two years immediately subsequent to the Bank Restriction bill in 1797, that the unfavourable exchanges of 1800 and 1801 were accompanied by a great exportation of coin. But there is by no means the same reason to believe, that our late very unfavourable exchanges have had the same consequences. According to Mr H. Thornton, most of our gold left us in 1801, and but little flowed into the country during the six years from 1802 to 1808. The probability, therefore, seems to be, that the notes under 5*l.*, added to the circulation by the Bank of England since 1808, have more than covered the quantity of guineas withdrawn during the last three years; and that a portion even of these notes—perhaps not an inconsiderable portion—ought to be looked upon as a permanent addition to the currency. But, to be quite sure that we do not err on our own side, in the estimate which we are about to make of the proportion in which our whole currency has been increased during the last three years, we will take only the notes above 5*l.*

According to a return to the House of Commons, of the amount of Bank of England notes in circulation on the first days of January and July from 1790 to 1810,* it appears that the average of the two returns in July 1797 and January 1798, was 11,700,000;

* See a paper before referred to, entitled, 'Bank of England Accounts,' ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 22d of February, 1811.

11,700,000; and, according to another return in the same paper, of the weekly amount of bank notes in circulation from the 9th of March 1810 to the 15th of February 1811, it appears that the seven returns for January and February 1811 give an average of about 15,300,000. By comparing these amounts at the beginning of 1808 and the beginning of 1811, it will appear that the amount of Bank of England notes, exclusive of bank post-bills, and notes under *5l.*, must have increased, in the course of three years, in a proportion much nearer to one third than one fourth; and if we assume, as we are entitled to do, that the country bank notes must have increased, soon after, in the same proportion, we may fairly conclude, that the increase of the whole circulation cannot be overstated at one fourth. Now, we would ask, whether an increase of one fourth, in the short space of three years, is not sufficient to account for a depreciation of the currency in the same time, amounting to 17 per cent., or a little more than one sixth, after making every allowance for the increased quantity of circulating medium that can be supposed to have been required by increased produce and increased taxation;—particularly when we recollect, that, during the six previous years of nearly equal taxation and expenditure, and much greater prosperity and produce, scarcely any perceptible addition was made to the amount of the circulation.

We entirely agree with those who are of opinion, that no positive conclusions are to be drawn respecting an excess of currency, from the mere quantity of notes in circulation, independently of other circumstances; and think, that the market price of bullion, and the state of the exchanges, are the only certain criterions of depreciation. But as the opposers of the Bullion Report have been very fond of insisting upon the small addition that has been made to the currency of late years, compared to the increased scale of our expenditure, we have thought it right to set this argument in what appears to us to be its true light. And when, instead of talking of the mere numerical increase of bank notes, compared with our prodigious expenditure and debt, we advert to the *proportion* in which the whole currency has been enlarged; and instead of spreading this numerical increase over fourteen years, we confine it to the periods in which the increase really took place; and, above all, when we advert to a period of six years of great taxation and expenditure, and great increase of the national debt, unaccompanied by any increase of Bank of England notes above *5l.*, or any increase in the market price of gold;—the facts will appear to prove directly the reverse of what they are intended to prove; and our only astonishment will be, that the rapid increase of

currency

currency which has taken place during the last three years, has not been accompanied by a still greater depreciation.

If then it appears, beyond all possibility of doubt, that a comparatively excessive issue of paper has taken place since the Bank Restriction bill, and most especially during the last three years; and if, even according to the concessions of those who oppose the Bullion Report, an excess of paper is in its nature calculated to expel the precious metals from the circulation of the country where such excess exists, What pretence have we to complain of our inability to obtain gold? What pretence have we to attribute this inability to the untoward circumstances attending the state of the Continent; when, under *any circumstances* the most favourable, the conduct which we have adopted could not fail to deprive us of all our guineas?

We are far from meaning to deny the tendency of the present unnatural state of the Continent, to throw difficulties in the way of all sorts of commercial transactions, and that of obtaining gold among others; but we have no hesitation in saying, that the measures we have resorted to, are of all others the most calculated to aggravate and extend those difficulties.—What has, in fact, been our situation?—We have had to contend with an enemy whose power extends over so large a portion of the Continent, that he has been able to exclude our produce and manufactures from almost all the principal ports of Europe; and we have had to support a great foreign expenditure, without the same facilities as formerly of defraying it by the export of our commodities. In this situation, what is the line of conduct that common sense and sound policy would seem to dictate? In the first place, we conceive it would be, so to proportion our manufactures for foreign sale to the confined vent for them, as not to have immense quantities returned upon our hands, to involve our merchants in ruin; and, in the next place, to be very careful not to take any steps respecting our currency, which would tend to deprive us of the precious metals, and prevent the country from having a considerable store of them to resort to, and a steady supply of them coming in, whenever they were found to be the most convenient remittances for our foreign expenditure. Instead of this, however, what has actually been our conduct? By means of the profuse and unusual accommodations afforded by the Bank of England to our merchants, they have been encouraged, and enabled, to work an unusual quantity of manufactures, at high prices, for foreign sale, at the very time when the vent for them was unusually diminished; and, by means of the same profuse issues, all our gold

has been driven from the circulation, and its return effectually prevented.

The consequences are such as might have been anticipated. The period to which we principally allude, and during which the great issues of paper have taken place, has been marked by the most extensive failures in the mercantile world, and by the most wide-spreading poverty and misery among the manufacturing classes, ever witnessed; and our armies and expenditure abroad, have been maintained not only at a disadvantage, and expense unheard of before, but the Government has been put to the greatest difficulties to obtain the means of supporting them, even while it consented to purchase these means at the most extravagant prices.

There cannot, we conceive, be a grosser error than to suppose, that the Government will have a greater command of bullion for its foreign expenditure, if the domestic circulation be confined almost exclusively to paper. The actual store of the precious metals which a country may possess, though of the greatest use and advantage in any sudden demand occasioned by an unfavourable balance of payments, can never be sufficient to supply a continued foreign expenditure of any magnitude. The means of this expenditure, if we suppose that bullion must form a part of it, can only be abundant, when, as fast as the precious metals are sent out in one quarter, a steady supply of them flows in from other quarters. But this, of course, can only happen, when bank notes and guineas are precisely of the same value; and when, instead of the scanty influx occasioned by the precarious and uncertain wants of Government, a large and steady demand for bullion, to maintain the accustomed circulation, produces its invariable concomitant, a large and steady supply. But there is yet a much more fatal error prevailing among the supporters of the present system of paper circulation, the consequences of which, it is to be feared, we shall long have reason to lament. This is, that the profuse issues of the Bank of England, and the accommodations which the Government receives from them in their general expenditure, form so essential a resource for carrying on the present expensive war, that our efforts would be immediately paralysed if this resource were to fail.

It is certainly true, that a paper circulation issued by a Government, and increased according to its wants, has often been found, in other countries, and undoubtedly would be found in this, a very powerful temporary resource. Such a mode of obtaining resources has, however, always been reprobated, not only as adapted exclusively to a tyrannical, or a revolutionary Government,

Government, from the unlimited extent to which it may be pushed; but as extremely oppressive and unequal in the manner of its operation; and as giving a most unfair advantage to the profuse debtor over the thrifty creditor. Whatever objections, however, may be made to it on these grounds, it is, beyond all doubt, a system of *taxation* (for this is its true character) calculated to afford, for a short time, very powerful and effective resources. But there never was, we conceive, so mistaken and puerile an imitation of it, as that of supporting the present profuse issues of the Bank, under the idea that they furnish similar resources to the Government for carrying on the present expensive contest. They press, indeed, in proportion to their extent, with the same severity and the same inequality upon the subject; and give the same unjust advantage to the debtor, at the expense of the creditor. But in this violent and unfair transfer of property, the Bank proprietors and the debtors are the gainers,—not the Government. The Government, by the sanction and support which it has given to the present system of circulation, almost avowedly for the express purpose of enabling it to carry on the war, may fairly be said, in addition to all its direct taxes, to have laid an indirect tax upon the people during the last three years, to an amount approaching towards a *double income tax*; and yet we will venture to say, that the advantages which it has derived from the profuse issues of the Bank, do not exceed a few hundred thousands. They appear to us, indeed, to be confined (in all cases, where a manifest injustice is not committed towards a public servant or public creditor) to the circulation of a few Exchequer and Navy bills at rather a better price, and a few temporary advances to Government, which, in such a country as this, might always be obtained without such unnatural aids. We really believe, that no instance can be found of so great a change being produced in the property of a country, through the medium of its Government, from which that Government derived so little advantage, either immediate or prospective.

We are fully aware, that the system of indirect taxation to which we are now alluding, is of the nature of a transfer of property from one set of people to another, and not an actual consumption of it by the Government. But so are the taxes which are imposed for the purpose of paying the interest of the national debt. Yet these taxes occasion a very severe pressure upon individuals. And such a pressure as this, ought surely to be reserved to maintain a great national expenditure, and not be wantonly inflicted for the most trifling accommodations.

We are also fully aware, that the transfer of property occasioned by a rise of prices, has a tendency to give a stimulus to

industry,

industry. To this principle we gave its full weight in a former Number. It appears to us, indeed, a very important one; as explaining the reason why severe taxation is not so prejudicial to the resources of a state, as might naturally be expected; and why great public prosperity is not incompatible with much individual distress. But, independently of the great injustice of ever calling such a principle into action unnecessarily, the principle itself cannot safely be received without considerable limitation.

If those who have triumphantly brought forward the very just observations of Hume, on the good effects of an increasing circulating medium, had studied with attention the former part of the same admirable essay from which these observations are taken, they would have found, that, in the opinion of the author, the natural check to the continuance of great commercial prosperity in any one country, is the rise of corn and labour, necessarily occasioned by that prosperity itself; and that, for fear of accelerating the period of this check, he entertains great doubt of the benefit of banks, even without reference to any depreciation of their paper below the value of bullion. And when the same persons, in order to deprecate the return of the Bank to payments in specie, dilate with satisfaction on the poverty, beggary and sloth which are the consequences, according to Hume, of a decreasing circulating medium; let them read the whole essay, and then say whether it is not clearly Hume's opinon, that the most certain way of producing that poverty, beggary and sloth which he describes, is a profuse issue of bank paper,—an intemperate use of an excessive stimulus, which, from its very nature, cannot admit of being continued. We have increased the circulating medium at least one fourth during the last three years. Is it meant to be asserted, that we ought to go on at this rate, in order to avoid the check we so much dread? If we were to make the attempt, is it not certain, that the disease would overtake us even during the time that we were applying what we conceived to be the remedy? Has it not, in fact, already overtaken us? Is not that period, contemplated by Hume as so unfavourable to industry, already arrived? And do not our ruined merchants, our impoverished manufacturers, and the severe check that our capital and revenue have of late suffered, amply testify, that, even in the first application of the stimulus, it was administered in much too large a dose?

Yet, under all these circumstances, and under the moral certainty of rendering a return to a wholesome state of the circulation more and more difficult, the longer we continue the present system, we are taking further steps in the same career, with

a confidence that is perfectly inconceivable. By the late act, we have done nearly all that is possible, short of making bank notes a legal tender, to force the people of this country to consider bank notes and guineas as of equal value. And if this act should not be sufficient for the purpose, that is, if the public should obstinately persevere in giving the preference to that commodity, which, in any fair and open market, will sell for 20 per cent. more than the other, the ulterior measure, of making bank notes a legal tender, is openly and distinctly threatened. The immediate and avowed causes which, in the opinion of ministers, rendered this act, and the accompanying threat necessary, were, the conduct of a noble Lord respecting his rents, and the decision of the Judges in the case of De Yonge.

We confess, that when we first heard of the notice which Lord King's requisition to his tenants had excited, we were disposed to regret that the event had happened;—not because we did not think that the proceeding was perfectly equitable and honourable, but because we thought that, in the actual state of the knowledge and temper of the administration, it would lead immediately to the making of bank notes a legal tender. But though it has, in fact, led to something as nearly as possible approaching to this, yet further reflection has convinced us, that, in spite of this consequence, the discussion which it has occasioned, and the manner in which it has brought the subject home to the public feeling, cannot fail to be of the highest use in explaining the true state of the circulation. It must be acknowledged, indeed, that the period at which the noble Lord determined to stand forward upon this occasion, was, in every point of view, most correctly and happily chosen. It was not very wisely urged, in the debates upon this subject, that as, for the whole course of the fourteen years since the Restriction bill, no landholder in England had been known to demand his rents in the legal coin of the realm, it might fairly have been presumed that none would in future do so, and that it would not be necessary to provide against such a case by law. But we would ask, whether, at any former period, there was the same reason for demanding gold? or, whether, because a person submits to a loss of 5 or 10 per cent., rather than revert to the remedy which the law allows, it follows, that he ought to submit to a loss of 20 per cent. without any effort to avoid it? For more than two years after the Restriction, bank notes and guineas were precisely of the same value, and, of course, no person could feel any preference of the one above the other. For the next three years, there was a difference between them, which varied from 5 to 10 per cent. This difference excited, as might

might be expected, considerable attention and discussion, which, there was reason to believe, produced a greater degree of caution on the part of the Bank; and the period of so great a depreciation as 10 per cent. was but of very short duration. For the next six years, the price of gold remained stationary, and the exchanges returned nearly to their accustomed state. This price was, indeed, between 2 and 3 per cent. above the mint price; but it was not to be expected, that any person, for so slight a difference, should incur the trouble and odium of an appeal to the law. It was, however, quite a different thing, when, instead of 3 per cent., 5 per cent., or 10 per cent., the depreciation during the next three years amounted to more than 20 per cent.; and when, above all, the fact of this depreciation was formally denied by the party who alone had the means of checking it, and when, of course, there was every reason to believe that it would be continually progressive. We must say, therefore, that, whether with a view to the mere question of property, or that which probably might influence the noble Lord still more, a desire to make a practical protest against a system subversive of some of the most sacred and fundamental laws of his country, he could not have chosen a more happy time for another appeal to the good sense of the country: and we really think that those who feel with the noble Baron on this subject, and on such fundamental and constitutional questions, are ready to say with the Barons of old, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*—must consider him as entitled to great praise for the manly and able manner in which he has conducted this appeal, both in his private and legislative capacity, undeterred by the clamours of ignorance and folly.

The laws to which Lord King had the power of appealing, in order to enforce the performance of the contracts into which he had entered with his tenants, according to their true and legitimate meaning, afford the most unquestionable proofs, that the spirit in which the Restriction act was conceived and brought forward as a temporary measure in 1797, was totally different from that in which it has been lately continued. And it appears to us, we confess, a most cruel calumny on the character of Mr Pitt, to insinuate that he would have been ready, at any time, to sanction the late unjust transfers of property, and wanton and useless pressure upon the people, which have been occasioned by the present excessive depreciation of the currency. On this point, without the most direct proofs of intentions which were not executed, it is but candid to judge from the measures to which he actually did give his support; and in these, it must be allowed, there was a very marked attention to

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the protection of private property. While it was thought necessary temporarily to suspend the cash payments of the Bank, which, of course, prevented individuals from converting their property immediately into a legal tender for a debt; it was justly thought proper to suspend the power of arrest in mesne process, for fear such a power, against which no one who was indebted to another could be immediately prepared, might be exercised wantonly and capriciously, when there was no essential difference between bank notes and guineas. But in order, at the same time, effectually to protect the property of the subject from the chance of loss from a paper currency not immediately convertible into specie, all the other processes for recovering a debt in the legal coin of the realm were left open; which was, in our opinion, clearly and distinctly to point out the precise remedies which the Legislature intended should be taken, if at any time the currency really became depreciated, and the debtor proposed to pay his creditor in a medium decidedly of less value than that in which he had contracted to pay him.

And yet it is because an individual has resorted to a remedy thus left open by the Legislature for the most just and obvious purpose; and because it has been determined by the judges that the laws of England as hitherto constituted, will not sanction the degradation of the legal coin of the realm to whatever value in exchange a banking company may choose to give to their notes, that the late act to make bank notes equivalent to guineas has been passed, and that the further measure is threatened of making bank notes a legal tender!

But what is still more extraordinary than the act itself, is, that such a measure should have been brought forward for the avowed purpose of protecting the property of the public creditor. Now, of all the descriptions of persons in the state, the public creditor appears to us to be the most deeply and cruelly injured by it. The mercantile classes, it is well known, do not suffer from a depreciated currency, as long as confidence remains unimpaired. The landholder, though he will undoubtedly have that proportion of the produce of his land which he stipulated to retain, when he consigned the temporary possession of it to a tenant, very unjustly diminished during the time that his leases have to run, will always have the opportunity, at the expiration of these leases, of recovering the genuine value of his property. The public servants of the state, and all other descriptions of servants who live on the wages of labour, though they may suffer very cruelly for a time, must ultimately have their wages raised in proportion to the depreciation of that medium

medium in which they are paid. But the public creditor has no remedy, either immediate or prospective. He is utterly at the mercy of the circulating medium; and if the 20 millions, which now form the revenues of so many British families, were not equal in value, and the command of the necessaries of life, to the bullion contained in a single million of the legal coin of the realm, the condition of these families must inevitably sink in this frightful proportion. We do not mean to assert it as our opinion that this extreme case will probably occur; but we mean distinctly to assert, that if bank notes be made a legal tender, and they are virtually so even at present, the Legislature will deliver to the Bank Directors the full and complete power of producing such a case. And whatever may be the result, whether the currency becomes depreciated 40 or 50 per cent., or remains nearly stationary at 20 per cent.; or whether, from the individual good conduct of the Directors, it recovers a part or the whole of its lost value; we do not hesitate to say, that in the whole course of English history no act can be pointed out which can be more properly designated by the term unconstitutional, or which more directly contradicts the general spirit of British legislation in the best times, than that which thus gives up 20 millions worth of revenue belonging to British subjects, to be regulated in its value according to the will and pleasure of 24 individual merchants, whose interests are in reality different from those of the owners of such revenue.

It was asked, in the debates on the late act, whether the state ought to allow of guineas being demanded in discharge of other debts, while it continued to pay its own debts in paper? We should undoubtedly say that it ought; and that if it did so, it would give the surest pledge possible that the public dividends would not long continue to be paid in a depreciated currency. It seldom falls to the lot of a fraternity of reviewers to possess money in the stocks; but it is well known that we are richer than many of our brethren; and the report of our having accumulated above a hundred pounds in the three per cents. (though we did not mean to boast of it) is really true. For this little nest egg, it may be supposed that we are proportionably anxious; and with a view to its safety, and the value of the yearly income we derive from it, what of all other things we should most like to see, is a fair and open discount upon paper, and a free circulation of guineas at their market price. We should then submit to our present diminution of income, in the full confidence that it would be temporary; and that when the injustice which the public creditor was suffering was daily and hourly brought before the

view of the Legislature, a British Parliament would infallibly interfere to prevent it. But we confess that we are most seriously alarmed for our property, when the Government, under the insidious pretext of supporting the interests of its creditors, does every thing that is possible to conceal their losses from the public; and by solemnly declaring bank notes to be equivalent to guineas, furnishes to the interested and unthinking the pretence of saying, that the ruin which crushes the public creditors, while other classes find the means of escaping from it, is owing to a rise of profits, a rise of rents, and a rise of wages, and not to its true cause, a depreciated currency.

One of the principal arguments urged in favour of the ever memorable act for making bank notes equivalent to guineas in public estimation, when they were not equivalent in the market, was, that however it might be lamented by some, that the measures which had led to the present state of our currency had ever been adopted, it was evidently impossible to retract, or even not to go on with them at present. This, it must be confessed, is a most fearful argument; and if it be really intended to go on in the same spirit which has marked the last three years, there are no limits to the degree of depreciation which may be expected. All that has yet happened is in exact conformity with the general principles which have been laid down on this subject by those who are called theorists; and the experience of the past enables us, with the utmost certainty, to predict, that an excessive issue of paper in England will be accompanied with precisely the same results which have invariably attended it in other countries,—with the same unavailing endeavours to prop the falling value of the paper—the same failure of confidence and check to all regular commercial dealings—and the same wide-wasting convulsion of private property.

We cannot, however, bring ourselves to believe that we shall continue to proceed in this destructive career. We cannot believe that, though the Legislature appears to be blind to a depreciation of 20 per cent., it will not open its eyes to a depreciation of 30, 40, or 50 per cent. We have even some hope in the Bank Directors themselves, and in the natural repugnance which men of character and respectability must feel to be considered as the instruments of so much mischief to their country. One of the most cheering gleams that has reached our northern hemisphere, was the statement of Mr Manning, a Bank Director, in the House of Commons, that the issues of bank notes had been diminished three millions,—that they had, at one [illegible]l, been twenty-five millions, and were then twenty-two [illegible]ns. Let three more millions be withdrawn gradually from the

the circulation, and then let the Bank rest a while upon its oars. The effect of a diminished circulation on prices cannot be expected to be immediate and universal; but we are certain that no long time would elapse, before a marked change would be perceived in the price of gold, and the state of our foreign exchanges.

The diminution of the issues of paper is the grand point to be accomplished; and, from whatever quarter it may come, or from whatever motive it may be prompted, we shall hail it with joy and gladness, as the only specific for the present disordered state of the currency. The next remedy we should recommend, is one which ought certainly to accompany the first, and would be the surest pledge of its continued application. This is the immediate repeal of the late act for regulating public estimation, and the free permission to the legal coin of the realm to circulate with paper at its real value in exchange. We can readily understand why the Bank Directors, and perhaps the Government, should object to this measure, as it would undoubtedly be a standing reproach to them, that any difference should remain, in public estimation, between guineas and bank notes; but that any of the other members of the state, who are not, or at least do not think themselves personally interested in the continuance of the present system, should contemplate such an event with fear, as a dangerous and alarming crisis, is what we cannot comprehend. An open discount upon paper has taken place in all the continental countries, where an excess of paper has been issued, without any difficulty or convulsion. It is, in reality, the natural effect of a depreciated currency; and is, at the same time, the best immediate remedy that can possibly be applied, and the best preparative for a return to payments in specie. Care should be taken, and such care may always be taken, equitably to settle past contracts; and the reference to gold, which would then always be made, would at once settle all future contracts upon the most solid foundations. We should then again see guineas in our circulation; and the Government would no longer be driven to the same difficulties, and the same extravagant means in the support of its foreign expenditure.

With regard to the gold which ought gradually to be collected, to enable the Bank, after a moderate time, to resume its payments in specie, and render the cure complete, nothing would of course facilitate it so much, as the taking off the present bounty of 20 per cent. on the melting or exportation of guineas; and we really think, that if the legal coin of the realm were allowed to pass for what it is worth, no great scarcity of it would long be felt, notwithstanding the present convulsed

state of the mercantile world. But as the Bank Directors seem to consider the collection of a sufficient quantity of gold for a return to cash payments, as a labour absolutely herculean, in the present state of things, let the Government so far indulge them, as to adopt the valuable suggestion of Mr Ricardo, and merely compel them, at the expiration of two years, to pay their notes above 20*l*., and no other, in guineas, standard gold in bars, or foreign gold of the same value, at their option. This plan (for the further explanation of which we refer to the Appendix of the 4th edition of Mr Ricardo's first pamphlet, p. 94.) would preclude the necessity of providing, at first, such a quantity of gold as would be required to fill the smaller channels of circulation with guineas; and, while it was continued, would protect the Bank from the dangers to which it might be exposed, on the resumption of its payments in cash,—from the effects of small hoarding, or the pressing demand for guineas, or the failure of country banks. It would only be necessary to provide such a quantity of bullion as would be sufficient completely to secure it against an unfavourable balance of payments, occasioned either by its own imprudent issues, or the natural inequalities which must occasionally occur in the wants and supplies of different nations; which last cause can never be of serious magnitude and continuance, unless aggravated and prolonged by the former.

How long such a plan should be allowed to continue, or whether it might be advantageously made permanent, would of course be the subject of future consideration. Its great object is to maintain, steadily, the bullion value of our paper currency, at a very small expense of the precious metals; and this object it seems calculated to answer.

Art. XI. *The Bakerian Lecture—On some of the Combinations of Oxymuriatic Gas and Oxygene, and on the Chemical Relations of these Principles to inflammable Bodies.* By Humphrey Davy Esq. LL. D. Sec. R. S. F. R. S. E. M. R. I. A. and M. R. I.

On a Combination of Oxymuriatic Gas and Oxygene Gas. By the same.——From the Philosophical Transactions for 1811, Part I.

We have made a point of following this excellent chemist through his various and important discoveries, as regularly as the nature of our publication would admit; and we now resume

resume the subject, by calling the attention of our readers to the two papers published by him in the last part of the Philosophical Transactions.

It may be recollected, that Mr Davy's experiments had led him to doubt, or rather more than to doubt, the existence of oxygene in oxymuriatic acid, the body formerly supposed to contain it, perhaps in greater abundance than any other. Mr Davy was inclined to believe, on the contrary, that this acid is a peculiar elementary substance, much more nearly resembling oxygene itself, than any of its compounds, usually denominated Acids. The papers now before us contain further inquiries into this analogy; and although they cannot be said to advance us very far in our progress towards a clear demonstration of the proposition in question, they nevertheless contain many curious and original observations, and open the way for new and interesting inquiries. The second of the papers, in particular, presents some matters of great novelty; and is more valuable, by a good deal, though far shorter, than the first.

The first paper consists of a great variety of experiments and observations, many of which are very interesting, and tend to throw considerable light on the singular substance in question. But they are very miscellaneous, and scarcely capable of abridgement. Our author begins with some experiments relative to the combinations of potassium and sodium with oxygene, and of potash and soda with water. When the two metallic bases are burnt in common air at a moderate heat, brownish substances are produced, extremely fusible, effervescing strongly in water, and convertible into dry alkali, by being intensely heated in atmospherical air. Mr Davy acknowledges himself indebted to Messrs Gay Lussac and Thenard, for the discovery, that these substances are peroxides of potassium and sodium, although the exact amount of the oxygene contained in them has not been ascertained. The deflagration of potassium in nitre produces a peroxide—that of sodium does not appear to do so. The peroxides of both metals are decomposed by ignition; and the residues are hard, greyish, exceedingly dry substances, —extremely difficult of fusion,—of rather greater specific gravity than potash and soda, and, by the addition of water, heating violently, and changed into white, ordinary, fusible, potash and soda—which appear, therefore, to be hydrats of potash and soda. The greyish, hard substances, are evidently those bodies in their pure state, although we had no knowledge of them previous to the discovery of their metallic bases.

Mr Davy examined a little more minutely this interesting point, of the union of water with those pure oxides. By distilling

ling ordinary potash which had been ignited for some minutes with tw and a half times its weight of boracic acid, which had been kept at a white heat for an hour, he obtained about 15 per cent. of water. From common soda he obtained, by a similar process, near 23 per cent.; and he then satisfied himself, that the boracic acid had not contributed to this product; for that acid in great excess being ignited with the common alkalis in small quantity (all other circumstances remaining the same), he obtained little or no water. Nor was any water at all formed by repeating this experiment with the pure alkalis obtained by the above mentioned methods. The boracic acid, he admits, contains water, do what we can to separate it by a white heat; but he contends that these trials show the impossibility of obtaining water from this acid, which has been so ignited to whiteness, by the red heat used in the experiment with the alkalis.

Our author comes, next, to the detail of several experiments and calculations, from which he deduces the following conclusion,— intelligible perhaps, but certainly not to a cursory reader very obvious, in its meaning—that 'five proportions of potash, equal to 240 grains, must be decomposed to form with an equal number of proportions of oxymuriatic gas equal to 164.5 grains; five proportions of muriate of potash equal to 365 grains; and five of oxygene equal to 37.5 grains combined with one of potash, equal to 48, must unite in a triple union with one of oxymuriatic gas, equal to 32.9 to form one proportion, equal to 118.4 grains of hyperoxymuriate of potash.'—It is singular how few new terms Newton invented. Whatever language he found in common use, of that he availed himself. Scarcely ever did he use a known word in a novel sense; and the language which he found ready made, he used in such a manner as to convey no inconsiderable number of discoveries the most important and the most original that mortal man has ever been permitted to make. We wish Mr Davy would attempt to confine himself within the ordinary limits of the language; for, really, it becomes a task of no small difficulty to trace his meaning through such neology as clothes the sentence last quoted.

Our author's attention was next directed to the combinations of oxygene and oxymuriatic gas with the metals of the earths; and he found reason to conclude, that the muriates of baryta, lime and strontia, consist of the metallic bases with oxymuriatic gas.— These earths, on being heated to redness in oxymuriatic gas, give out oxygene, and leave bodies in no aspect differing from dry muriates: But Mr Davy has not yet tried the more direct and conclusive experiment of uniting the metallic bases of these

earths

earths with oxymuriatic gas. He next examined the operation of oxymuriatic gas upon the different metals; and the most material point ascertained by his experiments is, that the oxygene given out (where any was given out) bore an exact proportion to the quantity absorbed by the metal. Thus, 2 grains of red oxide of mercury, he found, absorbed $\frac{9}{10}$ths of a cubical inch of oxymuriatic gas, and afforded 0.45 of oxygene; two grains of dark olive oxide from calomel, decomposed by potash, absorbed about $\frac{94}{100}$dths of oxymuriatic gas, and gave out $\frac{14}{100}$dths of oxygene—corrosive sublimate being produced in both cases.

The concluding section of this paper contains a number of general remarks, chiefly inferences from the facts related in it, and from other facts, illustrative of our author's new and, as it appears to us for the reasons which we formerly urged, still only probable opinion, that oxymuriatic gas contains no oxygene. This doctrine unquestionably derives some additional weight from the facts detailed in the paper now before us,—but those fall short of a demonstration. The most material circumstance, in this view, is the regularity with which the quantity of oxygene produced in these experiments, observes the proportion wherein that body is found in the oxides, and not the proportion wherein the oxymuriatic gas is exhibited. The apparently contrary inference to be drawn from the copious production of oxymuriatic acid, by the action of muriatic acid on oxides, and on hyperoxymuriates, is explained away by the help of Mr Davy's doctrine, that muriatic acid gas is a compound of hydrogene and oxymuriatic gas,—a doctrine which will probably be thought still undemonstrated, although this able and ingenious inquirer has unquestionably placed it in a point of view not far short of inductive demonstration.

An important and, we believe, an original observation, follows, upon the manner in which oxymuriatic gas acts in the process of bleaching. The illustrious discoverer of this gas, as is well known, explained its action upon the simple and wonderfully accommodating theory of phlogiston, modified and improved as it had been, and rendered still more consonant to the phenomena, by his own inquiries. He supposed the gas to act by combining with the phlogiston of the coloured bodies. The French chemists, on the other hand, accounted for the fact, by supposing that a gas so plentifully furnished with oxygene, supplied this substance, which they saw, in other cases, produced powerful effects on colouring matter. Our author, who denies the existence of oxygene in this gas, has offered a third explanation, and fortified it by an experiment, which well deserves notice. He filled with oxymuriatic gas a glass globe, containing muri-

ate of lime, in a dry and powdered state. In another glass globe, containing also dry muriate of lime, he placed dry paper, tinged with litmus—and after some time he exhausted it. Then, connecting it with the former globe, by means of tubes and stopcocks, the litmus paper was exposed for two days to the action of the gas in the first globe; but scarcely any perceptible alteration in its colour was produced;—while paper of the same kind, exposed to oxymuriatic gas, which had not been previously kept in contact with muriate of lime, was instantly rendered white;—and litmus paper, which had not been previously dried, when exposed to oxymuriatic gas dried as before, underwent the same change, though more slowly. From this comparative trial, Mr Davy infers, that the gas produces its effects upon coloured bodies, by decompounding the water present, and setting its oxygene loose;—and he adds, that the hyperoxymuriates owe their bleaching powers, apparently, to the tendency which their metallic base has to form simple combinations with oxymuriatic gas, and thus liberate the superabundant portion of oxygene.

Upon this theory we must be allowed to offer a remark or two, though with great deference, and even some degree of doubt, lest certain considerations may have escaped us, rather than Mr Davy. But although we presume his future experiments will clear this matter up, and add what is now wanting to substantiate the foregoing conclusions, we cannot help at present feeling the deficiency of the evidence on which it rests. The obvious want of direct experiments to determine the effects of oxygene itself, exhibited to colouring particles, is indeed common to this and to the commonly received French explanation. It may moreover be said, that the effects produced by oxygene in its nascent state may, nay in all probability are, very different from any which the gas, when formed, would produce on substances simply immersed in it. Yet of this observation, in its full extent at least, Mr Davy cannot well avail himself; for the superabundant oxygene in hyperoxymuriates scarcely can be said to attack colours in its nascent state. This, however, we pass over, for the purpose of coming to our chief difficulty; and with the same view we abstain from inquiring whether any measures were taken to ascertain that no other change was produced on the oxymuriatic gas by exposure to dry muriate of lime, than merely depriving it of moisture. This our principal difficulty then lies, in the supposition essential to Mr Davy's explanation, that water remains either chemically united or mechanically suspended in the gas without any decomposition, notwithstanding the disposition of the gas to decompound it; and that the

the superabundant portion of oxygene remains united with the metallic bases and the oxymuriatic gas, in hyperoxymuriates, notwithstanding the disposition of those metallic bases to form simple combinations;—and yet, that the mere exhibition of the colouring matter, to whatever vegetable substance it may belong, and consequently of whatever vegetable elements it may consist, always produces the decomposition of the water in the one case, and of the hyperoxymuriatic gas in the other. There is no great difficulty, perhaps, in conceiving that moist litmus paper, when exposed to dry oxymuriatic gas, should have its water decomposed.—But if water in litmus paper is decomposed by this gas, how comes water in this gas itself to escape decomposition?—and how happens it, that the moist gas, as soon as litmus paper is exposed to it, begins to suffer decomposition immediately? And if litmus paper, and all other *coloured* vegetable substances, produce this mutual action of the parts of moist oxymuriatic gas, is it not somewhat strange, that every vegetable substance, whether coloured or not, (we mean whether already bleached or not) should not equally accelerate the decomposition,—since we have no reason whatever to believe that the colouring matter is the same in all bodies, or is something different from the body to which it belongs?—This is a point deserving further examination, and susceptible, we apprehend, of considerable elucidation by very obvious experiments.

The only other observation worthy of notice in the section which we are considering, is a correction of a common opinion, that oxymuriatic gas is capable of being chrystallized when exposed to a low temperature. Mr Davy found, by several experiments, that this is erroneous. The solution of gas in water freezes, indeed, more readily than pure water does—and hence the mistake: but if the gas be dried, and exposed in its dry state to a cold of 40° below nothing of Fahrenheit, no chrystallization whatever takes place.

The first of these papers concludes with some remarks on the changes deemed by our author to be now requisite in the nomenclature of the oxymuriatic gas and its compounds. To continue the denomination originally derived from the supposition of its containing oxygene and muriatic acid, seems absurd to Mr Davy, who considers the existence of oxygene in it, as not proved, and the existence of muriatic acid, as disproved. He therefore proposes, (after consulting some of the most eminent chemical philosophers in this country), that it should be denominated *Chlorine* or *Chloric* gas, from its green colour; and this appellation is certainly preferable to the old one, or indeed to any other which has been given to it,—in as much as it assumes

sumes nothing with respect to its composition, but proceeds merely on the admitted and obvious quality of its colour. As many of the salts at present called Muriates are not known to contain either oxygene or muriatic acid when in their dry state, he proposes to substitute another expression for *muriate*, in those instances. Thus Libavius's liquor, instead of being a muriate of tin, is, he conceives, only a compound of oxymuriatic gas and tin, until water is added; and then it becomes a muriate of tin. Mr Davy proposes, therefore, to modify the termination of the metallic bases, by adding the syllable *ane* to the root, in order to express their union with oxymuriatic gas. Thus he would say—*Stannane* (for Libavius's liquor)—*Argentane* (for hornsilver)—and so for the rest: and he proposes to extend this to all unions of the gas with inflammable matters. We take it for granted, that in cases where the addition of water converts the compound into a muriate, he would have two names, one for the dry, the other for the moist body: so that, for example, stannane should denote the union of dry oxymuriatic gas with dry oxide of tin; and muriate of tin, the stannane exposed to moisture. He points out a way of denoting the proportions of oxymuriatic gas in the different compounds, by changing the *a* into the other vowels: But we need not particularize it; as, in reality, these questions of nomenclature may as well be reserved for a more advanced period of our knowledge of the subject,—a suggestion which appears not to have been absent from our author's own mind, while preparing this part of his paper.

We come now to the second of these interesting communications, in which our author describes a peculiar combination of oxymuriatic gas with oxygene. He had observed, that the properties of oxymuriatic gas varied materially, according as it was procured from manganese and acids, or from hyperoxymuriates and acids. In whatever manner the gas is collected when procured in the former way, its properties are the same; and it is the substance of which we have been treating in the preceding part of this analysis, as the one on which Mr Davy's experiments were made. But the gas obtained from hyperoxymuriates is only similar to the former gas, when it is collected over water;—if collected over mercury, its properties undergo a very remarkable change: It appears to be a compound of oxygene and oxymuriatic gas, with some portion of loose oxymuriatic gas—a sort of oxide of chlorine, as it should be termed, according to Mr Davy's nomenclature already mentioned, though he proposes a new one in this paper. It explodes with great facility by a heat as low as that of the hand,

hand, in transferring it from one vessel to another; and its colour is a brilliant yellow green, instead of the pale yellow of the oxymuriatic gas. By explosion, it loses from $\frac{1}{6}$th to $\frac{3}{7}$ths of its bulk; and, giving out that amount of oxygene, resumes its pale colour. The explosive nature of this body makes it very difficult to examine it; but Mr Davy found, that it contained about two parts in bulk of oxymuriatic acid to one of oxygene—which is condensed to half its volume in the compound. Water takes it up in a very considerable proportion, and acquires an orange tint. When detonated with hydrogene, it produces a solution of muriatic acid, and loses a great part of its volume. Inflammable substances, for the most part, explode and burn in it;—such as do not burn at first, burn brilliantly as soon as heat is applied sufficient to make the gas explode. They generally seem to have a stronger affinity for the oxymuriatic part of the compound, than for the oxygene. With nitrous gas it produces dense red fumes, and an absorption takes place;—with muriatic acid gas, it produces a dew on the sides of the vessel and a gradual absorption, until heat is applied, which makes it go on rapidly.

From the discovery of this singular substance (the existence of which Mr Chenevix had certainly conjectured, when he concluded from some of his experiments, that oxymuriatic gas and oxygene, in a separate form, might unite together), several important inferences are derivable. It throws light both on Mr Davy's theory of the oxymuriates, and various experiments formerly made upon those bodies. In the above analysis, our readers will at once recognize the origin of the phenomena which we have frequently referred to, as exhibited when sulphuric acid is exhibited to hyperoxymuriates. A deep red tinge is given to the acid; and if a drop of water be thrown upon it, an explosion, with light and heat, takes place, and the red colour is discharged. We cannot help suspecting that this red liquor is the acid loaded with the new compound; for though, in one place, Mr Davy seems to think the collecting it over mercury, or in a dry state, essential, he first of all describes the proportion of the salt to the acid as material; and leaves us rather to infer, that the abundance of the salt in proportion to the acid, secures the production of the compound gas; which, though absorbed by water, may unite with the acid in its formation, and may also fill the vessel with its fumes. Whether the water acts by exciting heat only, or is itself decomposed in the process, we are unable, upon the facts hitherto observed, to determine. But the most singular circumstance attending the explosion of this gas is, that it takes place in consequence of an expansion and separation of the component parts of

of a body, instead of accompanying, like all other explosions, the union of separate substances and their condensation into a compound.

The confirmation derived from these phenomena, to Mr Davy's theory of the oxymuriatic gas, is also worthy of our attention. 'If (he observes) oxymuriatic gas contained oxy-'gene, it is not easy to conceive why oxygene should be af-'forded by this new compound to muriatic gas, which must 'already contain oxygene in intimate union; though, on the 'idea of muriatic acid being a compound of hydrogene and 'oxymuriatic gas, the phenomena are such as might be ex-'pected. If the power of bodies to burn in oxymuriatic gas, 'depended upon the presence of oxygene, they all ought to 'burn with much more energy in the new compound;— but 'copper and antimony, and mercury and arsenic, and iron and 'sulphur, have no action upon it, till it is decomposed,—and 'they act then according to their relative attractions on the 'oxygene, or on the oxymuriatic gas.'

In further illustration of this doctrine, our author adds an experiment upon oxymuriate of phosphorus. He passed that body in vapour, together with oxygene gas, through a glass tube heated to redness. The oxymuriate was decomposed; and phosphoric acid, and oxymuriatic gas were formed. Mr Davy contends that this ought not to have happened if the oxymuriate had contained oxygene;—but that if that body consisted of phosphorus united to an uncompounded substance, containing no oxygene, then the fact is easily explained; for oxygene having a stronger attraction for phosphorus than oxymuriatic gas has, ought to unite with it and expel that gas. We will confess that this reasoning goes a very short way to convince us of the theory. The probability of that theory we have always admitted; and it derives some confirmation from the facts presented by the new compound. But the last experiment and the reasoning founded upon it, we really think extremely inconclusive, and cannot help saying that they leave the theory pretty nearly where they found it. It surely by no means follows, that oxymuriatic gas, although a compound of oxygene and some unknown base, should not have for a third body, such as phosphorus, a weaker attraction than oxygene has. Chemistry is full of such instances. Thus, carbone reduces all the metallic oxides; and again, carbonic acid is decomposed by some metals. Phosphoric acid and carbonic acid, it will not be denied, both contain oxygene. Yet carbone decomposes the former; that is, takes oxygene from phosphorus,—while phosphorus decomposes the latter, or takes oxygene from carbone;—nay more, oxide of carbone, that is, common

common carbonaceous matter, a body compounded of carbone and oxygene, decomposes phosphoric acid; that is, a body containing oxygene, takes oxygene from another body containing it; and, to take only one other instance, nitrous gas, containing azote and oxygene, decomposes atmospherical air, containing the same bodies in different proportions, and, for any thing we know, in a different state of combination. Surely it is not more extraordinary that phosphorus should unite with oxygene, and leave a body containing oxygene among other component parts.

So far indeed from considering the experiment above mentioned as decisive, or the argument founded upon it as proving that oxymuriatic gas contains *no* oxygene, we should be inclined to infer from the well known facts which we have just enumerated, (and the catalogue might be indefinitely extended), that it is a very general rule of chemical affinities, that a body, by entering into composition with one or more other substances, forms a compound so different in its nature and affinities from each of its component parts, as to have, with respect to any given one of those parts, affinities quite uninfluenced by the circumstance of that part being found in it,—affinities similar to those which would subsist between the simple substances and any body wholly unconnected with them. It is consistent with this analogy, that the affinities of phosphorus, oxymuriatic gas, and oxygene, among themselves, should be the same whether oxymuriatic gas contains oxygene, or is a third body quite different from either of the others.

That Mr Davy will hereafter—probably at no very distant period, produce ample demonstration of his doctrine by *experiments*, we have every reason to expect, if that theory is founded in truth. In the mean time we must be permitted to suspend our belief, and decline lending it to mere speculations upon probabilities, and remarks derived from analogy and loose conjectures; which, however plausible and ingenious, should rather be the forerunners of investigation, than the results of it; and should rather suggest experiments, than be made substitutes for them. Nor can we think that Mr Davy is always so happy in his reasonings, as in the invention and prosecution of his experiments. To compass what he has done, much accurate thinking was unquestionably requisite;—without just reasoning upon his subject, he could not have invented or followed out his various conclusive experiments. To deny him such powers, would be eminently absurd;—but we observe him frequently prone to habits of less strict reasoning upon experiments invented with different objects. He sometimes argues unsatisfactorily from general principles or the experiments of others, or even from his own, after

after he has well contrived them for their main object:—And if we did not mention such instances when they come in our way, we should prove ourselves unworthy of the honour which we arrogate, of recording his numerous and brilliant discoveries.

This paper concludes with a suggestion that the new compound of oxygene and oxymuriatic gas, may be denominated, from its peculiarly bright green, *euchlorine*, or *euchloric gas*; though upon this he does not strongly insist.

ART. XII. *Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders of Scotland; to which are added, Translations from the Gaelic, and Letters connected with those formerly published.* By the Author of "Letters from the Mountains." 2 vol. 12mo. pp. . London, 1811.

OUR neglect of this lady's former productions should acquit us, we think, for ever, of all imputation of nationality. Since the commencement of our labours, she has published various very popular and meritorious volumes; and, though the only Highlander, and almost the only Scotch woman, who has graced our native literature during this period, we have heroically abstained from all mention of her name; and allowed her to fight her own way to distinction, without any countenance from our compatriot fraternity. She is now, however, fairly entitled to a place among those who 'have attained a certain degree of celebrity,' and, of course, to our verdict upon the question of her having 'deserved it.'

Her 'Letters from the Mountains,' notwithstanding the repulsive affectation of the title, are among the most interesting collections of real letters that have lately been given to the public; and, being indebted for no part of their interest to the celebrity of the names they contain, or the importance of the events they narrate, afford, in their success, a more honourable testimony to the talents of the author. The great charm of the correspondence, indeed, is its perfect independence on artificial helps; and the air of fearlessness and originality which it has consequently assumed. The earlier letters, in particular, breathe so fresh a spirit of youth and enthusiasm, and still carry on them so much of that bright bloom of the mind, which so seldom endures till the age of authorship, that they could scarcely fail to make a powerful impression on all who value rarity, or sympathize with enjoyment. Strong feeling is always eloquent and original; and, therefore, even where they express only common

and familiar feelings, these early letters are uniformly animated and powerful: But many passages of them are interesting on higher considerations;—and it is impossible to read the bold and characteristic sketches of natural scenery which they contain, or to observe the quick discrimination of character, and the acute and profound reflections upon life and manners, which are suggested to a girl of nineteen, by the narrow circle of society to which she had access, and the simple and unvarying way of living that she saw around her,—without feeling how much more valuable the *power* of observation is, than the opportunity,—and from what a scanty selection of specimens a penetrating spirit can deduce the justest estimates of character, and the soundest maxims even of practical wisdom.—The latter part of the collection scarcely keeps the promise of its commencement; and, in the more mature and elaborate efforts of this lady's pen, we miss some of the force and the spirit which characterize its earlier effusions. The whole correspondence, however, shows great richness and activity of fancy, and differs almost entirely from any published letters with which we are acquainted, both in the tone of unaffected enthusiasm which pervades every part of it, and in being drawn wholly from the stores of the writer's own intellect and imagination, and with scarcely any help from her own reading or adventures, or the observations and suggestions of her correspondents. It is pretty nearly made up, therefore, of sentiments and reflections that may be fairly called original; for though they frequently coincide with views that have long been familiar to all who live within the precincts of literature or study, they seem to have come to the author by a very different channel; and generally bear upon them the unequivocal marks of having been honestly worked out of her own experience and meditation.

After what we have just said, we might be expected to speak well of her Poetry,—but it is really not very good; and the most tedious, and certainly the least poetical volume which she has produced, is that which contains her verses. The longest piece,—which she has entitled 'the Highlanders,'—is heavy and uninteresting; and there is a want of compression and finish—a sort of loose, rambling, and indigested air in most of the others. Yet the whole collection is enlivened with the sparklings of a prolific fancy, and displays great command of language and facility of versification. When we write our article upon unsuccessful poetry, we shall endeavour to explain how these qualities may fail of success:—but in the mean time, we think there is an elegy upon an humble friend, and an address from a fountain, and

and two or three other little pieces, which very fully deserve it; —and are written with great beauty, tenderness, and delicacy.

The Memoirs of an American lady contain a very animated picture of that sort of simple, tranquil, patriarchal life, which was common enough within these hundred years in the central parts of England; but of which we are rather inclined to think, that there is now no specimen left in the world;—and which is rendered more interesting in the present striking memorial, by the contrast of its sober and regulated tenor with the wildness of a settlement in the desert, and its combination with some peculiarities in the structure of society derived from the adopted usages of Switzerland and Germany.

The volumes before us have the disadvantage of treating of the same general themes upon which Mrs Grant had already delivered herself at large in her former publications. To illustrate the character and manners of men in remote situations, and in the earlier stages of civilization, may be said to be the object of all her writings; and in her letters, in particular, we are made so well acquainted with her favourite Highlanders, that we were a good deal at a loss to imagine where she was to find materials for an entire new book on the subject. The present work, accordingly, is not entirely free from the fault of repeating what had been already delivered in another form by the author; and a consciousness that she had, in a good measure, exhausted the great and attractive topic of Highland character, genius and manners, has led her, we suspect, to assign a larger portion than she would otherwise have done of the present work, to the less interesting subject of their Superstitions. The book, however, has its full share of novelty; and is marked by all the faults, and most of the merits, that characterize the style of the author—an active, ambititious, and somewhat ill-regulated fancy—a decidedly bad taste in jocularity, compliment, and studied writing—an afflicting habit of trite and paltry quotation—and an unfortunate affectation of oddity and irregularity—of being unable to resist digressions, or to reason upon ordinary things like ordinary mortals—that sometimes reminds us, rather disagreeably, of a very youthful imitation of the style of Tristram Shandy, or the German sentimentalists. If she would correct herself of these faults, however—most of which are obviously to be ascribed to her want of early intercourse with good literary society—we think she has talents to command a very high place among the female writers of her day. She has very great powers of description, both of character and scenery—much force of conception, acuteness, and reach of mind in reasoning—great occasional brightness, and perpetual

activity

activity of fancy,—and a fine enthusiasm for virtue, simplicity,—and the Highlands. We must now introduce our readers to the miscellaneous volumes before us.

Their object is to describe the character, manners, and way of life of the Scotch Highlanders—to trace the origin of their peculiarities—and above all, as we take it, to vindicate and extol them, as a race equally noble, ingenious, and fortunate. Of all the qualities, indeed, that distinguish this publication, the zeal of the author is by far the most remarkable; and, half-converted as we ourselves have been by her proofs and her eloquence, we must not, in fairness to the reader, enter upon any abstract of her observations, without warning him of the suspicions we entertain of her partiality. Though it be difficult, however, to keep pace with her enthusiasm in behalf of this singular race, we agree perfectly in her censure of the incurious indifference with which they have been hitherto regarded by the very same philosophers who think themselves well employed in collecting uncertain notices of far less interesting and less accessible nations.

'Our own literati,' she observes, 'have bewildered themselves in endless and fruitless researches regarding the ancient Scythians and modern Tartars, the Belgæ, the Gauls, the Goths, the more modern Danes. I speak at random, and merely repeat a string of names, of which I know very little, and they cannot know very much. In the mean time, their curiosity seems very moderately excited by the greatest of all possible curiosities—even by the remains of the most ancient, unmingled, and original people in Europe,—of a people who, surrounded by strangers, have preserved, for a series of ages which no records can trace, their national spirit, their national language, their national habits, their national poetry, and, above all, their national mode of thinking, and expressing their thoughts,—their style of manners, and strain of conversation,—and, still more, their local traditions and family genealogies, in one uninterrupted series.'

The truth is, we believe, that the well informed part of the English public know much more of the people of Otaheite or Ceylon, than they do of the people of Badenoch or Lochaber. They know that they wear a strange dress and speak a strange language,—and have heard, perhaps, that they are divided into clans: But, for any thing beyond these outward characteristics, they take no concern; and are satisfied with regarding them as a kind of savages, more ferocious and illiterate than the peasantry of their own districts. To such readers, Mrs Grant will probably appear to maintain a very dull and extravagant paradox, when she represents them as being (or at least as having been)

been) far more uniformly polished in their manners and sentiments than the people of any other country—absolutely free from any taint of vulgarity, even in the very lowest ranks of their society—skilled in all the graces of polite conversation—and almost universally possessed of an extensive knowledge of poetry, and great sensibility to its beauties.' We do not know whether all this can be made out to the full extent that is here stated; but Mrs Grant has certainly gone far to render a great part of it probable;—and there is not a little which, upon reflection, we should be inclined to admit, even without the aid of her testimony.

Vulgarity is not the vice of uncivilized life,—but of a certain stage of civilization. Its seat is not among mountains and wild pastures,—but in comfortable trading towns, and cities of gay manufacturers. The very savage has noble and refined manners, compared with the mechanic or auctioneer: But when the savage habits have been so far put off, as to have mingled the elements of the shepherd and agriculturist in pretty equal proportions with those of the hunter and warrior, and to have produced a being secure of subsistence, and abounding in leisure, it may perhaps be found that he is more polite and agreeable in society, from the very want of those things that contribute most essentially to its ulterior improvement. It is really curious to see how necessarily vulgarity is the growth of national prosperity, and from what apparent defects and imperfections in the social order politeness seems always to take its rise.

We would not, on any account, incur the danger of defining that terrible thing called vulgarity; but holding, merely, that it is something which makes society disagreeable, and chiefly by means of selfishness, ignorance, and narrowness of mind, we would observe, that, in the earlier and ruder stages of human existence, every individual has a great many more things to do, and most of them more animating things, than fall to the lot of a tradesman in more cultivated times. A man who, in the course of one year, performs the functions of a soldier, a hunter, a shepherd, a fisher, and of twenty different mechanical artists besides,—who roams, in the course of his employments, over a great tract of various country, and has occasion to study, however superficially, so many of the laws of nature, the habits of animals, and the characters of men,—must necessarily have his mind more stored with ideas, must be more disposed to communicate them, and must think more highly of himself, than the dull mechanic, who scarcely ever sees the open face of heaven or of earth, but spends his whole life in a dungeon, putting heads on pins, or points on nails, or tossing a shuttle alternately

ternately from one hand to the other. The truth is, that this great discovery of the subdivision of labour, upon which national prosperity is almost exclusively founded, has had a sad effect on the character of the lower orders; and has degraded the bulk of the population far below the average of less wealthy communities. The degradation, too, is more severely felt, from the new elevation that is at the same time communicated to the more fortunate individuals who stand at the head of the extended scale. The tradesman of our own days is not only actually and absolutely an inferior animal to the hunter peasant of antient times, but he is incomparably farther from being on a level with what is highest in the society around him. In primitive times, men are much more on an equality. If the retainer be utterly without education or booklearning, the chief has but little of either to boast of; and, when distinction is only to be gained by personal gifts or accomplishments which are universally in demand, the probability is, that these will be found as frequently among the poor as the rich. In after times, however, the upper ranks engross all the graces and accomplishments that lead to honour or distinction,—since they alone can command either the means and opportunities of acquiring them, or the occasions for their exercise and display. It is easy to conceive, therefore, that the great body of the people should both feel and appear awkward and degraded in the comparison; and that we should meet no longer, among the poor, with that free and graceful address, that companionable intelligence and air of self-esteem, which is the necessary foundation of all good manners and all agreable society.

It is of still greater consequence, however, to remember, that, in the earlier stages of society, the higher and the lower ranks were approximated, not only by a pretty equal participation of such knowledge and accomplishments as the age possessed, but by a far greater degree of mutual dependence than can now be said to unite them. Before the introduction of luxury and manufactures, a chieftain could neither employ nor display his wealth and influence in any other way, than by maintaining a large body of clansmen or retainers; and those who were born poor had no other means of subsistence, but by enrolling themselves among the followers of their chief. The tenure, too, by which the latter held these services, in which his whole consequence and enjoyment consisted, was so slender, that it was necessary for him to secure their attachment by a courteous and condescending demeanour, and by an equal participation of their toils and amusements. The whole society, therefore, was united, as it were, into one company;—the highest and the lowest of its members were mingled in the same fields, and at the same table;

—and whatever of grace or dignity,—of refinement of sentiment, or gallantry of feeling, existed in the chief, was very likely to be derived, in some degree, to the whole mass of those whose duty and occupation it thus was to live in his presence, to share his occupations, and to imitate his manners.—In modern times, it is needless to say how all this has been changed. The rich and the great have scarcely any connexion or intercourse of any sort with persons of inferior condition. A few hired domestics, who are changed every season, supply the place of their old hereditary retainers; and their income is spent in purchasing, from persons who neither know nor feel any obligation to them, such articles as are required for the consumption of their individual families. The lower orders, being thus cut off from all social intercourse with the higher, and never coming into their presence but on occasions which remind them of their inferiority, naturally come to feel and to be regarded as low, awkward, and degraded beings, and to abandon, in despair, all pretensions to those accomplishments in which they were once allowed to participate with their superiors.

There are still two circumstances to be noticed—and arising, like the preceding, out of what is called the progress and improvement of society—which have depressed the character and manners of the lower orders far below what they were in times that are considered as comparatively rude and barbarous;—we mean, the individual independence which men have obtained, by means of good laws and a vigilant and active police,—and the little leisure which manufacturing industry has left for the cultivation or exercise of social gifts or talents. A very few words will be sufficient to show the extent of both these sources of degradation.

In the rude and primitive forms of society, when laws are few, feeble and inaccessible, men must depend, in a great measure, on their own efforts for the protection of their persons and property. They cannot go, at every moment, to swear the peace against a neighbour whom they have offended, or to obtain a search-warrant for the cattle they suspect to have been stolen;—they must protect their persons by resolute, but, at the same time, most courteous and circumspect manners,—by cautiously avoiding to give offence, which they know will be avenged,—and by maintaining such a carriage, as to deter others from offering any offence to them:—And their property they must protect, where there are neither constables, nor watchmen, nor enclosures, by rendering themselves agreeable and respected by all those to whom it is exposed,—by maintaining a good understanding with those who are near, and a vigilant observation of those who are at a distance. How much all this must tend

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to sharpen the intellect, and to improve the manners,—to produce, in short, that union of courage and courtesy, of obligingness and high spirit, which is the true distinction of a gentleman, it is as needless to point out, as to show how all encouragement for the formation of such a character is taken away, by the improvement of laws, and the introduction of a strict police. When a man can at all times enforce his claims by the sentence of a judge, and defend himself with the arm of a magistrate, it is no longer necessary for him to be either loved or feared as an individual; and, having no pressing occasion for the exercise of popular or of formidable qualities, he is very apt to cease to be either brave or amiable, and to pursue his own sordid gains, or sensual gratifications, without regard to the opinion of his neighbours. Thus, the improvement of law and internal policy, though it promotes, in an incalculable degree, the tranquillity and security of society, has an evident tendency to lower the general standard both of character and of manners; and would injure them still more conspicuously, if it could be carried as far as some great philosophers have supposed it might be carried. A great deal of the spirit and the polish by which the higher ranks are distinguished, is derived, we are persuaded, from the importance they ascribe to things which law has not yet been able to subdue to her authority;—to the practice of duelling—and of proscription from good society for notorious violation of its sanctions. If there were a court in which a gentleman could seek for reparation for his wounded honour, or from which he could despatch an officer to recover satisfaction for his affronts, there would soon be a pretty visible falling off, we fear, in the dignity and refinement of our present manners. It is very remarkable, accordingly, that there is least delicacy and politeness in the commenalty of those nations where there is the best police, and the most ready access to the law;—in Holland, for example, and America, and in some parts of Great Britain.

The want of leisure, too, as well as the uniformity of their labour, is an obvious and prodigious disadvantage in the condition of the lower orders in commercial countries. Their whole time is engrossed by toils that have no remission, and no variety,—which leave them little opportunity for the exercise of social qualifications, and unfit them, in a great degree, for their acquisition. Receiving no new or striking impressions from the eternal recurrence of the same dull occupation, they have but little to communicate in their few hours of relaxation; and, never having tasted the pleasures of animated or diversified conversation, they set no value on its attainment, and take no pains

for its cultivation. The little leisure they have, therefore, is spent in the alehouse or the streets, - in absolute inactivity, or in brutal dissipation.—In ruder times, however, the miscellaneous labours of the peasant have long intervals of repose; and the adventurous nature of his pursuits readily suggests matter for interesting narrative, and animated discussion. During the darkness and inactivity of a long winter, the art of conversation becomes a resource of no slight importance, and is cultivated with proportional care. When this, however, is once made an object of attention, it would mortify a Chesterfield to find how soon all its laws are discovered, and with what delicacy and exactness they are practised, even among those who pass under the appellation of savages. The same rejection of all direct contradiction,—the same avoidance of all topics that are personally painful to any of the hearers,—the same temperance in raillery,- the same patient listening,—and more than the same deference to age, that are prescribed by the veteran observer of courtly manners, are practised and enforced, not merely in the cottage of the Highlander, but in the tent of the wandering Arab, and the wigwam of the American Indian.

Such seem to be the chief circumstances which have a tendency, in all rude societies, to confer on the lower orders a certain degree of dignity and intelligence, which they are not found to attain in the more advanced stages of national prosperity,—and which may seem to make it doubtful, whether the great improvement which society has made in wealth, splendour, and power, is not accompanied with some diminution of the happiness of the larger body, as it undoubtedly is, with a great falling off in the polish of their manners, and the elevation of their sentiments. In this hasty sketch, we have spoken only of the lower orders,— and of the origin of that awkwardness, brutishness and self-abasement, in which *their* vulgarity consists; and this we have done, both because it was with reference to the absence of this quality in that class of persons that the discussion was suggested, and because, in reality, the description and the genealogy of vulgarity is one and the same, whether we take our examples from among the rich, or the poor. Its essence consists in ignorance and narrowness of mind in conscious inferiority,— and in habitual inattention to the pains and pleasures that may be occasioned by the ordinary intercourse of [illegible] and, where these have grown into habit, the posses[illegible]ealth will only render them more conspicuous, and more [illegible] If a man's education have been neglected, and his whole mind contracted by a constant attention to some mechanical process, it can make no great difference as to his manners, whether

whether he has bestowed this attention as a journeyman or a master—whether, for example, he daily takes account of the packing of ten thousand nails, or is merely employed in hammering out *fifty*. In both cases, there will be the same blank in the understanding, and the same palsy in the imagination—the same incapacity to interest or amuse by the varied exercise of the faculties—and the same awkwardness and conscious inferiority in the presence of those who possess these qualifications. Instead of running to the alehouse, like his journeyman, he may seek to amuse the heavy intervals of his leisure by more costly voluptuousness—or by domineering over his servants, or insulting his dependants; but his pleasures will be equally sensual and sordid in the main, and his conversation equally regardless of the feelings of those around him. The only difference probably will be, that he may endeavour to disguise his awkwardness and inward sense of inferiority, by a ludicrous imitation, or an affected contempt of the elegance which he despairs of attaining;—producing, on the one hand, that miserable affectation which renders so much of middle life both wretched and ridiculous,—and, on the other, that coarse and purse-proud insolence which now and then overcomes us with a still worse abomination. Opulent vulgarity, indeed, is not often met with in perfection, except among those who have recently acquired their wealth by some mechanical employment: and there, it is not wonderful that it should appear—what indeed it is—the vulgarity of an ordinary tradesman, magnified and illuminated by its situation.

It would be easy, in like manner, to show, that the politeness by which the higher ranks are distinguished, arises almost entirely from their possessing, though no doubt in a higher degree, those very advantages which seem in earlier times to have belonged to the whole community—the self-estimation produced by the consciousness of being on a level with what is highest in society—the variety of occupation which enriches and enlivens the faculties—the leisure which enables, and indeed compels them, to seek amusement in society—their dependence upon the esteem of their associates for all that is left them to desire—and the impossibility of obtaining, by the help of law or public authority, those objects that are most essential to their happiness.—But it is more to the purpose to apply all this to the character of our Highlanders.

While they lived under the pure and undecayed influence of their clannish institutions, they not only enjoyed all those advantages which we have enumerated as common to tribes in that stage of civilization, but several others that were in some degree peculiar to themselves. Mrs Grant insists a great deal

upon their having been, from the first of time, an *unconquered* nation, and a nation that had made great but effectual sacrifices for the preservation of their freedom. We are not disposed to ascribe a great deal to this. The Highlanders, if not conquered, were at least driven from the field; nor is a nation apt to feel degraded, because its ancestors were in antient times overcome by superior force. The descendants of Caractacus, like the descendants of Hector, Cato, or Brutus, have at least as much reason to be proud of their lineage as the issue of their conquerors. It is however of far greater and more substantial importance to observe, that the Highlanders have preserved, more unbroken and entire than any subsisting nation, the genealogies of their clans, even in their humblest ramifications. Having been fixed for innumerable centuries in the same spots, and without the intermixture of colonists or conquerors, their family histories have been preserved for a period which would appear incredible to the mongrel inhabitants of the plains: nor is it a mere catalogue of names that is thus repeated, to feed the pride of their descendants.

'In their conversations,' says Mrs Grant, 'the heroic actions, the wise or humorous savings, the enterprises, the labours, the talents, or even the sufferings of their ancestors, are perpetually remembered. These are so often, and so fondly descanted on, where all the world abroad is shut out, that the meanest particulars become hallowed by their veneration of the departed, and are carried on from father to son with incredible accuracy and fidelity. I must be supposed to mean such anecdotes as did honour to the memory of their ancestors. Departed vice and folly sleep in profound oblivion. No one talks of the faults of conduct, or defects in capacity of any of his forefathers. They may be, perhaps, too faithfully recorded by some rival family; but, among a man's own predecessors, he only looks back upon sages and heroes.

'And even among the lowest classes, a man entertains his sons and daughters in a winter night, by reciting the plaintive melody, or mournful ditty, which his great grandmother had composed on the death of her husband, who had lost his life crossing an overswelling stream, to carry, in time of war, an important message for his chief; or of her son, who perished in trying to bring down the nest of an eagle, which preyed on the lambs of the little community —or who was lost in the drift, while humanely searching for the sheep of a sick or absent neighbour.' I. 20, 21.

Now, of all the practices that could be devised to exalt the characters and expand the minds of an illiterate peasantry, we cannot form a conception of any so powerful as this perpetual commemoration of the virtues and exploits of their ancestors—this early discipline of pride and ambition engaging them

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to look both before and after,—connecting them at once in an honourable manner with the past and the future,—and leading them to value themselves both as sustaining the reputation of men distinguished in their generation, and destined to be remembered by their posterity either with triumph or with shame: —These are the feelings which the pride of ancestry is, in other countries, supposed to raise in the breasts of the noble and exalted; but in the highlands of Scotland, they seem to have possessed that of the most obscure individual,—and probably produced the most powerful effects upon those who were reduced, by the homeliness of their external circumstances, to look oftenest back upon this soothing remembrancer of their individual importance. In other countries, a man of the lower orders can seldom look back beyond his grandfather,—and never looks forward beyond his son. He has no conception of acting up to the character of his ancestors,—and no anxiety for the name he may transmit to his posterity. He feels nothing strongly but his own insignificance, and the selfish and debasing propensity, to seek only the present gratification of a being that seems born to be forgotten.

This self-estimation of the Highlanders, however, is further stimulated and fostered, as it appears to us, by his rivalry, or rather by his jealousy and scorn of his neighbours in the low country. When men know no other manners than those that belong to their own society, they look upon them merely as natural, and never think of referring to them as subjects either of shame or exultation. If their habits lead them to be brave, and active, and ingenious, they do not imagine that there is any greater merit in their possessing these qualities, than in their possessing each two eyes and two hands:—But if they have in their vicinity a race who are deficient in the accomplishments they value most highly, and who pretend to undervalue them for defects which produce no inconvenience, they immediately begin to rate themselves considerably higher,—and to cultivate, with double assiduity, the qualifications which minister most to their pride; at the same time that they insensibly borrow a little from their despised neighbours,—and correct, by their example, some of the most obvious defects in their own institutions. Mrs Grant has represented in strong, and, we believe, in just colours, the mutual antipathy of these contiguous races.

'No two nations ever were more distinct, or differed more completely from each other, than the highlanders and lowlanders; and the sentiments with which they regarded each other, was at best a kind of smothered animosity

'The lowlander considered the highlander as a fierce and savage depredator,

depredator, speaking a barbarous language, and inhabiting a gloomy and barren region, which fear and prudence forbid all strangers to explore. The attractions of his social habits, strong attachments, and courteous manners, were confined to his glens and to his kindred All the pathetic and sublime charms of his poetry, and all the wild wonders of his records, were concealed in a language difficult to acquire, and utterly despised as the jargon of barbarians by their southern neighbours.

'If such were the light in which the cultivators of the soil regarded the hunters, graziers, and warriors of the mountains, their contempt was amply repaid by their high spirited neighbours. They again regarded the lowlanders, as a very inferior mongrel race of intruders; sons of little men, without heroism, ancestry, or genius; mechanical drudges, who could neither sleep out on the snow, compose extempore songs, recite long tales of wonder or of woe, or live without bread and without shelter, for weeks together, following the chase. Whatever was mean or effeminate, whatever was dull, slow, mechanical, or torpid, was in the highlands imputed to the lowlanders, and exemplified by some allusion to them: while, in the low country, every thing ferocious or unprincipled—every species of awkwardness or ignorance—of pride or of insolence, was imputed to the highlanders.' I p. 27—29.

The most powerful, however, of all the causes that contributed to give an air of dignity and refinement to the whole highland population, is no doubt the great abundance and the lofty character of their popular poetry. We would not, upon any account, take such an occasion as the present to enter into the controversy as to the authenticity of some celebrated works, purporting to be translations from their poetry;—but, that poetry has existed in great quantities, from a very remote antiquity, in those regions, and possessing the same general tone that characterizes these translations, is a fact perfectly notorious to all who have conversed with the natives, and which might indeed have been anticipated from a well known part of their institution. We allude now to the regular establishment, not only of Senachies or genealogists, but of Bards or poets, in all considerable families,—an establishment suggested naturally by their pride of ancestry, and their delight in the praises of their illustrious progenitors. These circumstances, too, would naturally determine the character of the poetry that was produced. Being intended primarily to celebrate the virtues and exploits of departed chiefs and warriors, it would treat principally, and with the customary exaggerations, of feats of arms and generosity; and be prolonged into eloquent lamentations for departed heroes, invocations to their ghosts, and exhortations to their descendants. It would assume, therefore, an heroic, and

and enthusiastic, and melancholy tone: and, without allowing any thing for the ardent temperament of the people, or the inspiration of their adventurous way of life, and the sublime aspects of the regions they inhabited, it is impossible to doubt that, in the course of ages, these national epics must have accumulated and been diffused in very extraordinary abundance.

Consider now the prodigious effects that must have been produced on the character of a people so circumstanced, by the prevalence of such a body of poetry. In the first place, it is to be observed, that it was almost all preserved by oral tradition, and published and diffused among the descendants of those whom it celebrated, by those extraordinary recitations which are still known to form the favourite entertainment of a Highland winter evening. Among a people fond of society, and abounding in leisure, it was diffused, therefore, much more universally than any written poetry can ever be, even in the most improved and cultivated societies. In these, there must always be many who cannot read, and many who will not; and of those who both can and will, a great proportion will be found to dedicate themselves to other branches of study, and to have neither taste nor leisure for the perusal of poetry. Every man, however, can listen; and where the whole stock of literature consists in poetry, the chance is, that every man has listened to a great deal of it.

But, in the second place, and this is of still greater importance, it should be remembered, that their poetry was accommodated, in a most singular degree, to the character and capacity, to the prejudices and affections, of those for whose use it was produced. It did not treat, like most of the written poetry of Europe, of remote regions and nations long ago extinguished; of gods that are known to have had no existence, or men whose existence is known only to the learned and studious: It spoke of the exploits of their own progenitors;—of the very mountains and the valleys, to the echoes of which it was recited; —of the fields of battle, where they still saw the mouldering bones and the rusted arms of their kindred;—of the feats and the fall of chiefs, whose gathered heaps still met their eyes in the desert. It painted no manners, but those with which their own experience was familiar; - it recounted no prodigies that were not still current in their belief, and reported no language but that which was ever resounding in their ears. It is impossible that such poetry as this should not be listened to with eagerness, and treasured up in the memory with avidity: And it is equally impossible that it should not produce a great and conspicuous effect upon the character and manners

ners of those to whom its study not only stood in the place of all literature, but constituted an occupation and a duty of the first magnitude. Every step they took after their enemies, their game, or their cattle, presented to their eyes the scene of some lofty description, or some daring exploit. Every valley and every cliff,—every river, and cavern, and defile, reminded them of some feat of their ancestors; and every such feat was clothed, in their conception of it, in the brightness of poetical description, and rose to their recollection with all the splendid accompaniments of sublime imagery or passionate expression, with which the genius of the poet had invested it. Their poetry was not written, indeed, in books, which might be illegible or neglected; but it was written on the rocks and the mountains, the cairns and the caverns of their country, and in the hearts, and lives, and daily occupations of its inhabitants. Even if such poetry had existed in the low country, it would not have produced the same effects,—for it would not have existed alone: and there would have been neither leisure nor disposition in the body of the people to attend to it. But, in reality, it never did exist in the low country. The gods and heroes of our dignified poetry are beings quite incomprehensible and uninteresting to the uninstructed; and the few humble ballads that have been indited upon subjects accommodated to their condition, are calculated to do any thing but to expand the heart, or elevate the imagination. In the Highlands, however, there is no one so poor as not to reckon chieftains and celebrated warriors in his genealogy; and, the humblest peasant being early fed with legends of his ancestors' glory, finds no poetry so congenial to his taste, as that which is devoted to their praise.

Without going further, then, into this curious subject, we think it may be asserted, without any great extravagance, that this universal pride of family, with its cherished domestic chronicles, added to their early and continual familiarity with such a species of poetry as has been described, must have communicated to the Highland tribes a degree both of polish and of elevation, which we would look for in vain among the more luxurious commonalty of the South; and that this 'traditionary and poetical education,' as Mrs Grant has happily termed it, in which every one is unintentionally trained, may have done as much for the illiterate natives of the Grampians, as could have been accomplished by a more systematic course of instruction.

These, accordingly, are the elements to which Mrs Grant ascribes the extraordinary polish and gentleness of deportment

for

for which she contends so fondly in her mountaineers; but she adds, that they were harmonized and reduced to form,—moulded and fitted for society, by the habit of frequenting the castles and the company of their chieftains. After enlarging, with great zeal, upon the deeper and more fundamental sources of their ease and politeness, and expressing a sufficient degree of contempt for those who think that such qualities are exclusively the growth of courts, she proceeds—

'However, to conciliate those very refined persons, it may be as well to own, what is in fact literally true, that much of the polish, superadded to the courtesy of the mountains, *was* owing to the frequency of courts among them. In the superior culture of the heart and of the imagination, no doubt, they had their origin. But, in the halls of the Chieftains, they "received the form and pressure" which so much distinguished them. This, too, is obvious from the symptoms of decay that begin to appear since the diminution of feudal influence.

'To keep awake the unseen vigilance which guards the barriers of good breeding, there must be something to excite both awe and admiration. The petty pomp of a Chieftain's castle was quite enough to produce this effect on him who had never seen any thing finer, and who supposed his own chief to be the first of human beings; and this chief, though possessed of little more knowledge than the meanest of his vassals, might, nevertheless, be a very tolerable model for the manners of his clan. Nothing can be more erroneous than the prevalent idea, that a Highland Chief was an ignorant and unprincipled tyrant, who rewarded the abject submission of his followers with relentless cruelty and rigorous oppression. He was, on the contrary, the father of his people: gracious, condescending, and beloved. Far from being ruled by arbitrary caprice, he was taught from the cradle to consider the meanest individual of his clan, as his kinsman and his friend, whom he was born to protect, and bound to regard. He was taught, too, to venerate old age, to respect genius, and to place an almost implicit dependence on the counsels of the elders of his clan. Nay, so great was the prevalence of public spirit over private inclination, among those habituated to consider themselves as born for the good of others, that a chieftain seldom contradicted the opinion of his counsellors, in the most personal of all concerns, his choice of a companion for life.

'Conscious power, and the habit of receiving universal respect, gave dignity to his manners—still more elevated by that loftiness of conception, incident to him, who thinks not of himself, but enlarges his comprehension by balancing continually in his mind the concerns of many. Beloved as he knew himself to be, it is not likely that he should want ——" the ease
" Which marks security to please." I. p. 206—208.

The

The slight sketch which we have now given of the Highland character, imperfect as it necessarily is, would, however, be still more incomplete, if we were not to take some notice of that singular trait, which has rendered it necessary to say so much in its explanation; we mean, the habitual reserve—half proud and half timid—with which they endeavour to conceal, among strangers, the peculiarities that distinguish and do honour to their race.

'Nothing,' says Mrs Grant, 'was so terrible to the punctilious pride of a Highlander as ridicule. To any but his countrymen, he carefully avoided mentioning his customs, his genealogies, and, above all, his superstitions. Nay, in some instances, he affected to speak of them with contempt, to enforce his pretensions to literature or philosophy. These early impressions, however, and all the darling absurdities and fictions connected with them, only lay dormant in his mind, to be awaked by the first inspiring strain of his native poetry, the blast from the mountain he had first ascended, or the roar of the torrent that was wont to resound by the halls of his fathers. The moment that he felt himself within the stony girdle of the Grampians, though he did not yield himself a prey to implicit belief, and its bewildering terrors and fantastic inspirations, still he resigned himself willingly to the sway of that potent charm—that mournful, yet pleasing illusion, which the combined influence of a powerful imagination and singularly warm affections have created and preserved in those romantic regions. That fourfold band, wrought by music, poetry, tenderness, and melancholy, which connects the past with the present, and the material with the immaterial world, by a mystic and invisible tie; which all born within its influence feel, yet none, free from subjection to the potent spell, can comprehend. This partial subjection to the early habits of resignation to the wildering powers of song and superstition, is a weakness to which no educated and polished Highlander will ever plead guilty: It is a secret sin, and, in general, he dies without confession.' I. 35–37.

The only important trait that remains, is that of their Superstitions; and we cannot say that we find these either very interesting or very remarkable. Many of the stories, however, in which they are embodied, contain curious and incidental views of their character and state of manners; and furnish Mrs Grant with abundant opportunities for the display of her powers of description. One of the most striking is the following, which was told, it is said, by a very poor and illiterate woman, in the course of an exhortation which she addressed to a lady in her neighbourhood, who had abandoned herself to excessive sorrow on the loss of a favourite child. It related to an adventure which happened in Glen Banchar, a recess in the central Highlands, which Mrs Grant describes as being—

—'the

—‘ the most dreary and detached of all places of human habitation, and in winter the most stormy and inaccessible There was however,’ she adds, ‘ much summer grazing about it; and its remoteness, and the rocky barriers with which nature had surrounded it, saved from all encroachment the few daring tenants who risked their lives by wintering there. They grew wealthy in cattle; and as none but themselves understood the art of managing them during the stormy season in that recess, their rent was never heightened; and they lived in their own way in great plenty and comfort.

‘ One peasant, in particular, whose wealth, wisdom and beneficence, gave him great sway in this elevated hamlet, was fortunate in all respects but one. He had three very fine children, who all, in succession. died after having been weaned. though, before, they gave every promise of health and firmness. Both parents were much afflicted; but the father's grief was clamorous and unmanly. They resolved that the next should be suckled for two years, hoping, by this, to avoid the repetition of such a misfortune. They did so; and the child, by living longer, only took a firmer hold of their affections, and furnished more materials for sorrowful recollection. At the close of the second year, he followed his brothers; and there were no bounds to the affliction of the parents.

‘ There are, however, in the economy of Highland life, certain duties and courtesies which are indispensable; and for the omission of which nothing can apologize. One of these is, to call in all their friends, and feast them at the time of the greatest family distress. The death of the child happened late in spring, when sheep were abroad in the more inhabited *straths*; but, from the blasts in that high and stormy region, were still confined to the cot. In a dismal snowy evening, the man, unable to stifle his anguish, went out, lamenting aloud for a lamb to treat his friends with at the late-wake. At the door of the cot, however, he found a stranger standing before the entrance. He was astonished, in such a night, to meet a person so far from any frequented place. The stranger was plainly attired; but had a countenance expressive of singular mildness and benevolence, and, addressing him in a sweet, impressive voice, asked him what he did there amidst the tempest. He was filled with awe, which he could not account for, and said, that he came for a lamb. ‘ What kind of lamb do you mean to take?’ said the stranger. ‘ The very best I can find,’ he replied, ‘ as it is to entertain my friends; and I hope you will share of it.’ ‘ Do your sheep make any resistance when you take away the lamb, or any disturbance afterwards?’ ‘ Never,’ was the answer. ‘ How differently am I treated!’ said the traveller. ‘ When I come to visit my sheepfold, I take, as I am well entitled to do, the best lamb to myself; and my ears are filled with the clamour of discontent by these ungrateful sheep, whom I have fed, watched, and protected.’

‘ He looked up in amaze; but the vision was fled. He went however

ever for the lamb, and brought it home with alacrity. He did more: It was the custom of these times—a custom, indeed, which was not extinct till after 1745 – for people to dance at late-wakes. It was a mournful kind of movement, but still it was dancing. The nearest relation of the deceased often began the ceremony weeping; but did however, begin it, to give the example of fortitude and resignation. This man, on other occasions, had been quite unequal to the performance of this duty; but at this time, he immediately, on coming in, ordered music to begin, and danced the solitary measure appropriate to such occasions. The reader must have very little sagacity or knowledge of the purport and consequences of visions, who requires to be told, that many sons were born, lived, and prospered afterwards, in this reformed family.' I. p. 184–88.

The following has less local peculiarity in its circumstances; but is rather a good specimen of the dreary apparition,—to say nothing of the advantage of having been told to Mrs Grant by the very lady who witnessed it. She and an only brother were left orphans in early youth; and loved each other the better for having no one else to love. The youth died at college at Aberdeen—and his sister was inconsolable.

'It is not to be told how much the loss of a beloved object was aggravated by his thus dying, where he could not be buried with his fathers; and where the mourner could not visit his grave, and bedew it with the offerings of affection. Night after night she sat up, weeping incessantly, and calling in frantic agony on the beloved name, which was all she had left of what was once so dear to her.

At length, in a waking dream, or very distinct vision, her brother appeared to her in his shroud, and seemed wet and shivering. Why, selfish creature, said he, why am I disturbed with the impious extravagance of thy sorrow? I have a long journey to make through dark and dreary ways, before I arrive at the peaceful abode, where souls attain their rest. 'Till thou art humble and penitent for this rebellion against the decrees of Providence, every tear thou sheddest falls on this dark shroud without drying; and every night thy tears still more chill and encumber me. Repent, and give thanks for my deliverance from many sorrows.' I. p. 180—182.

The whole population, indeed, believe firmly in ghosts,—and most of them upon their own experience. Mrs Grant, we suspect, has not had this advantage,—but she assures us that the belief is universal; and upon this ground triumphantly refutes the scepticism of a Saxon critic, who has founded some doubts of the authenticity of certain Celtic poems, on the prodigious quantity of apparitions which they contained. It would have been just as reasonable, she observes, to have questioned the accuracy of a map of Scotland, on account of the incredible number of hills which it represented! Most of these aerial visitants

sitants appear, like their brethren in other countries, in the gloom and solitude of the night; but some, which seem peculiar to the Highlands, make their approach in broad day.—These are all blessed spirits; and appear with an air of divine beauty and benignity, to soothe, with a silent and momentary smile, the desolated objects of their affection.'

The following story might easily be matched in the Lowlands;—but we insert it out of respect to the pious and intelligent clergyman upon whose authority it is given by our author. This worthy person was accustomed, Mrs Grant informs us,

'—to go forth and meditate at even; and this solitary walk he always directed to his churchyard, which was situated in a shaded spot, on the banks of a river. There, in a dusky October evening, he took his wonted path, and lingered, leaning on the churchyard wall, till it became twilight, when he saw two small lights rise from a spot within, where there was no stone, nor memorial of any kind. He observed the course these lights took, and saw them cross the river, and stop at an opposite hamlet. Presently they returned, accompanied by a larger light, which moved on between them, till they arrived at the place from which the first two set out, when all the three seemed to sink into the earth together.

'The good man went into the churchyard and threw a few stones on the spot where the light disappeared. Next morning he walked out early, called for the sexton, and showed him the place, asking if he remembered who was buried there. The man said, that many years ago, he remembered burying in that spot, two young children, belonging to a blacksmith on the opposite side of the river, who was now a very old man. The pastor returned, and was scarce set down to breakfast, when a message came to hurry him to come over to pray with the smith, who had been suddenly taken ill, and who died next day.' I. p. 259—261.

We add one other legend, which is more characteristic of the peculiarities of Highland manners. When a chief goes from home, his castle is watched every night by his adherents. This, which was probably a very necessary precaution in antient times, has now degenerated into a mere form or compliment; and is discharged by some gentleman of the clan sitting up in the great room of the castle, with his servant, till daybreak. One of these watchmen came to perform this duty not very long ago, and brought with him a young lad, who had never seen a large room or a large picture in his life, and seemed very much struck, from his first entrance, with the silent array of family portraits which gazed upon him from the walls. His master sat down quietly by the fire; and the youth in the recess of a window, at a respectful distance.

'The master, after watching till near morning, was overpower-

ed

ed with sleep. The servant, full of wonder and speculation, was kept awake by the novelty of the scene around him. He perceived, however, that his master slumbered, and, feeling a sudden chill, attempted to rise, and awaken him. He was suddenly arrested by astonishment, when the great folding doors were silently thrown open, and two footmen in the family livery came in bearing lights. They were followed by some of the family who had been dead for years, and whose wan and ghastly visages "looked not like inhabitants of the earth." Their dress and behaviour, however, exactly resembled that of their fellow-mortals in the same condition of life. Pope tells us of female Sylphs or Gnomes, who, "though "they play no more, o'erlook the cards!" but these phantoms went further;—the card tables were placed, and they actually sat down to play. They conversed, too, a great deal; but though this intruder on their amusements saw their lips moving, and their gestures varying, he never heard the sound of their voices.

'His terror was much augmented by recognizing in one of the footmen a kinsman of his own, who in his lifetime had served in the castle in that capacity; the dusky grey of the dawn now began to appear; the shadowy troop rather hastily returned the way they came. In passing, however, one of them turned towards the watcher, and breathed upon him.—It was a cold breath, that seemed to freeze the blood in his veins. The cock crew, and his master wakened. The poor visionary begged to be carried home, being unable to move. His request was immediately complied with; he called his friends about him, and narrated all that had happened to him, adding, that the hand of death was upon him, and nothing could save him. He died in three days after, of a fever and delirium.' I. 228–230.

Fairies abound greatly in the Highlands; and bear the same character for courtesy, nimbleness, and occasional attachment to mortals, which endear them to the inhabitants of the plains. They are far better accommodated, however, with suitable scenery, if Mrs Grant has not exaggerated in the following and several other descriptions.

'In the narrow part of the valley through which the Spey makes its way from the parish of Laggan downwards to that of Kingussie, there is some scenery of a very singular character. To the south, the Spey is seen making some fine bends round the foot of wooded hills. It is bordered by a narrow stripe of meadow, of the richest verdure, and fringed with an edging of beautiful shrubbery. On the north side rises, with precipitous boldness, Craigow, or the Black Rock, the symbol and boundary of the clan who inhabit the valley. It is very black, indeed; yet glitters in the sun, from the many little streams which descend from its steep, indeed perpendicular, surface. In the face of this lofty rock are many apertures, occasioned by the rolling down of portions of the stone, from which

echoing

echoing noises are often heard. This scene of terror overlooks the soft features of a landscape below, that is sufficient, with this association, to remind us of what has been said of "Beauty sleeping in the lap of horror." An eminence, as you approach towards the entrance to the strait, appears covered with regularly formed hillocks, of a conical form, and of different sizes, clothed with a kind of dwarf birch, extremely light-looking and fanciful, sighing and trembling to every gale, and breathing odours after a calm evening shower, or rich dewy morning. In the depth of the valley, there is a lochan (the diminutive of loch) of superlative beauty. It is a round, clear, and shallow bason, richly fringed with water lilies, and presenting the clearest mirror to the steep wooded banks on the south, and the rugged face of the lofty and solemn rock which frowns darkly to the north. On the summit, scarce approachable by human foot, is the only nest of the goshawk, now known to remain in Scotland: and, in the memory of the author, the nearest farm to this awful precipice was held by the tenure of taking down, every year, one of the young of this rare bird for the lord of the soil.

'The screaming of the birds of prey on the summit, the roaring of petty waterfalls down its sides, and the frequent falls of shivered stone from the surface, made a melancholy confusion of sounds, very awful and incomprehensible to the travellers below, who could only proceed on a very narrow path on the edge of the lake, and under the side of this gloomy rock.—It did not require a belief in fairies to look round for them in this romantic scene. If one had merely heard of them, an involuntary operation of fancy would summon them to a place so suited for their habitation.' I. 265–266.

These regular little eminences, beset with bilberry and foxglove, and overgrown with the light foliage of the birch and mountain-ash eternally playing round them, are called *tomhans*, and universally believed to be the habitation of this innocent and amiable race. The youths that tend their cattle in the open solitudes around, are frequently cheered by the music of small sweet pipes issuing from those lovely hillocks; and some daring mortals have lingered among them long enough, to hear them turning their bread on their tiny platters within, and to smell the odour of the oatcakes which they were baking over their central fires! Their poetry abounds in songs and little wild stories relating to this wonderful population.

'One of these,' says Mrs Grant, 'which I have heard sung by children at a very early age, and which is just to them the Babes in the Wood, I can never forget. The affecting simplicity of the tune, the strange wild imagery, and the marks of remote antiquity in the little narrative, gave it the greatest interest to me, who delight in tracing back poetry to its infancy.

'A little girl had been innocently beloved by a fairy, who dwelt in

in a tomhan near her mother's habitation. She had three brothers, who were the favourites of her mother. She herself was treated harshly, and tasked beyond her strength. Her employment was to go every morning and cut a certain quantity of turf from dry heathy ground for immediate fuel; and this with some uncouth and primitive implement. As she passed the hillock, which contained her lover, he regularly put out his hand with a very sharp knife, of such power, that it quickly and readily cut through all impediments. She returned cheerfully and early with her load of turf; and, as she passed by the hillock, she struck on it twice; and the fairy stretched out his hand through the surface, and received the knife.

'The mother, however, told the brothers that her daughter must certainly have had some aid to perform the allotted task. They watched her, saw her receive the enchanted knife, and forced it from her. They returned; struck the hillock, as she was wont to do; and when the fairy put out his hand, they cut it off with his own knife. He drew in the bleeding arm, in despair; and supposing this cruelty was the result of treachery on the part of his beloved, never saw her more.' I. 285, 286.

Their other superstitions are not very remarkable. They have a strong impression of the impiety of boasting, or making an ostentatious display of the advantages with which Providence may have blessed them; and firmly believe, that such conduct is sure to be punished by a speedy privation of the good fortune thus unsuitably borne. Mrs Grant has a great number of stories in proof of this severe retribution. Upon the same principle, it is held to be of very ill omen to praise a young child—or even a calf, without a previous invocation of the Deity; and, if this prelude should be omitted by an ignorant or irreverent stranger, it is immediately supplied, in a tone of anger and alarm, by the orthodox bystanders; and the whole family are uneasy for a week, for the consequences of so rash an action. Besides a whole system of deep learning about evil eyes, and social spirits of all complexions, they have personified a variety of diseases and sources of evil, which have not had that honour, we believe, in any other country. The small-pox, in particular, is spoken of with great respect and veneration, under the form of a beautiful woman clothed in green, who may be frequently seen in the grey dawn, leaning over the beds of dying infants; and whom no careful mother will ever mention by any other name than that of Boiadch, or 'the Beauty.' It is remarkable, however, that they use no such ceremony with the *inoculated* small-pox, of which they speak boldly, and with some degree of contempt, under the name of 'the Doctor's small-pox.'

From this view of the character and superstition of the Highlanders, as they existed under the antient frame of their society, Mrs

Mrs Grant is naturally led to consider the changes which have been recently produced by the Southern education and multiplied wants of their chieftains. In our review of Lord Selkirk's work on Emigration, * we gave a very full detail of the circumstances which have led to this partial depopulation, and of the plans that have been suggested to soften the necessary sufferings by which it is attended. Mrs Grant speaks very feelingly, and very sensibly, on the subject. She draws a striking picture of the wretchedness and degradation which the Highlander necessarily experiences, when he is driven out from this Eden of his imagination, divorced for ever from the dwellings of his forefathers, and from all the objects, occupations and amusements, to which his habits and affections were conformed. Nature never meant him, she says, for a manufacturer;—fixing him to a loom is like yoking a stag in a plough,—and will not, in the end, turn out a more profitable experiment. Even the villages which have been established on the borders of his own country, cannot save him, or intercept his fall. According to our author, there is but one effectual resource.

'If any thing recovers him from his hopeless apathy, it must be the "spirit-stirring fife," or the martial pipe of his ancestors, calling him to the field of honourable strife. Here, if at all, the Highlander resumes the energy of his character, and finds room to display once more the virtues of habit and of sentiment: for here he is generally associated with beings like himself, and here his enthusiasm finds an object. His honourable feelings, his love of distinction, his contempt for danger, and, what is of equal importance in the military life, his calm fortitude, stern hardihood, and patient endurance, all find scope for exercise. Here, too, mingled with his countrymen, he tells and hears the tales of other times,—beguiles the weary watch of night with the songs that echoed through the halls of his chief,—or repeats, on the toilsome march, the love-ditty inspired by the maiden that first charmed him with the smile of beauty, and the voice of melody, in his native glen.

'These recollections and associations preserve, in pristine vigour, the fairest trait in the Highland character. Social and convivial as Donald's inclinations are, when others join the mirthful band, and share the cup of festivity, he retires to his barrack or his tent, and adds the hard-saved sixpence to the little hoard, which the paymaster promises to remit home, to pay his father's arrear of rent, or purchase a cow for his widowed mother.—Poor Donald is no mechanic: he cannot, like other soldiers, work at a trade when in quarters: Yet, day after day, with unwearied perseverance, he mounts guard for those who have this resource, to add a little to this fund, sacred to the dearest charities of life—the best feelings of humanity.

* Vol. VII. p. 186, &c.

humanity. This sobriety preserves alive the first impressions of principle,—the rectitude, the humble piety, and habitual self-denial, to which a camp life, or the unsettled wanderings that belong to it, are so averse.' II. 135-137.

From this touching view of the condition of the exiled retainer, Mrs Grant turns to contemplate the altered character and manners of the chief, by which this exile has been made necessary; and is very eloquent in contrasting the substantial power, dignity and enjoyment of their forefathers, with the paltry conveniences and luxurious accommodations for which their descendants have sacrificed all this happiness and glory.

'When a Highland chief,' says she, 'looked, from some eminence, into his subject Strath, and saw the blue smoke of twenty hamlets rise through the calm air of a bright summer morning,—when he viewed those quiet abodes of humble content, with the perfect consciousness that there was no individual contained in them, but what regarded him, with fond and proud attachment, as his friend and protector, to save or serve whom he would cheerfully die,—what monarch could compare with him in genuine power, and heartfelt consciousness of being loved and honoured beyond all other earthly beings! And how perverted is the taste that would induce a man to deprive himself of such faithful adherents, and drive them out to miserable exile, for all the paltry profits to be derived from the change!'—'To tear them,' she adds, 'from their birthplace, and the tombs of their fathers, is to inflict a more unhallowed torture than Æneas, when he tore up the myrtle plants from the grave of Polydorus, and saw the roots drop blood at parting from their parent earth! And, would that the lord of his native home would but regard the anguish of the expatriated Highlander with half the compunction which this phenomenon excited in the breast of the pious chief!'

She then proceeds to show, and we think in a very satisfactory and convincing manner, that though the chief may raise his rents by the expulsion of his antient followers, he cannot possibly succeed in making the Highlands a place of luxurious abode, and must either return, in some degree, to the antient system of manners, or adopt the more usual, but degrading, alternative of an entire town life. A country laid out into one vast desert of sheep-walks, she observes, can supply nothing but wool and mutton to its inhabitants; and almost every article that is wanted for the consumption of a luxurious family, must be brought, by impassable roads, from a vast distance. Even if the proprietor should endeavour to obviate this inconvenience, in some degree, by keeping a farm in his own hands, she shows that, without the prompt and cordial assistance of a dependent population, the nature of the climate is such, that he could nei-

ther lay in his fuel, nor sow nor reap his crop, without maintaining a far greater number of labourers than are wanted where the crops are far more valuable.

'The laird's kindly tenants,' she adds, 'in the olden time, and still in many places, paid a part of their rent in what is called kain, consisting of a stated quantity of poultry and eggs, and, in some instances, lambs and wedders. This kept always a fulness in the house; and promoted a pleasing and popular intercourse. When the good woman brought her kain, the lady of the mansion, not only ordered her to eat in her presence, but graciously inquired for her family and welfare; and found no mean satisfaction in listening to language, eloquent, respectful, and impressive. The kain was a due; yet received as a gift; and there was a constant intercourse of kindness. Powder, shot, snuff, and simple medicines, were bestowed with courteous liberality; and fish, game, kids, and lambs, in their season, came in as gifts from all quarters. But how incomprehensible is this strife betwixt graciousness and gratitude, to those who have not witnessed the manners of past times! and how different was such a household, from the cold and hungry state, to which wealth cannot give warmth or plenty!' I. p. 166—168.

We should now be preparing to take our farewel of Mrs Grant and her Highlanders: yet we think it but fair, before we part with them, to lay before our readers an actual example of those powers of thought and expression, and of that lofty and enthusiastic character which she has so vehemently asserted to be communicated to the lowest of the race, by the nature of their situation and employments. For this purpose, we shall therefore subjoin a few stanzas of a *modern* Gaelic poem, which she has translated, she assures us, quite literally, and printed at large in the work before us. The author of this singular production was unable either to read or write,—lived all his days in a state of extreme poverty,—and had never followed any profession but that of a hunter. In his youth, he inhabited a lonely cottage among the mountains; but, as the infirmities of old age came upon him, had been forced to remove to a more temperate and populous district. The occasion of his composing this poem is narrated by our author as follows.

'One night, in autumn 1772 or 1773, I am not sure which, as he was sitting quietly in the cottage where he resided, some cattle-drovers came in, called for whisky, and began to divide their profits. They addressed some conversation to him, and offered him liquor. Habitually sober and taciturn, he declined both, and sat looking on in an absolute silence. At first they were provoked at finding him so unsocial, and finally suspected him of being a spy, waiting to discover what profit they made of their bargains. They got up in a rage, and turned the poor hunter out of doors. He

took shelter in a barn, and had lain long in solitary meditation, when he discovered a more suitable associate. This was an owl, seated on a beam opposite to him. He was too much chagrined by his late expulsion, to sleep; and, to banish the sense of the insult, amused himself with composing the following poem, containing a sketch of the occupations and delights of his former life.' II. p. 245, 246.

The poem is far too long to be extracted; and, indeed, we have left ourselves room only for a few detached stanzas, in the multiplied epithets of which, the curious reader may trace the genius of an original language,—and all, we think, will be struck with the tone of enthusiasm and pathos, which this untutored bard has contrived to communicate to an effusion, which treats neither of love, nor of battles, nor of any of the subjects which address themselves to the greater passions of our nature. After an imaginary and striking dialogue with the owl, he addresses himself to the rock Guanich, the most conspicuous eminence in the range of his favourite sport.

' Rock of my heart! the secure rock—
That rock where my childhood was cherished!
The joyous rock,—fresh, flowery, haunt of birds,—
The rock of hinds, and bounding stags.—

Loud were the eagles round its precipices,—
Sweet its cuckoos and swans.
More cheering still the bleating
Of its fawns, kid-spotted.

Rock of my heart!—the great rock!
Beloved is the green plain under its extremity.
More delightful is the deep valley behind it,
Than the rich fields and proud castles of the stranger!

More pleasant to me than the humming song of the rustic,
Over the quern, as he grinds the crackling corn.
The low cry of the stag, of brownish hue,
On the declivity of the mountain in the storm.

Rock of my heart! thou rock of refuge!
The rock of leaves, of water-cresses, of freshening showers;—
Of the lofty, beautiful, grassy heights:
Far distant from the shelly brink of the sea.

On the hillock of fairies I sit, where the retiring sun
Points his last beam upwards to the summit of the hill.
I look on the end of Loch Treig:—
The sheltering rock where the chase was wont to be.

I see the dark lakes dim at a distance;
I see the mighty pile, and many coloured mountain:

I see

'I see in the deep vale, the last dwelling of Ossian of Fingal;
I see the hill of flat sepulchral stones.

I see the towering Bennevis,
And the red cairn at its foot;
And the deep and secret corry behind it.
I see the lonely western mountains, and the sea beyond them.

Once more I hail the streamy hill;
Honoured as it is above the hills around.
Hail to Loch Eroch side, haunt of many deer!
It was my happiness to be there.

Carry my blessing to the lake,
Extended far, and deeply sheltered,
To the water of Lemina of the wild ducks;
Nurse of the spotted fawn and kid.

Lake of my heart art thou! O lake!
Where played the shy water-fowl:
And many a white and stately swan
Did swim slowly amid their sport.

Haunts of my youth! I have now addressed you all.—
Unwillingly do I take my leave of you:—
Of you and your swift inhabitants,—
The deer of the deep glens between the little hills.

The most sorrowful farewell that ever was taken
Of the deer in whom was my great delight.
I shall never more direct the hounds:—
I and thou, my faithful white dog.

The thick wood has taken from you the roe—
The steepy height has taken from me the stag.
Yet are we not disgraced, my hero!
For age has fallen upon us both.' II. 251, 253, 254, 257—260.

This is certainly rather of a loftier mood than we should expect from a huntsman or whipper-in of Saxon breed; and would have appeared still more heroical, if we had been able to make room for 'the banners of Alexander of the Glen,' and the commemoration of various other worthies of high rank and prowess. But it is absolutely necessary that we should now draw to a conclusion.

The Letters annexed to these Essays are, like all Mrs Grant's letters, lively, impressive, and original; though sometimes in bad taste, and generally verbose. For the benefit of those who have not seen her former collection, we annex a few specimens.

'I tell you, C. I am sometimes tempted to say, with Wat Tyler's mob, 'It was never merry world since gentlemen came up;' that is to say, since all manner of people must needs be ladies and gentlemen. There is no fixed standard for sentiment or opinion, more than for rank or place. Change, endless mutation, is the thing; and while people are chasing a Proteus with vain diligence, the pursuit leaves no leisure for friendship, or for any serious or tranquil enjoyment. People must wear every thing that is new,—must read every thing that is new,—and for that only reason;—must be every where,—see every thing,—and know every body. The consequence is, that they are like rich people's children, who know no pleasure but getting new toys, breaking them, and throwing them away; while ours build a house of turf and pebbles, spend a whole day in gathering materials,—call, and almost think it a palace, when they have done,—and then rejoice over it for a week, from the triumph of their conscious efforts in producing it.

'Dear C. whatever you learn, do not learn to despise peace, friendship, and needle work. That unquenchable thirst for amusement, that urges some people, without a rural idea, without materials for thought, to fly through these recesses in summer, merely to change, and to say they have been in odd, wild places, is a fatal symptom of a deranged system. What can one expect of young people, drunk with conceit, idleness, and boundless liberty, but what happens to other drunken people,—transitions from the feverish joys of an irregular imagination, to irksome languor, and intolerable self-reproach?' II, p. 316—318.

'Certainly a female writer is an incongruous thing! Minerva and the Muses never married; and they were in the right of it.—When I tell you that I write almost extempore, it is not to boast of my blunders, but to make the truest, best apology for writing at all; which would have been inexcusable, either in my past happy or sorrowful days, if I devoted much time to that occupation.—I feel very sore about the dissertation, in this age of doubt, when people begin to cavil when they get out of the cradle, and go on doubting, till they find truth in the grave.' II. p. 291, 292.

'If I have any romance with me, it is really and literally the romance of real life. The world does not suit me; It is cold, it is corrupt, it is joyless—I *must* have pleasures, and they *must* be pure. At the same time, I walk with the fear of common sense before my eyes; and therefore dare not join my brethren and sisters, the children of fancy, in their excursions to fairyland; having sagaciously discovered that enchanted region to be like the lion's den,—many tracks of beasts going in, but none of any returning. The highway, again, is too crowded for me. People who think of nothing but running straight forward would justle me into the ditch, while I was dreaming of Elysium. I had therefore a little quiet footpath of my own, which I took pleasure in decorating with

simple flowers, cherished by my own hands. Into that I allured others, who equally hated sloth and bustle; and there we cultivated friendship, and gathered its fruits. Nothing was distorted, nothing was exaggerated; yet every thing was brightened and enlivened.' II, p. 276—277.

'I have said my say, and closed my evidence: Further I shall never, by any provocation, be led. My feet are much too tender to tread the thorny paths of controversy. I feel elastic and thankful, as the period draws near when we shall all shelter in that blessed asylum, Woodend. This, to be sure, is a very beautiful, though very expensive place. I sit here, like an owl in a turret, contemplating the scene I have no desire to mix in. Sometimes I go a while down to the pump-room, but oftener to the woody rocks that rise above our dwelling, to see Mr P.'s ships sail by; or catch with delight the cold blast from Caledonia, and think I see it waving the amber locks of my dear boy, or bending the trees planted by his still dearer father round our once happy dwelling.' II. p. 322, 323.

There is a very animated letter, giving an account of the variations of her own feelings and opinions as to the comparative merit of the Highlands and Lowlands. When she first went to reside in the former, the tranquil cheerfulness and comfort of the cultivated country continually haunted her imagination; and, long after she had learned to love the majestic aspect of the mountains, and to decypher the lofty character of their natives, she still hankered after the softer delights of the plains she had left behind. An opportunity at last occurred of visiting these regretted regions; and the result is described as follows.

'In 1793, I again went southwards, and began to look for the beautiful country I had left behind. It was gone. I saw nothing round me but tame, flat nature, and formal, frigid art. The people were such a set of new-sprung, insulated beings; so uninteresting: And for the mobility—bless them!—they were so ungraceful and ungracious, so devoid of all courtesy and all sentiment!—the worst of them were like bears, and the very best like sheep at most. O how I did lift up my joyful voice, when I drew near the mountains of Perthshire! and at the pass of Killicrankie I worshipped the genius of the mountains with devotion the most ardent! And this morning I mounted the height above the house—beheld the rising sun irradiate so many beautiful wreaths of mist, slowly ascending the aerial mountains;—nay, more, I had the whole parish in my view at once, and saw the blue smokes of eighteen hamlets at once, slowly rising through the calm dewy air; every one of which hamlets had some circumstance about it that interested me, or somebody in it that I knew or cared for. How populous, how vital is the *Strath!* And with what a mixture of emotions did I behold it!' II, p. 339–41.

This, to be sure, is not exactly the style of Madame du Deffand;—and yet there are very many people who will like it quite as well:—And even those who would be most scandalized at the comparison, must confess, that it indicates a far loftier, a far purer, and a far happier character, than that of the witty lady with whose it may be contrasted.

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